THE JOURNAL

OF

GERMANIC PHILOLOGY

Edited by

GUSTAF E. KARSTEN

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA

WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF

ALBERT S. COOK, YALE UNIVERSITY
For the Department of English

HORATIO S. WHITE, CORNELL UNIVERSITY
For the History of German Literature

GEORGE A. HENCH, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
For the Historical Grammar of the Germanic Dialects

GEORG HOLZ, UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG, GERMANY
European Co-Editor

VOLUME I

PATRONS

CONTENTS

NOTICES

THE HOME OF WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE.

IT has fared with Walther von der Vogelweide as with many another upon the roll of fame. Regarding his birth and his birthplace, his actual social status, his death, and his descendants, the muse of history is mute.

In the absence of definite data, however, speculation has been rife, and with elaborate ingenuity has re-created from the shreds and tatters of sporadic references a characteristic and appropriate biography.

Of what nature are these materials?

Apart from the noble and imperishable monument of his poetic works, the meagre memorials of his existence and career may be quickly quoted.

In Austria, as he himself says in one of his poems, in Austria he learned his art.

> " Ze Ôsterrîche lernt ich singen unde sagen."
>
> (L. W.[1] 32, 14.)

At various castles and courts he appeared at various times as a transient guest, not always himself content, nor apparently always welcomed as he desired and deserved.

Once at least he tarried, but briefly, at a monastery, that of Tegernsee, where, if any, purely aqueous was his entertainment, and humorous his expressed dissatisfaction. (L. W. 104, 23.)

According to a record discovered in 1874, he, the "Cantor Waltherus de Vogelweide," received in the fall of 1203 the price of a mantle of pelt at the hands of Wolfger von Ellenbrechtskirchen, the Bishop of Passau, and later Patriarch of Aquileia.

---

[1] Lachmann's and Wilmanns's editions of Vogelweide.

Evidently in his latter days he revisits his home, and is overcome by memories of the past, and by a longing to join in some impending crusade. His elegiac mood is voiced in the most pathetic and beautiful of his poetic strains. (L. W. 124, 1.)

Another song from his lyre chants his entrance into the Holy Land, — whether he were an actual participant in a genuine crusade, or whether his assumed pilgrimage were but the inner vision of a common experience. (L. W. 14, 38.)

As a gift from the Emperor Frederick II., he finally receives a small estate in fief as an asylum for his age; and in the Minster at Würzburg a tablet in mediocre Latin commemorated his passing; while with his supposed burial place has been associated the pleasing legend which his name illustrates, and which Longfellow has gracefully narrated.

Living, his verse had evoked from friendly and hostile witnesses alike the testimony of its keenness and its power. He dies, and his memory is praised by his disciples; while Hugo von Trimberg, a few decades later, sings:

> " Hêr Walther von der Vogelweide,
>   swer des vergæz', der tæt' mir leide."

But his memory does fade, and apart from a bare mention of his name at the end of the seventeenth century in a catalogue of the great masters of song, Walther's fame seems wholly obscured.[1]

When the study of his works began anew at the opening of this century, the curious investigator began also a search for evidence of Walther's nativity and career. But, as we have seen, the historical record is of extreme scantiness, and the story of his life is quite dependent upon a series of non-sequiturs and inexhausted alternatives. Around nearly every detail of the narrative is clustered a group of varying conclusions amid which imagination may frolic, while the logical faculty may practise its acumen with a fascinating freedom.

---

[1] The feeble efforts of Goldast, Hoffmannswaldau, and Gleim, and the imperfect collection of Bodmer, produced little effect.

When was Vogelweide born ?   For forty years or more, he
says, he has duly sung of love. (L. W. 66, 27.)   The song
in which this phrase occurs cannot be dated, but unless the
poet were too prematurely precocious, the line will yield him
at least sixty years of life.

When did he die ?   The latest date with which apparently
he can be associated is presumably 1228.   Certain other
songs, which date themselves, evince such a maturity of
thought and expression as evidently to belong to the poet's
middle life ; and to this period would naturally belong also
certain contemporary tributes to his fame in the writings of
fellow-poets.   The range of his probable birth varies then
from about 1157 to about 1170.   The date of his death is
absolutely indeterminate.

The place of his birth is apparently even more indeter-
minable, and would involve primarily, not merely the correct
interpretation of numerous passages in his writings, but
would be further dependent on the accurate investigation
and analysis of a variety of documentary testimony from the
records of many localities in various centuries.   These records
begin at about the year 1200, and belong to lands as scattered
as Würtemberg, Switzerland, Bavaria, the Rhinelands, Fran-
conia, Saxony, Austria, the Tyrol, Styria, and Bohemia.

Referring briefly to these records seriatim, we find that
Stumpf's Swiss Chronicles, written about 1550, mention a
citizen of St. Gall named Hans Vogelweider.   Into a later
edition of the Chronicles, appearing several decades after the
writer's death, is introduced the mention of an old castle
Vogelweide in the neighborhood with which the name of the
famous Minnesinger was then assumed to be associated.   A
burgher family of Vogelweiders, to be sure, was there found,
dating back to 1377 ; but the rich archives of the great
monastery at St. Gall apparently have no memoranda of
such an earlier family, nor any mention of a Vogelweide
castle.   Here, then, we have the first non-sequitur.

That the name Vogelwaid is also not uncommon in Wür-
temberg, and has been found in Styria dating back to 1368,
has led in neither case to further disclosures.

King Ludwig of Bavaria, apparently by a royal ukase, in the absence of other authority, located Walther's home upon the Rhine; and Wilhelm Grimm, identifying Vogelweide with Freidank, establishes from the poems of the latter Swabia as the common birthplace.

A sixteenth century writer traces Walther's origin to Meissen, but without betraying the source for his conclusions.

In Upper Bavaria is a village called Feldheim; and a record of 1394 notes a "Walther von de Vogelwaid von Veldhein." But this is merely another illustration of the spread of the name, which may arise from the common vocation of bird-snaring, or, as Zingerle has indicated, from the custom prevailing in Bavaria and the Tyrol between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries of naming children after famous poets or the heroes of epic song. Similarly, in almost every Southern State might to-day be discovered dusky namesakes of the Father of this Country.

For Franconia bore witness, first, the gravestone to Walther's memory at Würzburg, no longer in existence, but visible up to the close of the last century, and mentioned as early as 1345. Wilhelm Grimm, indeed, once queried whether this stone were actually an *ossibus monumentum,* or merely a memorial tablet; but the inscription is sufficient to establish at least a connection between Walther and Franconia. A Hof "zu der Vogelwaide" (and "zu der Fogilweide") is mentioned in the Cathedral archives at Würzburg in 1323. Whether this be the fief bestowed in 1220 by King Frederick, which once evoked from the poet such an outburst of gratitude (L. W. 28, 31):

> Ich hân mîn lêhen, al die werlt, ich hân mîn lêhen, —

must remain undecided. We may, however, locate him near Würzburg in his later years; and if the attempt to date at 1224 the poem describing the court diet at Nuremberg be successful, then the phrase "our native princes," which Walther there employs, must, from the context, it is urged, have reference to the Franconian representatives who were present. (L. W. 84, 14.)

And this inference that Franconia was his home may be further supported by the language of the well-known elegy which is so often cited as an indication of Walther's birth-place; for Franconia, apparently, he had visited but infrequently, and now we know he turns to it late in life. (L. W. 124, 1.)

It will not be necessary to quote more than the opening lines of this touching "swan-song":

> Owê war sint verswunden   alliu mîniu jâr!
> ist mir mîn leben getroumet,   oder ist ez wâr? . . .
> liut unde lant, dâ ich   von kinde bin erzogen,
> die sint mir frömde worden   reht als ez sî gelogen.

But such is the fate of the interpretations of Vogelweide, that so wise a commentator as Zarncke can see in this poem only a general reference to the conditions surrounding Walther's old age, common indeed to the despondent attitude of many an aged and world-weary soul; and urges that we must look elsewhere for proofs of Walther's birthplace.

And even the elegiac tone does not necessarily indicate, apart from the veiled reference to a certain papal bull, that the extreme limit of the poet's life had been reached. Had we no further proof of Goethe's years than those tenderly reflective and mournfully retrospective lines afford which form the dedication of Faust, and contain the same final yearning for another land of promise, should we not incline to the belief that they were the offspring of his aged musings, rather than an expression of his strong and sober maturity?

But Austria, too, demands a share in Vogelweide. Walther's saying that in Austria he learned his art has been interpreted in diametrically opposite ways. Pfeiffer claims that the phrase excludes Austria as the land of Walther's nativity. In Austria he learned his art. Therefore he could not be born there! For why should he take the trouble to state what would have been self-evident if Austria were his native land too? A unique parallelism is here cited from the verse of Reinmar von Zweter, who sings:

> "Von Rîne so bin ich geborn,
>   in Oesterrîche erwahsen; Bêheim han ich mir erkorn."

Lachmann maintains, on the other hand, that as Walther had thus passed as an Austrian from the days of his youth, it would be useless to search elsewhere for his origin. Further evidence of this Austrian origin Lachmann, after the pattern of Agassiz's fishbone, finds betrayed in the one dialectic form *verwarren*, for *verworren* (L. W. 34, 18), although it is admitted that this form is by no means exclusively Austrian, nor is it impossible to imagine that Walther's language might have been colored by the environment of his youth.

And finally the same poem which yields for Pfeiffer, too, such clear proof that Franconia was the home of Vogelweide, furnishes to Lachmann the best evidence that "our native princes" therein mentioned must have been the Austrian magnates who were present at the aforesaid Nuremberg diet. What is the point involved? A bit of mediæval etiquette. Walther is asked about his experiences. At the Nuremberg diet, he says, the court was fair enough, but the minstrels went away empty handed. "Our native princes are so very courteous," he adds, with an apparent touch of sarcasm, "that Leopold (of Austria) would have had to give alone had he not been a guest." That is, the treating should have been done by the native Franconian princes, the hosts, while Leopold the Austrian, as a guest, was by mediæval custom relieved from the burden, and evidently did not care voluntarily to assume it.

But no, says Lachmann, Walther's meaning is that our Austrian "native princes" were of such a splendid type that Leopold would have been the only generous one had he not excused himself as a guest for being short (L. 200). Which reason is a shining illustration of the principle of *lucus a non lucendo*. And, after all, as Wilmanns maintains (*Leben W's* 60), at such a diet all were guests, and no one was obliged (yet any one was free) to treat; although, on the other hand, G. Waitz intimates that the burden of entertainment often rested on the land (*Verfg.*, vi, 345–346). The minstrel's expectation was therefore not unreasonable.

But meanwhile the same critic who at first ardently cham-
pions the cause of Franconia became converted to the claims
of Tyrol by a discovery which he soon after made in the
land-register of an early duke of Carinthia who died in 1295.
In this register is mentioned an estate Vogelweide which lay
on the south slope of the Brenner; and not far off inquiry
revealed the existence of a forest which to-day bears the
names of Vorder- und Hintervogelweide.   Three years later,
in 1867, a local pastor announces that in Layener Ried,
somewhat further south, there were two Vogelweider farms,
the older of which might well be regarded as Walther's home.
The name Walther Vogelweider was found in the parish
baptismal register for 1575, and a Stephlein von Vogelwayd
was noted in a local record toward 1431 ; while in Bozen
near by was discovered a Chonradus Vogelwaiderius de
Eppiano in a record of 1302.

Once more the old familiar passages were threshed through
and their application to the Tyrolese locality elucidated.   In
Austria he merely learned his art.   Why might he not then
have been born in Tyrol as well as anywhere else?   The
elegy written on revisiting his home after long absence,
might well apply to the valley of the Eisak rolling rapidly,
well away from the known itinerary of his life.   The crusade
which he yearned to make, "the dear journey over sea,"
would be that of 1227–28, for which, by the Brenner, he was
directly on the way.   The Tyrol was at that time a land of
song; and in the manuscripts the poems of a whole group
of contemporary Tyrolese bards have been confused with
those of Vogelweide.

The language of Walther's poems, it was claimed, pre-
sented dialectic peculiarities traceable to this part of the
Tyrol ; and by a course of argument which impresses one as
far-fetched and somewhat finical, one writer, Domanig,[1] in-
volving others in his train, even endeavored to establish a
connection between two or three chance references in these
poems to an imaginary good old pious hermit (*klôsenære,
Klausner*), and the Tyrolean town of Klausen (*Klûsen*).

---

[1] Der "Klôsenære" Walther's von der Vogelweide. Paderborn, 1889.

These references occur as follows : In the most famous group of Walther's *Sprüche*, dealing with the situation at the time of the strife between the rival emperors, about 1200, he pictures a hermit remote in his cell, bewailing the general disorder, lamenting the all too youthful Pope, and calling on God to aid Christendom.   (L. W. 9, 35.)

> Ich hôrte verre in einer klûs
> vil michel ungebære :
> dâ weinte ein klôsenære,
> er klagete gòte sîniu leit,
> owê der bâbest ist ze junc : hilf, hêrre, dîner kristenheit.

A little later his "aged hermit" sings a warning strain of the dangers of dissension.   (L. W. 10, 33.)

> Mîn alter klôsenære von dem ich sô sanc,
> dô uns der êrre bâbest alsô sêre twanc.

Once again, after that, his "good hermit" raised a note of lamentation at the wrong example of the clergy.   (L. W. 34, 33.)

> Wæn aber mîn guoter klôsenære klage und sêre weine.

And finally, in a poem describing Walther's patient endurance of ill treatment, the poet protests in humorous contrast, that even a hermit under such trying circumstances would find forbearance ceasing to be a virtue.   (L. W. 62, 10.)

> Ein klôsenære, ob erz vertrüege? ich wæne, er nein.

The significance of this cloistered character and his possible identity with various historic personages have given rise to an interesting controversy ; while the attempt to identify the form of the name *klôsenære* with the patrial adjective derived from the place Klûsen (or Klausen) has precipitated an etymological discussion of some length.[1]

---

[1] " Der klagende Klausner, welcher mehrmals vorkömmt, bedeutet die vormalige strenge Frömmigkeit im Gegensatze zu der nunmehrigen Ausartung des Geistlichen Standes." (Uhland.) " Der Klausner scheint lediglich eine allegorische Person zu sein." (Simrock-Wackernagel.) " Der Klausner ist für Walther das Bild des wahren Christentums, ein Idealbild, das der nach weltlicher Herrschaft ringenden Kirche gegenüber gestellt wird. An eine bestimmte Person ist nicht

This identity, however, having been assumed, and the connection being apparently established, the æsthetic character of the poor *Klausner* vanishes in the transformation. But the man of Klausen is next proven to be the poet himself, who is thus represented as engaged in a witless game of hide-and-seek with his own personality. But the temptation was too great thus to establish the nativity of the poet beyond peradventure.

Stronger arguments than these, however, were those which had already spoken for the valley of the Eisak ; and the whole Tyrol began to rise in support of the attractive hypothesis which has perhaps at present the majority of champions, and Walther memorials were soon scattered all along the pass from Innsbruck to Bozen.

In a Walther album, kept for pilgrim entries at the supposed Vogelweiderhof, a recent traveller has left some admonitory and suggestive lines in manuscript :

> Ob Walther von der Vogelweid'
> An diesem Platz entsprungen,
> Das zu erweisen bis zur Zeit
> Ist Niemanden gelungen.
>
> Herr Walther von der Vogelweid'
> War überall daheime
> Wo Vogelsang, wo schöne Maid —
> Das sagen seine Reime.
>
> Drum lasst die Zweifel unberührt
> Uns den Gelehrten schenken —
> Wer einen Hauch von ihm verspürt,
> Der darf hier sein gedenken.

zu denken." (Wilmanns.) "Der Typus eines über den Parteien stehenden echten Christen." (Vogt.)

Among those who have attempted to identify the hermit are J. Grimm ("ohne Grund," Wilmanns), who suggested Walther Mapes or Henricus Septimellensis; Opel, who names Bishop Conrad of Halberstadt; and I. V. Zingerle, whose candidate is Ortolf II. of Säben. Karl Domanig, as is noted above, insists that the hermit is Vogelweide himself. W. Golther singularly enough appears to support this contention (Münchener Neueste Nachrichten, 19. April, 1890, Morgenblatt), which is combated vigorously by O. Behaghel (Germania, 1890, XXXV, 199) and repudiated by F. Vogt (Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, 1891, XXIII, 479).

But the learned doubts continue, and the last word has not yet been spoken, although the latest word comes to us from Bohemia, to which land the old master-singer jingle in 1697 had already assigned Vogelweide.   In the list of great bards, there mythically associated, he is described as follows :

> Der fünfft Herr Walther hiess,
> War ein Landherr aus Böhmen gewiss,
> Von der Vogelweid war
> Schön.

That Bohemia had found no brave backers sooner seemed to lie in the lack of any further corroborative evidence for this somewhat belated and isolated assertion.   But in 1893, after Reidl and Wolkan in 1886 had started the chase,[1] a Bohemian scholar, Dr. Hermann Hallwich, emerges from the gloom of his investigations into the town records of Dux, a respectable little municipality in northwestern Bohemia, dating back at least to the middle of the thirteenth century.[2]

The book containing these records, and comprising entries between 1389 and 1739, was almost the only original document of the earlier period remaining in the whole neighborhood after the ravages of the Hussite hordes in the middle of the fifteenth century.   Hallwich finds from the first year's records the mention of a whole sheaf of Vogelweides, together with an important Vogelweider estate.   By an ingenious line of argument he traces back the existence of this family and estate to the days of the Minnesinger Vogelweide.

The way is now clear for the application to this region of the local allusions in Vogelweide's poems ; and under Hallwich's shrewd manipulation many lines seem marvellously to match the landscape.   Even the famous elegy appears to fit better into this Bohemian framework than into any other environment previously described.   But Hallwich generously forbears to urge his advantage, and insists not upon his *Quod erat demonstrandum.*

[1] See Germania, XXXI, 431.
[2] Böhmen die Heimat Walthers von der Vogelweide?   Prag, 1893.

This cautious reservation affords, however, no protection against the strictures of another German-Bohemian, the well-known biographer of Vogelweide, Anton Schönbach.[1] The gap between 1389 and 1200 cannot be bridged over, nor does he find historical ground for the existence of any German culture in that corner of Bohemia then.   But, he exclaims, "should we regard Walther as a German-Czech half-breed!" And Schönbach rightly gives no credence to the anachronistic tradition of Wagenseil's chronicle.   The poetical landscape of Walther's verse finds little favor either, when for it is sought a local habitation and a geographical name.   And so once more the patriotic instinct must give way to critical acumen, and the verdict of not proven is pronounced.

What further disclosures the voluminous and neglected municipal and ecclesiastical archival treasures of Prague may hereafter yield, is one of the uncertain chances of the future.   In the meantime, another is added to the long roll of claimants for the honor of Walther's birthplace.   Patiently we must wait for the judicial answer which those archives, or mayhap some buried palimpsest, may yet afford.   This remains one of the romantic quests of the scholar's life, like the search for Columbus records in the Vatican or in Iceland, or for the lost manuscripts of Lessing's or of Goethe's early Faust.

The conclusion of the whole matter, then, is still inconclusive.   Vogelweide remains the possession of the entire German nation, not the property of any one poor province. Each city may erect his effigy, and claim him in spirit as its own.   Already, indeed, has this been done in more than one locality ; but nowhere perhaps with greater appropriateness than in the little mountain town of Bozen in the Austrian Tyrol.

There in the market-place stands his noble statue.   It has been erected on the extreme linguistic frontier, guarded and buttressed by an abrupt and sombre barrier of cliffs.   Among them winds the mountain pathway over which once Roman armies passed, and where later the mediæval caravans of

[1] Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum, 1895.   Anz. 228-33.

trade, or bands of aspiring pilgrims, or the imperial processions, moved upon their journey to the seductive and fateful Roman capital.

Like a faithful Eckart, the imposing figure, standing by the highway to Canossa, seems still to give its warning, as of yore the fearless original, a "Deutscher Sitte hohe Wacht," uplifted a voice of admonition, and, as a German Ghibelline, flung defiance at the Roman tiara and at the ecclesiastical plunderers of Teutonic coffers.

That warning may be construed to-day as issuing against the present increasing advancement up the southern slope of the Alps of Italian influence in state and church and language too. If it be so construed, the answering challenge is not far to seek. For by a curious, and perhaps intentional coincidence, there rises now near the former Italian boundary, less than a dozen leagues away in Austro-Italian Trient, the statue [1] of the grand and gloomy Tuscan, almost a contemporary, who stood for the Empire against the Papacy, as did Walther; and if Vogelweide admonishes both Pope and Emperor of their duties and of the limitations of their powers, Dante, with equal fearless frankness, laments the temporal sovereignty of the Church. It is he, too, who in grief at the loss of the opportunity for redeeming Italy, consigns to Purgatory the great Emperor and founder of the Hapsburg dynasty who scorned to wear the crown from Rome.

> Colui che più sied' alto, ed ha sembianti
>   D'aver negletto ciò che far dovea,
>   E che non muove bocca agli altrui canti,
> Ridolfo imperador fu, che potea
>   Sanar le piaghe c' hanno Italia morta,
>   Sì che tardi per altri si ricrea.
>
> *Purg.* VII, 91–96.

A fit spot, then, has also been chosen for this memorial of the exiled Florentine poet and patriot, upon Italian soil still held in pledge by a foreign conqueror.

---

[1] Dante's monument was dedicated Oct. 11, 1896. The memorial to Vogelweide was unveiled Sept. 15, 1889.

The twain were once homeless wanderers ; but while Florence is now begging for the ashes of her great citizen whom formerly she spurned, many a land has contended for the honor of marking Vogelweide as its own.   And so, waiving all invidious interpretations of their political significance, let us hope that these two monuments may long abide as joint reminders that in this day of great material expansion, the intellectual life shall not be without material recognition.

HORATIO S. WHITE.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY,
ITHACA, N.Y.

MIDDLE ENGLISH –WŌ̦–, –WŌ–.

IN his "Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst," 1884, p. 23, my lamented teacher, Professor ten Brink, said :

"Schwanken zwischen ǭ und ō zeigen einige Wörter, deren aus AE. $\bar{a}^1$ entstandenem Vokal ein *w* vorhergeht, bzw. ging : *wo, two, so* (desgl. natürlich *also*) aus *swā*, wahrscheinlich auch *who* aus *hwo* (AE. *hwā*). Das Adv. *tho* hat bei Chaucer ǭ (AE. *þā*) und *ō* (ndd. *thō*) ; ob letztere Lautform auch in den Canterbury Tales vorkommt, lässt sich nicht streng erweisen. Weniger leicht erklärt es sich, wenn *go*, obgleich nicht in den Canterbury Tales, zuweilen im *ō̦*-Reim vorkommt."

Referring to the language of Bokenam's Legends ("Engl. Stud.," 1885, p. 223), A. Hoofe said :

"Ae. *ā* nach cons. + mitlautendem *u* findet sich im reim mit dem aus ae. *ō* entstandenen laut, der sicher ein ganz geschlossenes *ō*, wenn nicht schon der high vowel *u* war : *who* (ae. *hwā*) : *to* (ae. *tō*) 3/401. *two* (ae. *twā*) : *two* Pr. 125. *do* (ae. *dōn*) : *two* 8/982. *so* (ae. *swā*) : *do* : *to* 1/316. also : doo 3/294. . . . Wir dürfen demnach wohl annehmen, dass hier unter der einwirkung des vorher gehenden *w* schon früh me. der laut mit der fortsetzung von ae. *ō* zusammengefallen ist. Die reime mit diesen wörtern und ae. *ō* sind also ganz rein. Bei *also* und *so* ist im Ne. kein high vowel vorhanden. Dies erklärt sich dadurch, dass in *also* der ton, der bei Bok. noch auf dem zweiten bestandtheil ruht, später auf den ersten theil des compositums zurücktrat, und nun das *-so* in nicht vollbetonter silbe in der weiterbildung gehemmt war. Das einfache *so* hat sich nach dem zweiten theil von *also* gebildet, oder aber es war, weil proklitisch gebraucht, ebenfalls nicht vollbetont, und der vokal wurde dadurch an der entwicklung zum high vowel gehindert. Es steht

---

[1] I take the liberty of using in the quotations the same signs for quantity and for openness and closeness of vowel that are used in the rest of the article.

also nichts dem entgegen, für das me. *so* einen geschlossenen *o*-laut anzunehmen."

In his "History of English Sounds," 1888, Henry Sweet treats the matter as follows (§ 695) :

"ǭ after *w* became *ō* in lME. in most words, as in *twō, whō, wōmb*, as shown by the MnE. pronunciation. *wǭd* 'woad' is an exception."

And in his "Second Middle English Primer" he marks these words with *ō*.

In 1890, having occasion to deal with the words, I came to the conclusion that both ten Brink and Sweet were mistaken, and I alluded to a part of the subject in my "Chaucer's Pronunciation," 1893, p. 21.

In 1891, Kluge (" Paul's Grundriss," I, p. 884) said :

"ME. ǭ aus ae. *ā* nimmt nach *w* innerhalb der me. Zeit den geschlossenen *ō*-Laut an, der sich frühne zu *ū* entwickelt, in *whō* aus *whǭ* ae. *hwā*, in *twō* aus *twǭ* ae. *twā, swōpe* aus *swǭpen* ae. *swāpan;* sowie in me. *wōmb* aus *wǭmb* ae. *wāmb;* wohl auch in *wōwe* (ne. gespr. *wū*) für *wǭwen*[1] (ae. *wōȝīan*) und in *wōrd* (16. Jahrh. *ū*) für me. ae. *wǭrd?*[1] Vgl. ten Brink § 31. Doch ist im 16. Jahrh. noch die auf me. ǭ deutende *ō*-Ausprache überliefert für *whom, woe, womb, woad*, Ellis, 909."

From the fact that in his later books (" A New English Grammar," 1892, § 804, and its two briefer forms) Sweet omits the statement as to the -wǭ-words in the section corresponding to the one quoted above, I infer that he has modi-

---

[1] I do not know why Kluge here assigns ME. 'wōwen' an open ǭ; as for 'word,' Sweet is right in giving it, as well as 'bord,' 'ford,' 'hord,' a close *ō* in Middle English (cf. HES., § 692 and the markings. in his 2d MEPr., 'bōrd,' Prolog 52, 'hōrd,' Truth 3, etc.). They *all* show *ū* in early Modern English (HES., p. 330); in 'bord,' 'ford,' and 'hord,' this *ū* was lowered to *ō* by the following *r* + voiced stop (as happened later before final *r* in the English of Virginia and other parts of our South and in that of London, especially in Cockney English: *yō(ur), pō(or)*, etc., cf. Sweet's "Primer of Phonetics," § 200), and in the English of London and some other parts of the English-speaking world this *ō* itself has been lowered to ǭ by the same agency, cf. also early MnE. *mūrn* > *mōrn* and in London, etc., *mǭ(r)n* 'mourn.' In 'word' the case was different : the preceding high-back *w* prevented the following *ū*, which, however, shortened after its cognate consonant *w* — thus, *wŭrd*, which regularly became *wɪrd* and later (in Southern England, our East and South, etc.) *wə̄d*.

fied or abandoned his old position, though I do not know that
he has anywhere made a statement to that effect.

In an article on "Confusion between ǭ and ō in Chaucer's
Rimes" ("Engl. Stud.," 1895, p. 341) and in his "The ō-vowel
in English," 1895, p. 56, Professor Bowen's position is not clear.
He speaks of *twǭ*, *swǭ*, *wǭ* as forming a category in which
w influenced the vowel, and in a foot-note ("Engl. Stud.," XX,
p. 343) adds : "The English word womb has been drawn into
the same category," and (in his book, p. 50) suggests that it
"may have been influenced by the French word tomb." On
the other hand he regards 'woe' as having departed from the
category : "Perhaps the already existing word woo (A. S.
wōgian) saved wā from experiencing a similar fate as who, in
which event we should have had two words of like sounds,
but of different meanings, which would necessarily lead to
confusion." ("Engl. Stud.," XX, p. 342.)

Finally, Morsbach, in his "Mittelenglische Grammatik,"
1896, p. 184, says :

"Während bei lax reimenden dichtern *ō* (= ae. *ā*) mit allen andern,
kurzen und langen, offenen und geschlossenen *o* mehr oder weniger
häufig im reim gebunden wird, findet sich bei streng reimenden
dichtern allenthalben das aus ae. *ā* hervorgegangene *ō* [*ā°*] überwie-
gend im selbstreim. Nur wo dem *ō* ein *w* unmittelbar vorausgeht
(welches später schwindet), hat sich im verlauf des 13. jahrh. viel-
fach ein geschlossener laut entwickelt, welcher teils durch reime mit
[*ō*], teils durch das ne. als [*ō*]-laut erwiesen wird. Dies ist allen-
thalben der fall bei *s(w)ō*, *als(w)ō*, *t(w)ō* ; doch haben *s(w)ō*,
als(w)ō doppelte aussprache, geschlossene und offene, gehabt, je
nachdem das betr. wörtchen in satzbetonter oder satztieftoniger
stellung sich befand. Die ne. aussprache [*ōu*] beruht auf offenem
me. laut im satztiefton. Geht dem *w* kein anderer konsonant
vorauf, so scheint der offene laut erhalten zu sein, da wörter wie
wōt (ae. *wāt*), *wō* (ae. *wā*), *wōd* (ae. *wād*), *wōn* (an. *vān*) bei den
sorgfältigsten dichtern nicht mit [*ō*] reimen. Einzelne ausnahmen
sind nach den unten unter 3) angeführten fällen zu beurteilen ; vgl.
auch die ne. aussprache mit [*ōu*]. Stephen Hawes reimt *so*, *also*
und *wo* (ae. *wā*) nur mit offenem *ō* ; vgl. Fuhr 34. Auch das pron.
wō, *whō* (ae. *hwā*), das im reim kaum belegt ist, hat demnach den
[*ā°*]-laut ; anders me. *h(w)ō* [*ō*] = ne. *who* [*hū*]."

It is clear not only that the statements of these various writers are more or less at variance with one another, but also that no one of them satisfactorily accounts for all the phenomena in the case, though Morsbach most nearly does so. We have three chief facts to consider: (1) That these words often rime with ǭ; (2) That some of them often rime with ō; (3) That some of them have ō in Modern English and others ū. It is the object of this paper to show that these phenomena are all in harmony with one another.

I.

Chaucer's Usage.

Let us enter upon the consideration of the problem from the point of view held by ten Brink, namely, the rimes in Chaucer. He assumed that when *so*, *two*, etc., rime with *dō*, *tō*, etc., the rime is pure, that is, that *so* and *two* have ō. If this were true, we should expect to find that even in the poet's best writings these rimes were frequent, while the riming of *tō*, *dō*, etc., with *gǭ* and other words whose ǭ is unquestioned was much rarer. It will not be difficult to show that this is not the case.

In a paper [1] that I read at the meeting of the Modern Language Association at New Haven last winter I made it clear, among other things, that Chaucer's works reveal the fact that in the course of his literary career he improved decidedly in rime technique, the two extremes being marked by *The Book of the Duchesse* and *Troilus and Criseyde*. It is, therefore, evident that it would be folly to base inferences as to Chaucer's language upon the rimes of *The Book of the Duchesse*, etc., if the rimes of the *Troilus and Criseyde* would contradict them; in fact, it will hereafter be our duty in handling questions of this sort to use the *Troilus and Criseyde* in preference to the rest of Chaucer's works, unless it be some of the *Canterbury Tales*. My present statistics are,

---

[1] I am forced to postpone for a time the publication of this study because I lack the time to complete it. Cf., however, *Modern Language Notes*, 1896, Feb., p. 39.

therefore, drawn from the final $\bar{o}$-$\bar{\varrho}$ rimes in *Troilus and Criseyde*. The rimes of the *Canterbury Tales* taken as a whole would prove my position with slightly less positiveness.

The words involved are : (1) *two, hwo, s(w)o,* and *swopen,* in which the *w* is crowded onto the vowel by a preceding consonant ; (2) *wo, wod, wot, wost,* and *womb,* in which the *w* is initial. The first word needing consideration is *so.* The fact that this word had early lost its *w* in consequence of its usually occurring in weak positions leaves it at least an open question whether the *w* had an opportunity to affect the vowel. In the *Troilus and Criseyde,* 'so' rimes with —

$$d\bar{o}\ \text{1},\ t\bar{o}\ \text{1},\ = \qquad\qquad \bar{o}\ \text{2},$$
$$als\bar{\varrho}\ \text{1},\ tw\bar{\varrho}\ \text{11},\ w\bar{\varrho}\ \text{14},\ = \qquad (w)\bar{\varrho}\ \text{26},$$
$$f\bar{\varrho}\ \text{4},\ fr\bar{\varrho}\ \text{3},\ ag\bar{\varrho}\ \text{2},\ g\bar{\varrho}\ \text{23},\ h\bar{\varrho}\ \text{1},\ j\bar{\varrho}\ \text{1},$$
$$m\bar{\varrho}\ \text{11},\ n\bar{\varrho}\ \text{3},\ th\bar{\varrho}\ \text{7},\ = \qquad\qquad \bar{\varrho}\ \text{55}.$$

That is, it rimes with original $\bar{o}$ but twice, 26 times with words having lost or retained *w* before the $\bar{\varrho}$, and 55 times, or more than twice as often, with words whose $\bar{\varrho}$ is unquestioned. With $g\bar{\varrho}$ alone it rimes about as many times as with all the $(w)\bar{\varrho}$ cases combined. That Chaucer's 'so' was anything else than $s\bar{\varrho}$ is, thus, simply out of the question, and I shall hereafter treat it as $s\bar{\varrho}$. It should be added that Sweet — differing here from ten Brink — recognizes this and prints the word with $\bar{\varrho}$ in his "Second Middle English Primer." That this accords perfectly with the regular development of OE. $\bar{a}$ > ME. $\bar{\varrho}$ > MnE. $\bar{o}$, need hardly be mentioned.

Of the remaining words, *two* and *wo* alone occur in rime in T. & C. ; 'wo' rimes with —

$$d\bar{o}\ \text{1},\ t\bar{o}\ \text{1},\ = \qquad\qquad \bar{o}\ \text{2},$$
$$tw\bar{\varrho}\ \text{9},\ = \qquad\qquad\qquad -w\bar{\varrho}\ \text{9},$$
$$f\bar{\varrho}\ \text{1},\ fr\bar{\varrho}\ \text{2},\ ag\bar{\varrho}\ \text{2},\ g\bar{\varrho}\ \text{9},\ h\bar{\varrho}\ \text{1},\ m\bar{\varrho}\ \text{5},$$
$$n\bar{\varrho}\ \text{2},\ als\bar{\varrho}\ \text{1},\ s\bar{\varrho}\ \text{12},\ th\bar{\varrho}\ \text{6},\ = \qquad \bar{\varrho}\ \text{41}.$$

That is, it too rimes with original $\bar{o}$ but twice, with another -$w\bar{\varrho}$-word 9 times, and with undoubted $\bar{\varrho}$ 41 times. It rimes with another -$w\bar{\varrho}$-word no oftener than it does with $g\bar{\varrho}$, and not nearly so often as it does with $s\bar{\varrho}$. No unbiassed mind

would, under the circumstances, suspect 'wo' of having $\bar{o}$
rather than, or along side of, $\bar{\varrho}$, even if *two* had $\bar{o}$, which we
shall show it did not have. And when we consider that *wo*
accords as perfectly with the normal development of OE. $\bar{a}$
as any word in the language, it seems strange that it should
be necessary to prove that it had $\bar{\varrho}$ in the standard language
in ME. times :

OE.	*st̄an*	*d̄a*	*w̄a*
ME.	*stǭn*	*dǭ*	*wǭ*
MnE.	*stōn(e)*	*dō(e)*	*wō(e)*

To come now to *two*, whose MnE. $\bar{u}$ (or uw) is largely
responsible for this whole discussion, we find that it rimes
with —

$d\bar{o}$ 1, $t\bar{o}$ 1, = $\bar{o}$ 2,

$f\bar{\varrho}$ 1, $fr\bar{\varrho}$ 2, $ag\bar{\varrho}$ 1, $g\bar{\varrho}$ 9, $m\bar{\varrho}$ 4, $n\bar{\varrho}$ 1,

    $als\bar{\varrho}$ 2, $s\bar{\varrho}$ 8, $w\bar{\varrho}$ 9, = $\bar{\varrho}$ 37.

That is, it rimes with $\bar{o}$ twice and with $\bar{\varrho}$ 37 times. As the
strophes demand sometimes a rime of two words and some-
times one of three, it is interesting to consider the rime-
groups as well as the individual rimes. We then find that
'two' occurs in 24 rime-groups and in only one of them does
it rime with $\bar{o}$, namely : $tw\bar{\varrho} : d\bar{o} : t\bar{o}$, Bk. II, St. 24. That
this is no oftener than other words with $\bar{\varrho}$ rime with $\bar{o}$ may
be seen from the following table :

In 24 chances	$tw\bar{\varrho}$	rimes with $\bar{o}$	1 time	$= \frac{1}{24}$,
" 42 "	$(a)g\bar{\varrho}$	" " "	2 times	$= \frac{1}{21}$,
" 16 "	$th\bar{\varrho}$	" " "	1 time	$= \frac{1}{16}$,
" 31 "	$w\bar{\varrho}$	" " "	2 times	$= \frac{1}{15}$,
" 45 "	$s\bar{\varrho}$	" " "	4 times	$= \frac{1}{11}$.

Oddly enough, $tw\bar{\varrho}$ happens to rime with $\bar{o}$ less often than
the other words do. In the whole poem there are but 5 (or
at most 6) other cases of the impure rime final $-\bar{\varrho} : -\bar{o}$ —

Bk. I	stanza	11,	*Appollo* : $d\bar{o}$: $g\bar{\varrho}$,
" "	"	78,	$t\bar{o}$: $w\bar{\varrho}$,
" "	"	119,	$d\bar{o}$: $w\bar{\varrho}$: $s\bar{\varrho}$,
" II	"	4,	$th\bar{\varrho}$: $s\bar{\varrho}$: $d\bar{o}$,
" "	"	114,	$d\bar{o}$: $ag\bar{\varrho}$: $s\bar{\varrho}$.

From here on the poet absolutely avoids such a rime, for the one in Bk. IV, 154 ($t\bar{o}$: $s\bar{\varrho}$), should not be counted.[1] It will be noticed that the rime $tw\bar{\varrho}$: $d\bar{o}$: $t\bar{o}$ occurs along with the other impure rimes and without question is to be explained in no other way than they.

Morsbach doubts the occurrence of *who* in rime in Middle English; I find it riming with $\bar{\varrho}$ in —

<div style="margin-left:3em">

The Reeves Tale, 380, A., 4300, $wh\bar{\varrho}$: $tw\bar{\varrho}$,
The W. of B. Prolog, D., 692, $wh\bar{\varrho}$: $m\bar{\varrho}$,
Gower's C. A. VII, 8, $wh\bar{\varrho}$: $f\bar{\varrho}$,
    "   " " VIII, 3, $wh\bar{\varrho}$: $\flat\bar{\varrho}$,
"Chaucer's Dream," 1307, $wh\bar{\varrho}$: $g\bar{\varrho}$.

</div>

But I have not been able to find a single case of its riming with $\bar{o}$ in any southern (see p. 22) poem.

I have no note of the occurrence of $w\bar{\varrho}t$ or $w\bar{\varrho}st$ in rime in T. & C. It happens, however, to occur in rime in the *Canterbury Tales* 13 times and invariably rimes with words having $\bar{\varrho}$.

wod, being a technical word, does not occur in rime in T. & C. or the C. T., or anywhere in Chaucer, so far as I know. There is, however, no difficulty about the word, for its development is perfectly normal:

<div style="margin-left:3em">

OE. $g\bar{a}d$ $w\bar{a}d$
ME. $g\bar{\varrho}d$ $w\bar{\varrho}d$
MnE. $g\bar{o}(a)d$ $w\bar{o}(a)d$

</div>

I do not know that *womb* appears in rime in Chaucer. I find it, however, riming with $\bar{\varrho}$ in other ME. texts:

$w\bar{\varrho}mbe$: $l\bar{\varrho}mbe$, Robt. of Gl., p. 280 and 369.   Reprint of Herne, 1810.
$w\bar{\varrho}mbe$: $h\bar{\varrho}nde$, Signa ante Judicium, 37, Anglia III, 534.
$w\bar{\varrho}mbe$: $br\bar{\varrho}nde$, Arthur and Merlin, younger version, 1120, p. 345.
$w\bar{\varrho}mbe$: $h\bar{\varrho}me$, Barclay's "Ship of Fools," Edinburgh ed., 1874, p. 178.

---

[1] It occurs in the passage, from Boetius, on predestination and free-will, which I showed, in the paper above referred to, to be inferior in the technique of rime and verse to the rest of the poem, and so, doubtless, of earlier workmanship. When Chaucer was occupied in rendering the "Boetius" into English, he probably tried his hand at putting some portions of it into verse, and later inserted this in the *Troilus and Criseyde*.

And as the word is given an *o* by Salisbury (who had an *u* in *do* and *to*) as late as 1547 (Ellis, E. E. P. III, p. 909), there can be no question that it had ǭ in Chaucer's pronunciation.

In short, not only have we no evidence that *w* had changed a following ǭ to ō in Chaucer's pronunciation, but all the evidence that we possess goes to prove that his ǭ was unaffected by a preceding *w*.

All this is so evident that it seems useless to say more about it; still, I cannot refrain from suggesting to the lover of Chaucer that he run through a marked text, like that in Sweet's "Second ME. Primer," and change the ō of *two* to ǭ where it occurs in rime, for example, in the "Pardoner's Tale":

> *atwō : mǭ* 31,
> *twō : sǭ*   168,
> *alsǭ : twō* 241,
> *twō : alsǭ* 247.

If he is a true lover of the poet, he will, I am sure, join me in a feeling of satisfaction at having relieved his author of an undeserved reproach.

II.

A New Rime-Test.

The question now arises: To what extent was Chaucer's usage representative of ME. usage generally? As stated above (p. 14), Hoofe ("Engl. Stud.," 1885, VIII, 223) has shown that in the Suffolk dialect of 1443, as reproduced in Bokenam's Legends, *two*, *who*, *so*, and *also* rime with *dō* and *tō* and not with *gǭ*, *fǭ*, *frǭ*, etc.; and Pabst ("Die Sprache . . . des Robert von Gloucester," diss., Berlin, 1889, § 4) refers to a similar state of things in the West. These facts led me to suspect that the general Midland usage in this matter might be different from that of the South (including London). In order to determine this, I took those ME. texts whose geographical position is fairly well known, and,

selecting such as maintain well the distinction between $d\bar{o}$, $t\bar{o}$, etc., and $g\bar{\varrho}$, $f\bar{\varrho}$, etc., I examined them to see whether the -(w)o- words rimed with $d\bar{o}$, $t\bar{o}$, etc., or with $g\bar{\varrho}$, $f\bar{\varrho}$, etc. My anticipation was fully substantiated. Those texts that were known to be of Midland origin showed $\bar{o}$ in *two*, *who*, and *so*, while the Southern texts showed $\bar{\varrho}$. For example, in the South we have with $tw\bar{\varrho}$, $wh\bar{\varrho}$, and $s\bar{\varrho}$: Chaucer, Gower, Arthur and Merlin, Octavian (A), Launfal, Libeaus Desconus, The Owl and the Nightingale, and later, Skelton, Drayton, etc. In the Midland we have with $tw\bar{o}$, $wh\bar{o}$, $s\bar{o}$: (West) Robert of Gloucester, the Legends in Ms. Laud., 108, Bodl. (EETS., 1887), St. Quiriac (Vernon Ms.), Finding of the Cross (Ashm. Ms., 43, Bodl., etc.), (north-east) Havelok the Dane, (southern Lincolnshire) Robert Manning, (Norfolk) Capgrave's St. Katherine, (Suffolk) Bokenam's Legends, and later, Bale, (Cambridgeshire) Lydgate,[1] (southern East Midland) Genesis and Exodus, etc. Lack of time and of available texts prevents my determining this -$w\bar{o}$- belt with exactness. At present it appears that the territory agrees pretty closely with what is generally denominated the Midland, but its southern boundary is more nearly parallel with the southern coast of England and so includes Gloucestershire and excludes London and other territory usually counted as East Midland or as borderland of the Midland and the South. It should also be observed that a number of texts that are now called Midland texts also show $\bar{\varrho}$ in the words in question, but they are invariably such texts as are in the northern borderland and about which there is more or less strife as to whether to put them on one side of the border or on the other. This applies to Athelstan, A Dispute between the Body and the Sowle, Amis and Amiloun, Horn Child and Maiden Rimnild, The Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms, Sir Cleges, Octavian (B), etc. The far Northern texts show, of course, $\bar{a}$, and I do not know to what extent the southerly Northern texts with $\bar{\varrho}$ represent a real $\bar{\varrho}$ or only a Southern spelling for $\bar{a}$. In some cases, for example, " A Dispute between

---

[1] Lydgate is careless in his rimes, but a close study of them shows that he had $tw\bar{o}$, $wh\bar{o}$, $s\bar{o}$.

the Body and the Sowle," we may have a true Midland text that is younger than the Ormulum and so has $\bar{\varrho} < \bar{a}$, but is older than the change from -wǫ- to -wō-, which may have taken place half a century later in the East than in the West.

As is well known, most of the criteria of Midland dialect are of a negative character, that is, they consist in the lack of distinct Northern and Southern peculiarities. The -wǫ-wō-rime-test, on the contrary, now furnishes us with a positive criterion. When the extent of the -wō-territory has been more exactly determined, the chief use that will be made of the new rime-test will, of course, be the determination of the location of poems whose geographical position is still unsettled. But it will also aid in determining questions of authorship. No poem with numerous final-*o* rimes that was written by Chaucer, Occleve, or Lydgate, could now be ascribed to one of the other two. For Chaucer has *twǫ, whǫ, sǫ*, and Lydgate has *twō, whō, sō*, while, as I shall show in the next section of this paper, Occleve has *twō* but *whǫ* and *sǫ*. Tempting as these studies are, other engagements will prevent my prosecuting them, and I shall hail with pleasure whatever use my fellow-workers in English may make of the new rime-test.

I shall myself mention but one such case, which happened to come under my eye. The Legends edited by Horstmann for the EETS., 1887, are written almost entirely in a Western -wō-dialect, some of the legends being by a writer (or writers) very fond of final-*o* rimes, and some by a writer (or writers) quite sparing in their use. That these writers have incorporated certain writings of others is not unknown, so especially the Magdalene legend (* 66). The final-*o* rimes in this are remarkable for their impurity, and stand in striking contrast to those of the neighboring legends. I do not, however, know that it has been observed that of the Legend of St. Beket the first 202 lines, treating of the parentage of Beket, are by a different hand from the rest of the legend. The writer rimes -wo with $\bar{\varrho}$, and is not very careful with his rimes.

III.

The History of the Influence of *w* on a following *ǭ*.

It remains for me to trace the history of the influence of
w on a following *ǭ*. It is evident that the *w*-modification
began very early in the Midland and that it took place only
when the *w* was crowded by an initial consonant, hence in
twō, hwo, swo, and doubtless *swopen*; for example, in Boke-
nam's Legends —

<div style="text-align:center">

twō : *thertō*,   p. 4, 125,

dō : *tō* : *whō*, p. 64, 399,

tō : *whō*,   p. 64, 403,

alsō : *ontō*,   p. 151, 1004,

sō : *dō*,   p. 113, 444.

</div>

But in the earliest texts that I have observed, the *w* had
already become silent in *swō* because the word usually
occurred in weak positions (cf. MnE. *answer*, etc.).   Hence
we have early in the thirteenth century (for example, in
" Genesis " and " Exodus ") for Midland forms *twō, whō, sō*.
These thus joined *dō* and *tō* and, under like conditions,
developed as they did.   In stressed positions we should
expect in early Modern English : *t(w)ū, (w)hū, sū, dū,* and *tū.*
The earliest record we possess of MnE. pronunciation happens
to be that furnished by the Welsh orthography of a Hymn
to the Virgin (Phil. Soc. Trans., 1880–81, *35), of about 1500,
followed half a century later by the dictionary and pamphlet
of the Welshman, Salisbury.   These give us *tū, hū, sō, dū, tŭ.*
The forms *sō* and *tŭ* (= ' to ') are due to the frequent occur-
rence of the words in the weak position.   When the normal
stressed form had *ō*, the weak form had *ŏ*; it is evident that
at this stage of the development of Midland English the
weak form of 'so' prevailed, and thus the strong form *sū
does not appear, but in its place the lengthened weak form,
hence *sō*.[1]   In the case of 'to' the stressed form *tō* regularly

---

[1] In just the same way the old strong form of 'you,' riming with 'thou,' for
example, in Heywood's works (1562) and still allowed by Cooper (1685), began
to yield to the weak form *jŭ* early in the sixteenth century (Skelton, about 1500,

became *tū* (the form in the Hymn to the Virgin), whose
weak counterpart *tŭ* is the form given by Salisbury.[1]   In his
notes on the Hymn to the Virgin (Phil. Soc. Trans., 1880–81,
*35), Ellis calls attention to the fact that the English of these
Welshmen must have been that of the adjacent English
territory ; but this, as we have seen, was *-wō-*territory.   We
need, therefore, no longer be surprised to find *tū* for 'two'
and *hū* for 'who' only a hundred years after Chaucer said
twǫ and *whǫ* ; for these Western forms, *tū* and *hū*, are
descended, not from the London *twǫ* and *whǫ* of a little
before 1400, but from the West Midland *twō* and *whō* of 1250
or earlier.

Turning now to the English of London, we found that all
the words in question still had *ǭ* in Chaucer's speech.   That
is, in the South the *w* had not begun to affect the following
ǭ for some 200 years after it had done so in the Midland.
But the *w* in 'swo' had, so far as we can judge, fallen out
in the South about the same time that it had in the Midland,
and, thus, there was no *w* in this word at the time that *w*
in 'two' began to affect the following vowel in the South.
We, therefore, do not expect ME. *sǭ* to develop otherwise
than *gǭ*, etc., did, and we find it does not.   In the case of
twǫ we naturally expect a rising of the *ǭ* to *ō* before other *ǫ*'s
(that is, those that were not preceded by a consonant + *w*)
rose to *ō*.   And this we find in the speech of Chaucer's pupil
and immediate successor Occleve, who regularly rimes 'two'
with *dō* and *tō*, but continues to rime *sǭ* and *whǫ* with *gǭ*, *fǭ*,
frǭ, etc.   We may thus date the change of *twǫ* > *twō* in
standard English at about 1400.   From that time on, we
find it riming with 'do,' 'to,' 'sho(e),' etc.   In just the same

rimed 'you' with 'Jew' as well as with 'now'), and this weak *jŭ* when stressed
became *jū*, oddly enough the very sound the strong form had in Middle English
(Sweet, "New English Grammar," § 1080).

[1] We still have similar diversity in Modern English: generally the strong
form *tō* prevailed and became *tū*, and we now say *tū* in stressed positions and *tŭ*
or *tə* in weak positions; but in some parts of England (for example, Yorkshire,
Lincolnshire, Lancaster, etc.) and America (for example, Georgia, Florida, etc.),
one may still hear *tō* as the strong form and *tŏ* as the weak.   Indeed, Kluge
(P's. Gr., I, p. 885, 3) has called attention to the fact that the weak position is
responsible for OE. *tō* rather than *tū, cf. *cū* 'cow' < *kō*, etc.

way, OE. *swāpan,* ME. *swǭpen* > *swōpe(n)* > *swūp,* though the word happens to be rare in literature.[1]

But we have long to wait before we find 'who' riming with 'do,' 'to,' etc. In the so-called "Chaucer's Dream" it rimes with 'go,' 1307. Skelton, about 1500 (Dyce ed., 1843, p. 51), rimes it with *placebo,* but he always rimes final Latin *-o* with 'go,' 'fro,' etc., never with 'do,' 'to,' etc. In 1568 Smith gives 'whom' *o* not *u.* And in "Gammer Gurton's Needle," 1575, we find the rime *home : whom* twice (D. & H., III, 3, 219 and IV, 2, 232). In 1580 Bullokar gives 'who' as *whū,* and in 1594 Kid (Cornelia, D. & H., V, 235) rimes 'whom' with 'come,' that is, *ū* with *ŭ.* In 1613, Drayton in his Poly-Olbion rimes 'who' with *ō* twice ('show,' 22, p. 58; 'so,' 27, p. 135. Spenser Society's ed.) and with *ū* once ('doe' = 'do,' 22, p. 60). Gill in 1621 gives 'who' as *whū* and 'whose' as *whūz,* and recognizes both *ō* and *ū* for 'whom.' Cooper in 1685 and Jones in 1701 give *hūm.*

Parallel with the change of *whō* and *whōm* to *whū* and *whūm* was the change going on in 'womb.' In Middle English and early Modern English the word rimes with words having *ǭ,* which gradually changes to *ō* (Sweet, HES., 839–40).

wombe : lombe, about 1300, Robt. of Gl., p. 280 and 369. Reprint of Herne, 1810.

wombe : bronde, Arthur and Merlin (younger), p. 345, 1120.

wombe : honde, Signa ante Judicium, Anglia III, p. 534, 37.

wombe : home, 1509, Barclay's Ship of Fools, Edin. ed., 1874, p. 178.

The first indication of *u* is in the rimes —

womb : thumb, 1537, Thersites, D. & H., I, 416.

wombe : tomb, 1557, Collier's Tottle's Misc., p. 221 and 230.

Smith in 1568 still gives *o,* but we continue to find *u*-rimes:

womb : doom, 1575, Appius and Claudius, D. & H., IV, 115.

wombe : dombe, come, become, about 1594, Constable, London ed., 1859, p. 54.

wombe : tomb, 1595, Barnfield, Arber ed., 1882, p. 79.

---

[1] Sweet derives 'sweep' from ME. *swǭpen* (HES., p. 341) instead of *swĕpen;* Skeat has it correctly.

And in 1663 Butler gives the word as *wūm*, as does Cooper in 1685, Buchanan in 1766, etc., down. A late straggler is Dyche who in 1710 still gives the word as *wōm*.

When we consider that 'two' parted company with the ǭ-words by 1400, while 'who' did not do so until 200 years later, it is absurd to consider the cases as parallel, that is, to suppose that the change was in both words due to *w* preceded by another consonant (as, on the other hand, it certainly was when Midland *twǭ*, *hwǭ*, *swǭ* > *twō*, *hwō*, *s(w)ō*). In fact, we know that the *hw* or *wh* had long ceased to be *h + w* and had become voiceless *w* (Sweet, HES., § 725, 973). We should, therefore, under like conditions, no more expect the vowel in 'who' to be affected by the initial voiceless *w* than that the vowel in 'wo' should be similarly affected, which it surely was not. When we observe, however, that the change of *ō* to *ū* takes place in 'who,' 'whom' about the same time that it does in 'womb,' we naturally look for a similar cause. This I find in the *m* of 'womb'[1] and 'whom.' The initial *w* and *wh* require, of course, both the lip and the tongue position of *u* while the following *m* makes it necessary to completely close the lips immediately after sounding the *o*. Under these circumstances it would be almost impossible to maintain the *o*-position of the lips between these two more rounded positions. There was thus developed an *ō* with the rounding of *ū*, which was, naturally, heard as *ū* and so reproduced and handed down. How great an influence the following *m* must have had upon *ō* may be seen from the fact that, aided by the *u*-like tongue position of *c*, it succeeded to some extent in raising the *ō* of 'comb' to *ū*; thus, in 1701 Jones gives 'comb' as *kūm*, as does also "The Expert Orthoepist" in 1704 (cf. Sweet's HES., p. 291), and in his "Grammatica Anglicana," 2d ed. 1736, Arnold gives both *kōm* and *kūm* (Löwisch, "Zur Englischen Aussprache," 1889, p. 64).

That 'who' and 'whose' may have been, to some extent, affected by 'whom' is not impossible; still, there are some

---

[1] This explanation was suggested to me as to 'womb' by Prof. O. F. Emerson, and accords with Sweet's explanation of the retention of *ū* in 'room,' 'stoop,' 'droop,' HES., § 829.

reasons for doubting it.   Of the three forms, 'whom' is the
rarest, at Shakespear's time not over 18 %.[1]   Moreover, as
may be seen from the citations above, the change appears to
have taken place in 'who' and 'whose' earlier than in 'whom,'
at least to have become established in them sooner.   This
suggests a difference in the use of 'who' and 'whose' on
the one hand and of 'whom' on the other.   An examination
of Shakespear's usage reveals the fact that, at the time in
question, 'whom' occurred in weak positions about 40 times
in a hundred and was stressed 60 times ; while 'who' as an
interrogative is weak 60 %, and as a relative 80 %, and
'whose,' both as relative and as interrogative, is weak 90 %.
Moreover, 'who' and especially 'whose' usually occur in the
very weakest position, that is, just before a heavily stressed
word.   ·Under such conditions it is not easy, in a language
having strong stress-accent, to modify the tongue- and lip-
positions (assumed for the initial sounds of the weak word)
in such a way as to correctly articulate the final sounds : they
are, therefore, apt to shorten, to assimilate partially to the
preceding sounds, or to entirely disappear.   The vowel in
the weak forms in question regularly became short, that is,
short high o (cf. the similar o in German 'so schön,' 'sogleich,'
etc.).   Being short, the vowel was still more exposed to the
influence of the high-back wh and was thus raised to the
u-position.   When the word was stressed, the vowel of
the weak form was lengthened : $(w)h\bar{u}$, — just as weak 'you'
$j\breve{u}$ became strong $j\bar{u}$ (cf. footnote, p. 24, above) ; but the weak
$h\breve{u}$ is still the more common form.

In these varied ways it came about that by 1600 Southern
'two,' 'who,' 'so,' and 'swoop,' had caught up with their Mid-
land cousins ; and, thus, the diversity of usage that it was
one of the objects of this paper to present had come to an end.

The other words involved in this question, namely, 'woe,'
'woad,' and 'wot,' have passed on regularly to $\bar{o}$.   In 'wot,'
however, as in 'hot,' the o became short before the t because

---

[1] These and the following statistics as to the use of *who, whose,* and *whom,* I
owe to the members of my class in the History of the English Language, who
have collected them from thirty of his plays.

it always stood in a closed syllable, as I have shown else-
where.[1] The word regularly rimes with ǭ in Middle English,
for example,

wǭst : gǭst, Owl and Nightingale, XI, 48, Percy Society.
wǭst : gǭst : mǭst : bǭst, St. Bernard's Lamentation on Christ's Passion,
    37, p. 299.
wǭte : smǭte, Gower's C. A., II, 189.
wǭte : hǭte, id., II, 225.
wǭt : hǭt, id., III, 297.

and as stated above, 13 times in the *Canterbury Tales*. The
shortening in 'wot' and 'hot' seems to have begun about
1550, for from this time on we find them riming with 'not,'
'got,' etc.

God wot : not, 1557, Jacob and Esau, D. & H., II, p. 204, 260.
wot : pot, id., p. 223.
hot : pot, id., p. 218.
hote : not, Tottle's Misc., Collier's ed., p. 190.
God wot : not, Wyatt, id., p. 103.
God wot : got, Grimald, id., p. 142.
God wot : got : lot, Churchyarde's Chippes, Collier's ed., p. 24, 59.

To sum up, *w* affected a following ME. ǭ, MnE. ō :

I. In the Midland at a very early period, but only when
crowded onto the vowel by an initial consonant : *twǭ, hwǭ,
swǭ*, and *swǭpen* ; in these the ǭ was thereby changed to ō,
and thenceforward shared the lot of other ō's ;

II. In the South —

1) About 1400, under the same conditions as in the Mid-
land ; but by this time only *twǭ* and *swǭpen* belonged to the
category and suffered change of ǭ to ō ;

2) When all ǭ's had become ō by free change, *-wō- > -wū-*
between 1550 and 1600 :

(*a*) Before the labial *m* : 'womb,' 'whom' ;

(*b*) In words that usually occur in the weak position
(through ŏ > ŭ) : 'who,' 'whose.'

In 'who,' 'whose,' 'whom' and in 'two,' the consonant *w*
disappeared in the vowel *u*, as it did in other words. In

---

[1] Michigan University Record, April, 1891.

'who,' etc., and in 'whoop' and its derivatives, the difference between the voiceless *wh* and the *ū* was more noticeable than the similarity was, and this led to the neglect of the lip-rounding of the *wh*, which thus became an *h* with more or less of the tongue position of the following vowel, as usual with initial *h*. In '(w)ooze' the case is different: words of this type (cf. 'woo,' 'womb,' 'wound') require the *w* after a vowel but not after a consonant (cf. Brugmann I, § 117, 153). Most of them frequently occur after a vowel: the nouns after 'the,' 'a,' 'any,' 'every,' etc.; the verbs after 'he,' 'she,' 'we,' 'you,' 'they,' etc., and the *w* is thus maintained. But the verb '(w)ooze,' because of its peculiar meaning, rarely occurs except after 'it,' 'is,' 'was,' 'has,' 'will,' etc., or nouns like 'blood,' 'juice,' etc., for example, 'it's oozing out,' 'it oozed out,' etc. In this way the *w* disappeared; and in just the same way it disappeared in 'two,' *t(w)ū*, cf. the same loss in primitive Germanic, Brugmann I, p. 160, and in Latin *equos > ecuus > ecus*, etc., Brugmann I. § 172, 2; see also § 157. On the other hand, the only word I know of that in early Modern English began with *ū*, namely 'oof,' occurred so frequently after another vowel — 'the oof' — that an hiatus *w* was developed, and the word became 'woof.' The associated words 'warp' and 'weave' may have aided this, but it is significant that they were powerless until the ME. *ō* had become MnE. *ū*.

<div align="right">GEORGE HEMPL.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
    ANN ARBOR.

I see that Sievers has just (PB. XXII, 255) discovered a *w*-test for Old English, namely Midland (and Kentish) *weoruld*: Saxon and Northern *woruld*. Though his position needs no strengthening, it may not be amiss to add to his citations for late West Saxon: *Blickling Homilies* with 66 *worold*: 2 *weorold* (*weoroldlice* 199, 36 is manifestly a slip for *weorðlice*); and *Byrhtferð's Handbok* with 11 *worold*: no *weorold*. That Sievers is right in assigning the four *eo*-forms in H. Ms. *Cur. Past.* to the copyist is made the more likely by the fact that the H. Ms.'s *nan oðer god ðisse weorolde* evidently contains an addition as over against the C. Ms.'s, *nan oðer god*; and that two of the remaining *eo*-forms adjoin other *eo*-words and so are, in all probability, mere slips: *ðonne ðeos weorold* 31 / 22, *ðisse weorlde freond* 421 / 34. Similarly, of the two exceptions in the *Blickling Homilies*, one is *ondweardan* **weorld** 35 / 31. I suppose Sievers' "Die Chronik aber hat nur *wo*" is a slip for "Orosius," etc.; Plummer cites only one case in the Parker Ms.: *worulde*, p. 118. — G. H.

SHAKSPERE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

IN estimating the seventeenth century's appreciation of Shakspere, we are accustomed to ascribe too much importance to the literary criticism of that time, while another witness, one whose voice is as weighty, and in fact decisive, as it is unmistakable, has not yet been accorded adequate attention. The subject of our present study, then, is the stage history of Shakspere's plays during the seventeenth century.

With regard to my sources and authorities, I have to say that, whenever possible, I have consulted the original documents, either in facsimile or reprints. My conclusions, therefore, are chiefly my own. As the original documents, however, are often inaccessible, I have found it convenient to refer to Fleay, whose works (*Life and Work of Shakspere ; History of the London Stage*, 1559–1642) are important and valuable. But I have referred to him only when I know from my own investigation that he is correct, for his volumes are a curious jumble of facts, misstatements, and conjectures treated as facts. (Cf. *Englische Studien*, XVIII, pp. 111–125, where Professor Boyle of St. Petersburg pays his respects to Mr. Fleay.)

Other authorities, easily accessible and thoroughly reliable, are :

Pepys' *Diary*, edited by Lord Braybrooke, with additions by Rev. Mynors Bright.

Genest's *History of the Drama and Stage in England from 1660 to* 1830, volumes 1 and 2.

Malone's *Variorum of* 1821, volumes 1 to 3.

Henslow's *Diary* is, so far as I know, edited only by J. P. Collier, and therefore is possibly unreliable.

By the term seventeenth century, I mean, of course, the time from Shakspere's first appearance in London to 1699 ; and

it is convenient to divide this into two periods, one ending
with the closing of the theatres in 1642, and the other begin-
ning in 1660 and ending in 1699.

For the period before 1642, a very few general statements
will suffice. Although we know the names of at least a dozen
London theatres, and of as many companies, the task of tracing
Shakspere's plays is much simplified by the fact that there
were never more than five companies playing in London at
the same time, and farther, that, so far as we know, only one
company ever produced a Shaksperian play. This company
was known until 1588 as Leicester's; from 1588 to 1594 as
Lord Strange's; from 1594 to 1603 as the Lord Chamber-
lain's; and from 1603 to 1642 as the King's. But as Shaks-
pere wrote only for this company, and acted only in it, we
may call it Shakspere's.

Obviously, if we could know of all the performances of
Shakspere's company, we should know precisely how often
Shakspere's plays were given by that company, though we
should still need to know the relative popularity of Shaks-
pere's company. We know that performances ceased when-
ever the plague deaths in the city rose to twenty per week, so
that the bills of mortality furnish a tolerably accurate record
of when the theatres were closed. We know further, that
after 1603, public performances were prohibited on Sunday
(Malone, 3, 146), and, without special permission, on Wednes-
days and Fridays in Lent (*ib.*, 3, 153).

So far, the facts seem to make the task of tracing Shaks-
pere's plays very easy, but we shall see that our positive
information is too scanty to justify me in drawing many final
conclusions as to Shakspere's position.

The most important documents for this period are Hens-
low's *Diary* and the *Accounts of the Master of the Revels.* In
these latter are the records of Court performances (of much
importance in determining Shakspere's standing with the
Court); but as public performances were given in the after-
noon (Malone, 3, 144), and Court performances usually at
night (*ib.*, 3, 168), the *Revels Accounts* do not help us much
in accounting for the public performances of Shakspere's

company. Henslow's *Diary*, however, furnishes some very important information. From this *Diary* we learn that for some five months, in 1592, Shakspere's company acted at Henslow's theatre, the Rose. According to Henslow's entries of his share of the receipts, no play, however popular, was given on two consecutive days. The *Diary* also contains entries of receipts from performances by other companies that played at the Rose. These entries, extending over some three and a half years, furnish only two cases where one play was given on two consecutive days, and these were at the very last, in 1597, and the plays were new. There are, however, some twenty cases where the first part of a play was followed by the second part on the next day.

We may not infer from a five months' record that Shakspere's company never gave a play a run, in the modern sense of the word, but we may conclude that during the six years from 1592 to 1597 inclusive, such was not the custom with any company. My inference is supported by the title-page of a quarto edition of the *Rebellion*, dated 1640, where we read that the play was " acted nine dayes together, and divers times since," — the only statement of the kind I know of. The very fact that the statement was made goes to show that, even as late as 1640, a run was unusual. The most important inference, however, is that the records that we have are significant chiefly in a negative way. For example, if one witness should record a performance of the first part of *Henry Sixth* on February 3, 1592, and another witness should record another performance February 7th, we could infer, not that it was performed during the whole of that week, but that it was probably given on those two dates only.

As just said, Shakspere's company played at the Rose for five months. During that time, the first part of *Henry Sixth* and *Jeronymo* were given sixteen times each, *Mulomorco* fourteen times, *Jew of Malta* thirteen times, and *Titus and Vespasia* ten times. No other of the twenty-five plays acted was given more than seven times. Seven of the plays were new ones, six of them in the last two months. The Admiral's men also played at the Rose from

June 15, 1594, until July 28, 1597, for a trifle over three years, playing all but six months of this time. During this period, the *Wise Man of West Chester* (not extant) was given thirty-one times, *Belin Dun* (not extant) twenty-four times, *Dr. Faustus* twenty-three times, *Seven Days* (not extant) twenty-two times, *Knack to Know an Honest Man* and the *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* twenty-one times each. (I give names in order to show of what sort the popular plays were.) *Tamburlaine* was given only fifteen times. In all there were seventy-two plays given, fifty of them new ones.

From the data just given, I infer : First, that Shakspere's company certainly had the smaller repertory, and so kept fewer plays before the public at one time. Second, that Shakspere's company played one play oftener in a given time than the Admiral's men did. Third, that the plays of Shakspere's company were, as a rule, more carefully written and better acted than those of the Admiral's men. (For the sake of accuracy, I limit my comparison to the Admiral's men, though I feel tolerably certain that what I have said of it holds equally true of the other companies.) Fourth, that Shakspere's plays were probably given oftener than those of his rivals who wrote for other companies.

For this period Mr. Fleay gives a list of some 250 actors. Of these the most prominent were Pope, Kempe, Edward Alleyn, Hemings, Condell, Shakspere, and Burbadge. All these men were in Shakspere's company at some time, and only Kempe and Alleyn ever acted with any other company. Hemings and Condell are familiar as the editors of the first folio ; while Burbadge is the only one well known to us as an actor.

We know of just 140 authors during this period who wrote plays acted by London companies. Of the twenty most important of these playwrights, Shakspere and Nash are the only ones who wrote for but one company ; and of these twenty, Chapman, Kyd, Marston, and Nash are the only ones who never wrote for Shakspere's company. So Shakspere had to compete in his own company with most of the best of his contemporaries.

On December 27, 1591, Shakspere's company played before
the Queen, and immediately became the most popular with
the Court.   During the fifty years before the closing of the
theatres, out of 488 recorded performances before the Court,
this company gave 341, almost seven-tenths of the whole
number.   Patronage, no doubt, had something to do with
this popularity, but I think that the character and policy of
the company had even more weight.   For some years the
chief rival of Shakspere's company was Henslow's.   Hens-
low had usually in his employ twelve poets, and produced on
an average a new play every two weeks.   There is no evi-
dence that Shakspere's company ever employed more than
three poets at one time, and it produced a new play only
about once in two months.   Henslow's plays were continu-
ally rewritten, renamed, and resold.   Shakspere's company
rarely let a play pass out of its possession (*Hist. Stage*,
pp. 117, 118).

As just said, the records of the Court performances show
that Shakspere's company was the most popular company at
Court.   A possible index of Shakspere's own popularity is
the number of his plays presented at Court.   From 1594
to 1603, Shakspere's company gave before Queen Elizabeth
twenty-eight plays.   During this time, the company produced
twenty plays by Shakspere, and eight by others.   This agree-
ment may be accidental, but it seems to show that Shakspere
was by far the most popular (*Life of S.*, 47).   From 1603 to
1611, when Shakspere left the company, it produced at Court
twenty-one plays by Shakspere, and twenty-seven by others.
In 1612–13, out of twenty plays given, Shakspere furnished
nine.   From 1618 to 1625, of twenty-three given, only five
were Shakspere's.   After that, out of 147 given, we have
actual record of only three that were Shakspere's.

In all these years, we know positively of only 126 public
performances of Shakspere's plays.   Of course we know that
there must have been more than that, but of this fact the
evidence is very unsatisfactory.   Of the sixteen of Shaks-
pere's plays issued in quarto before the first folio, all but the
first part of *Henry Fourth* have on the title-page some such

statement as "divers times acted," or "publicly acted." One, *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), has "as it hath been often (with great applause) played publicly." Such testimony, taken with the slow rate of production of Shakspere's company, points to fairly numerous performances. The large number of editions of some plays seems to indicate their more or less frequent revival. For example, *Richard Third* and the first part of *Henry Fourth* are extant in eight quarto editions, *Richard Second* in four, and *Henry Fifth* in three.

No records have been found of the performance during this period of the second and third parts of *Henry Sixth*, *King John*, the second part of *Henry Fourth*, *As You Like It*, *All's Well*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon of Athens*, or *Coriolanus*, although they must have been produced soon after they were written. The second part of *Henry Fourth* is the only one of these plays extant in quarto.

There are records of two remarkable runs. In 1592, soon after the company had begun to play at the Rose, on the Bankside, the first part of *Henry Sixth* was played sixteen times, between March 3d and June 19th, to crowded houses (cf. p. 33 ; also *Hist. St.*, 74; *Life of S.*, 109). In the summer of 1601, *Richard Second* was played forty times (*Hist. St.*, 136; *Life of S.*, 143). This performance was largely due to politics, as Essex had been executed recently (February 25th), and the play was supposed to favor his party. At any rate, Essex's rivals were offended, and made trouble.

Next to *Richard Second* and the first part of *Henry Sixth* comes the *Winter's Tale* with seven recorded performances, followed by *Hamlet* and *Othello* with six each, and *Merry Wives* with five. *Julius Cæsar* has only four performances recorded, but Fleay says that in the four years following its first production, revenge plays were all the rage (*Life of S.*, 215).

It is evident that during his connection with the stage, Shakspere was most popular. His falling off from 1603 to 1611 may be partly explained by the fact that six of those years were plague years, and in that time the theatres were closed nearly thirty-six months. Moreover, from 1604 to 1608 inclusive, Shakspere produced but one play a year.

When we consider the facts that I have given, — namely, that Shakspere's company was, after 1591, by far the most popular at Court, that it had always the best players, the fewest writers, and the smallest repertory, — and add the fact that the managers of the company were both stock-holders and players, it is very clear that Shakspere could not well have been better situated. He easily kept his supremacy until a little before his death. Fletcher, who began to write in 1608, soon came to the front, and after 1616, with Massinger, by mere dint of being prolific, almost shut Shakspere from the stage.

(In August, 1642, the theatres were closed, and several of the players went into the army. In 1648, after the close of hostilities, some of the old players got together and played for three or four days at the Cockpit, but were arrested. Private performances were rather numerous, however, especially after 1656. In 1659 a scrub company played *Pericles.*)

After the Restoration, plays were no longer given on the old system of one-night performances and a large repertory, but were played as long as they would draw. The old plays, after a first revival, were commonly given only as stop-gaps. For a new play less than three nights was considered a failure, and more than six was commented on as unusual. Downes mentions perhaps a dozen plays that ran from twelve to fifteen nights together.

Two novelties were introduced. Scenes were used from the first, and after a time the Duke's company, in order to keep pace with the more popular and abler King's company, introduced operas and developed the spectacular play, in imitation of the elaborate masks of the reign of James. Because of the scandal that had been made by men acting women's parts, the patents of the companies contained clauses especially permitting women to act. The women, however, almost immediately began to act "breeches parts," so that plays were still chosen for the hero, and not for the heroine, as later.

From 1660 to 1700 there were never in London more than two companies of actors, and a part of the time there was only one company. In August, 1660, Thomas Killigrew and Sir William Davenant each obtained from the King a patent permitting them to build theatres and raise companies. New patents were granted them in 1662. Killigrew's company was known as the King's, and played at the Theatre Royal. Davenant's company was known as the Duke of York's, and played at Lincoln's Inn Fields until 1671, and then at Dorset Garden. In November, 1682, both companies were united and played at the Theatre Royal, but still used Dorset Garden for the more spectacular plays. In 1695 some of the disaffected members, headed by Betterton, managed to break away from the old company, and started a new theatre known as the "theater in little Lincoln's Inn Fields."

For some time both companies were kept busy reviving old plays, and a rule was made that an old play should become the property of the company first reviving it. It was not very long, however, before a new set of playwrights sprang up and demanded recognition.

The authorities for this period are the *Diaries* of Pepys and of Evelyn, Downes' *Roscius Anglicanus*, and memoranda by Sir Henry Herbert (in the *Variorum* of 1821, Vol. 3, pp. 273–6). Evelyn records some twenty times that he saw plays, but does not often tell where, or even what he saw. Downes, for years prompter for the Duke's men, published in 1708 *Roscius Anglicanus*, a little book which purported to be an account of the English stage from the Restoration. (The only known copy of this book is in the Bodleian Library, but a few years ago some one printed in facsimile thirty-six copies, one of which is in the Harvard Library.) Downes tells us that such and such plays were given by one or another of the companies, but rarely gives an accurate date. Sir Henry Herbert's list furnishes fifty-seven dates, most of which are correct. Pepys' testimony, however, is the most important. He was nearly always careful to tell where he went and what he saw. We have altogether actual records of 323 performances of 141 plays, and of these Pepys

saw 236 performances of 106 plays. When we remember that between October, 1660, and December, 1699, there must have been close upon 12,000 performances, it is evident that our information is scanty. (Three hundred performances a year by one company only would in forty years amount to 12,000; and for twenty-seven years there were two companies.) It is utterly impossible, therefore, with our present information to tell even approximately how many performances of Shakspere were given. I am inclined to think (though it is only an opinion) that Pepys saw nearly all given between 1661 and 1669, mainly because he so often records that a play was given for the first time, and a few nights later for the second or third time. A good example of this was in August, 1667. Pepys records on the 15th that *Sir Martin Mar-All* was given by the Duke's men for the first time. He saw it again on the 16th and 19th. On the 20th he saw it once more, and says that it was the fourth time it was given. If he had not been so explicit, we might have supposed that it was given on the 17th and 18th also. Again, the records show that old plays were often, if not always, given on one night only, sometimes between two performances of another play. For example, in September, 1668, the King's men gave *Rollo* on the 17th, the first part of *Henry Fourth* on the 18th, and *Epicœne* on the 19th; and in April, 1667, the Duke's men gave *Macbeth* on the 19th, and the *Wits* on the 18th and 20th.

In this period only eleven plays of Shakspere's were revived unaltered, and of them there is actual record of just fifty performances (thirty-one recorded by Pepys), and forty-seven altogether before 1670. If the proportion would hold good for the next thirty years, we should have 188 performances, as compared with the 126 of the period before 1642. While there are only fifty distinctly recorded performances, there are several such statements as that of Downes, that "no succeeding Tragedy for several years got more reputation or money to the company than " *Hamlet* (*Rosc. Ang.*, 21).

In 1662, after *Romeo and Juliet* had been played several times, James Howard changed it so as to end happily, and

this version was acted alternately with the original for some time (*Rosc. Ang.*, 22). In December, 1662, the Duke's men played Davenant's *Law against Lovers*, a combination of *Much Ado* and *Measure for Measure*.

In 1667 appeared two alterations ; the first a version of the *Taming of the Shrew*, called *Sawny the Scot*, by one Lacy, which was given by the King's men in April and again in November. On November 7th the Duke's men brought out Dryden and Davenant's *Tempest*, which Pepys heard seven times in the next two years. The real *Macbeth*, first produced in 1664, and which was very popular (Pepys heard it eight times), was replaced in 1672 by Davenant's version, which was equally popular. In 1673 Shadwell made the *Tempest* into an opera which was given by the Duke's men. Downes records that "no succeeding opera brought more money" (*Rosc. Ang.*, 34).

In 1678 Shadwell again tried his hand at mutilating Shakspere, this time with *Timon of Athens*, also played by the Duke's men. In this same year, 1678, the King's men produced Ravenscroft's brutalization of *Titus Andronicus*, and Dryden's *All for Love*, a professed imitation of *Antony and Cleopatra*. This last play was very popular, and kept the original off the stage for considerably over a hundred years. In 1679 the Duke's men played Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, and in 1680 *Caius Marius*, Otway's version of *Romeo and Juliet*, which was frequently acted until 1744. In 1681 the same company gave an alteration of *Lear*, by Nahum Tate, who later in the year wrote for the King's men the *Sicilian Usurper*, an alteration of *Richard Second*. In this year the Duke's men also produced a condensation of the first and second parts of *Henry Sixth*, by Crowne.

In 1682, before the union of the companies, the King's men played the *Injured Princess, or the Fatal Wager*, Durfey's alteration of *Cymbeline*, and the *Ingratitude of a Commonwealth*, Tate's version of *Coriolanus*. In 1692 the companies gave the *Fairy Queen*, an alteration of *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, by Robert Cox. In 1698 *Sawny the Scot* was revived.

In the Restoration Period, then (if we include a perform-
ance of *Pericles* in 1659), twelve of Shakspere's plays were
given unaltered, of which *Midsummer-Night's Dream, Mac-
beth*, and *Lear* were altered later, and *Romeo and Juliet*
and the *Tempest* were altered twice. In addition, thirteen
plays were given altered; so that, in some form or other,
twenty-five plays were put on the stage between 1659 and
1699.

In the period before 1642, we have actual record of the
performance of twenty-seven of Shakspere's plays; of the
others, all were first printed in the first folio, except the sec-
ond part of *Henry Fourth*, the title-page of which affirms that
it was "sundry times publicly" acted.

Of the plays of which we have no recorded performances
before 1642, four (*Antony and Cleopatra, Coriolanus*, the sec-
ond part of *Henry Sixth*, and *Timon of Athens*) were put on
the Restoration stage in altered form; one of these (Dry-
den's *All for Love*) was very popular. On the other hand,
seven plays of the period before 1642 were not given in the
Restoration Period: the *Comedy of Errors, Henry Fifth,
Love's Labor's Lost, Merchant of Venice, Pericles, Richard
Third*, and the *Winter's Tale*. Of these, *Richard Third* and
Henry Fifth were probably kept from the stage by Carrol's
Richard the Third, or the English Princess, and by the Earl
of Orrery's *Henry Fifth*, both given by the Duke's men, one
in 1664, the other in 1667.

We have already seen (p. 35) that in Shakspere's lifetime,
his plays were decidedly popular, at least with the Court.
Surely the figures just given for the two periods do not show
so very great a falling off in popularity.

In Boston, in the last forty years (exactly the length of the
Restoration Period) only twenty-eight of Shakspere's plays
have been given, as against twenty-five in the Restoration.
(For this statement, I am indebted to Mr. Edwin Francis
Edgett, dramatic editor of the Boston Evening *Transcript*.
He adds: "This gives all except *All's Well*, the second part
of *Henry Fourth*, the three parts of *Henry Sixth, Pericles,
Timon of Athens, Titus Andronicus*, and *Troilus and Cressida*.

I cannot assert positively that these have not been given, but I don't think they have" (Letter, March 17, 1896).

If we take now the totals, — twenty-seven before 1642, twenty-five between 1659 and 1699, and twenty-eight in Boston in forty years, — we must conclude (even if we grant that all of the thirty-seven plays commonly called Shakspere's were acted before 1642), that Shakspere was much more popular with the Restoration public than has been generally supposed. This opinion is strengthened when we consider that only about twenty of Beaumont and Fletcher's fifty plays were given, and only six or eight of Jonson's (though nearly all he wrote). Moreover, Shakspere was farther away in time, and according to Jonson (whose literary dictatorship was then unquestioned) "wanted art," so that he really held his own against odds.

We shall be confirmed in this opinion if we inquire into the reasons for the relative popularity of individual plays. The three parts of *Henry Sixth* are not acted because, by a practically unanimous verdict, they are (as compared with Shakspere's other plays) poor. The third part of *Henry Sixth* has, so far as we know, never been acted. *All's Well* is out of the question because of its hopelessly unpleasant plot, though why that did not recommend it to the Restoration is a puzzle. The second part of *Henry Fourth* has not, so far as we know, been acted since its first publication in quarto in 1600. The reason seems to be that it is a second part, for two-part plays are certainly not in favor. The fact that the Restoration enjoyed *Titus Andronicus* brutalized, while we enjoy the *Merchant of Venice* and the *Winter's Tale*, is significant.

Nine plays were given in Boston that were not given in the Restoration period. Of these, *Henry Fifth* and *Richard Third* have already been accounted for (p. 41). Others may be accounted for by the character of the companies. In the Restoration, the stars were men, if we except Nell Gwyn, whose talents seem to have been of the music-hall order. Nowadays, with companies headed by actresses, plays in which the heroine has the chief part are in demand. Rosa-

lind has more lines than any other of Shakspere's heroines, so *As You Like It* is distinctly popular with actresses. For a similar reason Beatrice makes *Much Ado* popular. The success of Sardou's *Cleopatra*, as acted by Mme. Bernhardt and Fanny Davenport, has, since 1890, at least, kept *Antony and Cleopatra* from being often acted. Mrs. Brown Potter is the only actress I know of who has staged it, and she apparently chose it (as she certainly did *Romeo and Juliet*) because it furnishes opportunities for vulgar realism.

The number of reputable companies is also to be considered. In the Restoration period, there were never more than two companies in London, and for several years only one company. Now, the increased number of companies means an increased demand for his plays. Indeed, with criticism unanimously and emphatically in Shakspere's favor, this age ought to go far ahead of the Restoration period, with its criticism almost dead against Shakspere. And yet, Shakspere fared almost as well on the Restoration stage as he does on the English stage to-day.

Surely I need not review in detail the seventeenth century's criticism of Shakspere. Its chief characteristic is an astounding inability to see that Shakspere was in any wise better than many of the men who are now considered among the poorest of their time. Jonson's criticisms were, from his point of view, discriminating and just. Unfortunately, Jonson's followers overlooked entirely his hearty praise, but caught up the dictum that Shakspere "wanted art." Dryden's criticisms, from 1664 to 1694 (?), contain some apparent contradictions, but, taken all together, show a growing sense of Shakspere's preëminence. For the rest, the general criticism of the century was amazingly incompetent. Ben Jonson hits off this criticism in a way that commends itself. In his *Discoveries* (*Censura de poetis*) he says, "Nothing in our age, I have observed, is more preposterous than the running judgments upon poetry and poets; when we shall hear those things commended and cried up for the best writings, which a man would scarce vouchsafe to wrap any wholesome drug in; he would never light his tobacco with them."

Plainly, the testimony of the critics does not agree with that of the stage history. So far as I have investigated, however, all the details go against the critics. The allusions in the literature of the time (excluding the title-pages of the quartos, and entries in the *Stationers' Register*, or in book catalogues) are almost uniformly favorable. More plays were wrongly ascribed to Shakspere than to any one else, and among these plays were the most popular of the anonymous plays given by Shakspere's company. Lastly, Shakspere's plays went through more editions than those of any other dramatists. So we must conclude, as I said at first, that it is not fair to judge of Shakspere's popularity in the seventeenth century by its criticism alone.

<div style="text-align:right">EDWARD PAYSON MORTON.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA.

THE VOICED SPIRANTS IN GOTHIC.

1. *b* after *r* and *l.*

THE accepted view as to the value of Gothic *b* is that it represents in the initial position and medially after consonants, *m*, *r*, and *l*, a voiced stop, medially after vowels a voiced spirant; cf. Paul, *PBB.* I. 158; Dietrich, *Üb. d. Ausspr. d. Got.*, p. 71; Braune, *Got. Gr.*[4], § 54; Streitberg, *Got. Elementarb.*, p. 26, etc.

This interpretation of *b* is no doubt correct as regards the initial position and the medial position after *m* and after vowels, and in these points Gothic agrees essentially with Westgerm. and Scandinavian.   But after *r* and *l* Pregerm. *ƀ* remains a spirant in the Northern and Western branches of the Germanic family (Oisl. *huerfa, suerfa, sialfr, halfa*; OE. *hweorfan, sweorfan, seol fa, healf*; OS. *hwerƀan, swerƀan, self, halƀa*), and therefore in case *b* in Gothic *ƕairban, swairban, silba,* and *halba* is a stop, it represents a more advanced stage of development than appears in Oisl., OE., and OS. of five hundred years later.

This apparent divergence from the comparative primitiveness of the Gothic consonant system leads us to examine again the criteria for determining the value of *b* after *r* and *l.*

1. The reproduction of Gothic names in Latin.   Braune, § 54, Anm. 2, following Dietrich, p. 71, cites the form *Albila.* This name, however, throws no light upon the point in question, as it is taken from the Greek historian Procopius (6th cent.) and appears in the original as Ἀλβίλας (Wrede, *Spr. d. Ostgoten*, p. 104; cf. also Ἀλβην, p. 103); β, although it had at that time the value of a spirant, was also the only letter in the Greek alphabet which could possibly represent the Gothic voiced labial spirant.

So far as I know, there is but one Gothic proper name with
voiced labial after *r* or *l* which has come down to us in Latin
garb ; viz., the late West Gothic *Silua* or *Selua.* Two dif-
ferent personages subscribed this name to the Acts of the
Church Councils at Toledo, *Selua* Narbonensis Metropol.
episc. to those of the fourth and sixth, A.D. 633 and 638, and
Selua Egitaniensis episc. to those of the eighth, A.D. 652.
Concerning the form of these signatures it is to be noted
that Dahn, *Könige des Germanen,* Abt. 6, from which the
alphabetical list of West Gothic names in Bezzenberger, *Üb.
d. A-reihe d. got. Spr.,* pp. 7–12, is taken, gives, p. 443, Anm.
8 (4th council), *Sclua* ; p. 445, Anm. 1 (6th council), *Sclua* (al.
Silva, Selva) ; and p. 461, Anm. 3 (8th council), *Sclua.* But
Aguirre, *Collectio maxima conciliorum Hispaniae, ed. altera
Romae,* 1753, cited by Dahn, Abt. 5, p. xiv, as source for
'Concilia,'[1] has Tom. II., p. 385 (conc. IV.), *Selva* and vari-
ant *Isclaa* ; p. 413 (conc. VI.), *Silva* and variants *Salva,
Selva* ; p. 448 (conc. VIII.), *Selva.* Now as Aguirre and
Mansi are the only sources cited by Dahn for the Spanish
councils, and so far as I can see he did not consult the manu-
scripts, we are justified in accepting the readings of Aguirre
as the original ones, as authoritative as they are clear and
consistent. But even if Dahn's readings go back to the
manuscripts or to another accurate source not mentioned,
Silva, Selva, cited as variants to *Sclua* (6th council), must
represent the original form of the name, from which the form
with *c* (for *e*) arose through a copyist's error and perhaps also
under the influence of forms like *gisclamundus, teudisclus,*
etc. ; Bezzenberger, *l.c.* The variants with *i* and *e* cannot be
explained from the point of view of an original *Sclua,* which
itself would be etymologically obscure. On the other hand,
the identity of *Selva* with Gothic (Wulfilanic) *silba* is evi-

---

[1] Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio ed. nova Florentiae,*
1774, to which Dahn also refers, is based, so far as the Spanish councils are con-
cerned, upon Aguirre (cf. Tom. II., coll. 641, 671, 1222). I have not been able
to consult the first edition of Aguirre's *Col. max.,* 1693–94, but find in his *Notitia
conciliorum Hispaniae,* etc., Salmanticae, 1686, p. 110, in a sketch of the council
of 633 the name *Selva* Narbonensis, p. 121, in connection with the council of 638
Silva (alias *Selva* and *Salva*) Narbonensis.

dent ;[1] cf. the parallel Ohg. *Selbo*, Förstemann, *Ahd. Namen-buch*, I. col. 1082, and Kluge's conjecture upon the original significance of the pronoun of identity, *Etym. Wb.*[5] s. *selb.* The constant spelling *u* in this word shows that the descendant of Pregerm. *ƀ* in West Gothic of the seventh century had spirantal value after *l*, that in other words the spirant maintained itself, and therefore goes very far to establish the spirantal value of West Gothic (Wulfilanic) *b* in this position in the fourth century.

2. As a further proof of the spirantal value of *b* after *l* the reproduction of Lat. *v* by *b* in *Silbanus*, II. Cor. 1, 19, Cod. B, II. Thes. 1, 1, Codd. A and B, might be adduced.[2] But although the name usually appears in the Greek manuscripts as Σιλουα-νός, yet in others, especially in the Codex Claromontanus (ed. Tischendorf, Lips. 1852), which according to Marold, *Germ.*, 26, 146 sq., stands nearest to the original text from which the Gothic translation of the Epistles was made, the form Σιλβανός is found ; and therefore it is most probable that the Gothic form is based upon the Greek.

3. The only argument against the spirantal value of *b* after *r* and *l*, that which has been convincing for all modern scholars, is that it does not become *f* in the final position and before *s*, as is the case with *b* after vowels, but remains, thus apparently ranging itself with *b* after *m* (*lamb, dumbs*) and *d* after all consonants (*land, waurd, gazds,* etc.), where the stop is assured. But the fact has been overlooked that, according to Uppström, there is one example of final *f* after *r* corresponding to medial *b*, viz. *þarf*, Philip. 2, 25, Cod. B. The Gabelentz-Loebe text has *þarb*, and this form appears in Leo Meyer, *Got. Spr.*, § 80, p. 78 ; but Uppström, *Codices gotici ambrosiani*, p. 76, reads *Aþþan þarf munda*, and remarks

---

[1] *e* for Wulf. *i*, cf. Wrede, *Spr. d. Ostg.*, p. 162. For other examples of *u* in the West Gothic names = Wulf. *b* (intervoc.), cf. Bezzenberger, *l.c.* It might be added that an exhaustive study of these names based upon an accurate collation of the Mss. is a desideratum.

[2] Paul, PBB., 1, 147, cites *Silbanus* along with *Naubaimbair* of the Calendar as proving the spirantal value of *b* medial, but tacitly passed over its evidence, when drawing his conclusion as to the value of *b* after *r* and *l*. In Braune, *Gr.*, § 54, Anm. 1, *Silbanus* is inaccurately cited as an example of intervocalic *b*.

in the *Adnotationes,* p. 109: *parf,* sic Cod., non *parb.* Lit-
terae *par* clarissimae sunt: ultima littera exesa quidem est,
ut perspici non possit: spatium vero non admittit B. That
the stem of this word is **parba-* is shown by *parbans,* Luke
9, 11, and therefore if the reading *parf,* which has been
adopted by the later editors Bernhardt and Heyne, is correct,
it is an indisputable proof that *b* after *r* and *l* is a spirant.

There are six other examples of *rb* final and before *s* in
the Gothic fragments; cf. Leo Meyer, *l.c.*: *biswarb,* Luke
7, 38. 44; John 11, 2; 12, 3; *hveilahvairb,* II. Cor. 4, 17,
Cod. B; and *gaþaurbs,* Titus 1, 8, Cod. B. It is to be noted
that the four examples of *biswarb* occur in Luke and John,
where postvocalic *b* and *d* occur so frequently final and before
s (Braune, § 56, Anm. 1, § 74, Anm. 1).[1] In II. Cor. along
with *hveilahvairb* the following forms with *d* for *þ* occur:
faheds, 2, 3, Cod. B (*faheþs,* Cod. A); *weitwod,* 1, 25, A and
B; *awiliud,* 2, 14, A, B; 4, 15, B; 8, 16, B (*awiliuþ,* A); 9,
15 B. In Titus we find beside *gaþaurbs,* *gastigods,* 1, 8, B,
and *ungafairinonds* (most probably scribal error for *-ods*),
1, 6 B. That is, the examples of *rb* final and before *s* are
all accompanied by forms in which the labial or dental voiced
spirants appear after a vowel instead of the regular voiceless
spirant, and therefore the spelling *b* in the former is by no
means a final proof that the sound represented is a stop;
rather, in the light of the other evidence, we are forced to
conclude that *b* after *r* and *l* represents a spirantal sound,
that the cases of *rb* final and before *s* are parallel to those
of post-vocalic *b* and *d* in the same position.[2]

[1] Such forms in the immediate neighborhood of *biswarb* are, in Luke: *hlaibs,*
4, 3; *hlaib,* 4, 4; 9, 3; *grob,* 6, 48; *twalib,* 6, 13; 8, 1; *gods,* 6, 35. 43; *bruþ-
fads,* 5, 34. 35; *hundafads,* 7, 6; *mitads,* 6, 38; *-ids,* 4, 15. 27; 6, 40; 7, 8; *god,*
6, 43; 9, 33; *faurbaud,* 5, 14; 8, 56; *anabaud,* 5, 14; 8, 29. 55; *stad,* 4, 17. 42;
bad, 5, 12; 8, 31. 41; *mid,* 7, 11; *haubid,* 7, 46; *liuhad,* 8, 16; *manased,* 9, 25;
-laud, 6, 34; 7, 14; *-id,* 4, 4. 8. 10. 17; 6, 48; 7, 27; and the verbal endings
-id, -aid, etc., chaps. 4–9 ca. 50 times; in John: *þiubs,* 10, 10; 12, 6; *hlaib,* 13,
18. 30; *gods,* 10, 11; *manaseds,* 12, 19; 15, 18. 19; *faheds,* 15, 11; *gasweraids,*
13, 31; *manased,* 12, 47. 47; *anabaud,* 14, 31; *stad,* 10, 40; 14, 2. 3; *hvad,* 13, 36;
swalaud, 14, 9; *liuhad,* 11, 10; 12, 46; and the verbal endings *-aid, -eid,* chaps.
10–14, 9 times.

[2] The forms *biswarb, hveilahvairb, gaþaurbs* may be compared to such forms
as *þiubs,* J. 10, 10; 12, 6; I. Thes. 5, 2. 4; *unleds,* L. 16, 20; *braid,* Mt. 7, 13;

2. *b* and *d* final and before *s* and *z* final.

Of the theories which have been proposed in explanation of *b*, *d*, and *z*, where a voiceless spirant *f*, *þ*, or *s* is to be expected, the sandhi-theory has seemed the most acceptable. Kögel suggested in the *Litbl. f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, Jhrg. 6, col. 276, that the forms with final *d* originally occurred before words with vocalic initial, and cited *bairiþ* and *bairid* as alternate forms (Satzdoubletten). Quite recently this theory in an extended form has been advanced in Streitberg's *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (Heidelberg, 1897), § 30, where it is attributed to Sievers and formulated as follows : "Vor stimmhaftem Anlaut bleiben die stimmhaften Spiranten des Auslauts erhalten." According to Streitberg, this rule is confirmed by an overwhelming (weitaus überwiegende) majority of the cases of *d* and *b*, and the fluctuation in the Mss. between *þ* and *d*, *f* and *b* is simply due to vacillation between wordwriting (Wortschrift) and sentence-writing (Satzschrift).

It is remarked at once that the Sievers-Streitberg law refers only to *b*, *d*, and *z* final, and that the cases of *b* and *d* before *s* are passed over in silence, although such forms are cited in the lists of examples. But any explanation of the former which utterly disregards the latter is, to say the least, incomplete.

Bs and *ds* occur only in nominatives of masc. *a*-stems and masc. and fem. *i*-stems, where through syncope of the stem vowel the voiced spirant comes into direct contact with the voiceless spirant *s*, which forms the ending, and would, through assimilation to this, naturally lose its voiced quality. As a matter of fact, *fs* and *þs* appear in three-fourths of all the cases, *bs* and *ds* in one-fourth.[1] Now it is quite clear that

etc. (cf. Braune, § 56, Anm. 1), in which no cases with final *f* or *þ* occur. Furthermore, it is unfortunate that the forms *hveilahvairb* and *gapaurbs* are preserved only in Ambros. B, for if the corresponding text in Ambros A were preserved, we might expect *f* as in the following cases, where *b* and *d* in B correspond to *f* and *þ* in A: *hlaib*, II. Thes. 3, 8; *awiliud*, I. Cor. 15, 57; II. Cor. 2, 14; 8, 16; *faheds*, II. Cor. 2, 3; Gal. 5, 22; *god*, I. Tim. 1, 8; *ungafairinonds* (for -*ods* B, -*oþs* A), I. Tim. 3, 2; but this is not certain, as A has many forms with *b* and *d* in agreement with B and elsewhere.

[1] My list, which is, I believe, fairly exhaustive, contains 170 nominatives in *fs* and *þs*, 53 in *bs* and *ds*. I may state here, that in this and subsequent lists a form

the latter are due to the influence of the other cases with intervocalic *b* and *d* (gen. dat. sg. and the entire plural), whether they are to be taken as merely the result of orthographic levelling, or as representing a real sound change (cf. Braune, *Gr.*, § 56, Anm. 7, where this view is advanced for *b*).

What is true of the nom. sg. may be suspected of the corresponding acc. and voc. sg., also of the nom. acc. sg. of neut. *a*-stems, so that in these cases *b* and *d* final may be due to levelling, and we really find the same proportion between voiceless forms and voiced in these cases of the noun with final spirant, that obtains in the nominative in -*s*, viz. *f, þ,* 184, *b, d,* 64–75 % and 25 % respectively. Likewise, in those forms of the strong verb in which the voiced spirant regularly becomes voiceless, viz., 1. 3. sg. pret. ind. and 2 sg. imp., *b* and *d* may be due to the preponderating influence of the other forms.

Only the verbal endings in -*id*, -*eid*, etc., are free from the suspicion of influence by medial *d*, and the usage of the Mss. with respect to these does not support the views either of Kögel or of Sievers and Streitberg. Such endings occur in the first seven chapters of Luke, 59 times (also *skamaid sik,*

occurring in two Mss., *e.g.*, in Ambros. A and B, is counted twice, also that Schulze, *Got. Glossar*, may be consulted for individual references, when, in order to save space, I give simply the total of cases. The forms in *fs* and *þs: hlaifs* 10, *baups* 1, *daups* 3, *frops* 2, *gops* 2, *manaseps-seips* 11, *juggalaups* 1, *staps* 1, *bruþfaþs* 4, *hundafaþs* 4, *þusundifaþs* 1, *arbaiþs* 4, *faheþs* 10, *naqaþs* 2, -*aips*, L. 8, 29; J. 12, 16; I. Cor. 7, 25; II. Cor. 7, 13, A and B; Philip. 1, 23; I. Tim. 1, 13. 16; -*ops*, I. Cor. 7, 18. 20. 21. 24; 9, 21; 15, 4; II. Cor. 7, 14, A, B; Philip. 1, 20; I. Tim. 2, 14, A, B; 3, 2, A; 6, 12, A, B; Tit. 1, 7, and -*iþs* 93. Those in *bs* and *ds: hlaibs* 1, *þiubs* 3; *gods*, L. 6, 35. 43; J. 10, 11; II. Tim. 2, 3; *gastigods*, I. Tim. 3, 2, A, B; Tit. 1, 8; *gariuds*, I. Tim. 3, 2, A, B; *manaseds*, J. 12, 19; 15, 18. 19; *missadeds*, R. 11, 12; *unleds*, L. 16, 20; *wods*, Mk. 5, 18; *stads*, L. 14, 22; *sads*, Philip. 4, 12; *bruþfads*, L. 5, 34. 35; *hundafads*, L. 7, 6; *gaguds*, Mk. 15, 43; *faheds*, L. 1, 14; 15, 7. 10; J. 15, 11; II. Cor. 2, 3, B.; Gal. 5, 23, B.; *galiugaweitwods*, Mk. 10, 19; L. 18, 20; I. Cor. 15, 15; *galapods*, I. Cor. 7, 18; *ungafairinonds* (by scribal error for -*ods*), Tit. 1, 6; I. Tim. 3, 2, B; *gasweraids*, J. 13, 31; *gaweihaids*, I. Cor. 7, 14; *gapiwaids*, I. Cor. 7, 15; *mitads*, L. 6, 38; *mikilids*, L. 4, 15; *gahrainids*, L. 4, 27; *gamanwids*, L. 6, 40; *gasatids*, L. 7, 8; *gawasids*, L. 16, 19; *namnids*, I. Cor. 5, 11; *ataugids*, I. Cor. 15, 5; *anthulids*, II. Thes. 2, 3; *ufarhauhids*, II. Tim. 3, 6; *ataugids*, I. Tim. 3, 16; *merids*, I. Tim. 3, 16. It is noteworthy that in unaccented syllables *þs* occurs after long vowel or diphthong 37 times, *ds* 15 times, *þs* after short vowel 95 times, *ds* 12 times.

9, 26, and *faginod in þammei*, 10, 20).   In the same seven
chapters verbal endings in -*þ* occur 52 times.   An analysis of
these forms shows that *d* occurs 9 times before a vowel, 50
times before a consonant and in pausa, while *þ* occurs 14 times
before a vowel, 38 times before a consonant and in pausa.
That is, 15 % of the forms with *d* occur before a vowel,
27 % of those with *þ*.   Moreover, if we add to these the cases
before voiced consonants, the figures are unfavorable to the
theory of consistent sandhi; *d* occurs 22 times, *i.e.* in 37 %
of the cases before sonant initial, *þ* 23 times, *i.e.* in 44 % of
the cases in the same position.   In chapters 11 to 19 of John,
d occurs 12 times, 3 times before a vowel, 3 times before a
voiced consonant, 4 times in pausa, twice before voiceless
consonant.   Finally, the form *ussiggwaid* occurs in pausa,
Col. 4, 16, in Ambros. B ; possibly also in the Turin fragment
of Ambros. A (cf. Massmann, *Germ.* XIII. 221 sq.).   It is evi-
dent that, so far as the verbal ending is concerned, final *d* is
not due to the influence of following voiced initial.

On the other hand, it seems equally clear that the occur-
rence of *d* depends, to a certain extent, upon the quantity of
the vowel of the ending.   In the first seven chapters of Luke,
-*iþ*, -*uþ* occur 34 times, -*id*, -*ud* 30 times, while -*eiþ*, -*oþ*, -*aiþ*
occur 18 times, -*eid*, -*od*, -*aid* 29 times.   The other examples
of *d* final in verbal endings in Luke, John, and Col. occur
without exception after a long vowel or diphthong (cf. also
Kock, *Zfda.*, 25, 229).

Returning to the nominal forms, an examination of the
individual cases does not support the theory of influence by
following initial.   A word-final appears in the Gothic text
more often before a sonant initial than before a surd initial
or in pausa, the proportion being about 6 to 4.[1]   Therefore

---

[1] This proportion appears in the figures below and is borne out by tests made
on the first 15 verses of Mark 3, John 4, II. Cor. 1.   It is not possible to
determine the forms in pausa with absolute exactness, but I believe that I have
not erred far in referring to this category forms which occur before a stop, such as
is indicated in Heyne's ed. by a comma or stronger mark of punctuation, generally
indicated in the Mss. by a period or colon.   Influence of a voiced initial upon a
preceding final in spite of an intervening stop is only conceivable as a peculiarity
of the scribe, not based upon the actual language and therefore not connected
with the sandhi-theory.

the fact that *b* and *d* occur more frequently before sonant initial than elsewhere is not surprising; the sandhi-theory requires that considerably more than 60 % of the cases occur in this position, also that there should be a difference in the relative frequency before voiced initial between *b, d* and *f, þ.* Now, in monosyllabic and compound nominal forms, *f, þ* occur 74 times, *b, d* 52 times; *f, þ* appear before sonant initial 44 times, *i.e.* in 59 % of the cases, *b, d,* 32 times, *i.e.* in 61 % of the cases.[1] Moreover, in Luke, where, as is well known, *b, d* final are most frequent, *f, þ* occur 4 times out of 5 before voiced initial, *b, d* 7 times out of 14. In John, *f, þ* occur 8 times out of 13, *b, d* three times out of 10 before voiced initial.

In unaccented nominal suffix *b* and *d* final are comparatively rare; excluding the perfect participles, the figures are *f, þ* 109, *b, d* 12. This divergence of the suffixes from the other nominal forms cannot be explained by the sandhi-theory, but an examination of the individual cases reveals a condition of affairs in harmony with the theory of levelling. Ten of the forms with *þ,* 5 of those with *d* are accusatives of masc. and fem. stems (viz. *mitaþ* 9, *fulleiþ* 1; *fahed,* J. 16, 22; 17, 13; Philip. 2, 2; *weitwod,* II. Cor. 1, 23, A, B), while 86 of those with *þ,* 5 of those with *d,* are nominatives and

---

[1] Viz., *f, þ* before sonant initial: *hlaif,* Mt. 6, 11; Mk. 3, 20; 6, 8; 8, 14; L. 7, 33; 14, 15; J. 6, 31. 32. 32. 58; 13, 26. 26; I. Cor. 11, 26. 27; II. Thes. 3, 8, A; *lauf,* Mk. 11, 13; *gadof,* Tit. 2, 1; *þarf,* Philip. 2, 25; *goþ,* Mk. 7, 27; 9, 5. 42; 14, 6; R. 7, 18; 12, 2; I. Cor. 1, 8. 26. 26; Gal. 4, 18; I. Tim. 1, 8, A; 4, 4, A, B; *sanþ,* Eph. 5, 2, A, B; Sk. 37; *manaseþ,* J. 16, 8; 17, 9; II. Cor. 5, 19, A, B; *awiliuþ,* I. Cor. 15, 57, A; II. Cor. 8, 16, A; *staþ,* L. 9, 10; Eph. 4, 27, A, B; *saþ,* L. 16, 21; before surd initial and in pausa: *hlaif,* Mk. 7, 5; J. 6, 23. 24; I. Cor. 11, 23; Neh. 5, 14. 18; *lauf,* Mk. 11, 13; *goþ,* Mk. 9, 43. 45. 47. 50; J. 15, 2; R. 7, 16. 19. 21; Eph. 4, 29, A, B; I. Thes. 5, 4; *manaseþ,* Mk. 14, 9; J. 6, 14; 17, 18; *juggalauþ,* Mk. 16, 5; *awiliuþ,* II. Cor. 2, 14, A; *staþ,* Mk. 1, 35; 15, 22; 16, 6; L. 14, 9; R. 12, 19, A, Car.; *hundafaþ,* Mk. 15, 44; *b, d* before voiced initial: *hlaib,* Mk. 7, 27; L. 4, 4; 9, 3; J. 13, 20; II. Thes. 3, 8, B; 3, 12, A, B; *gadob,* Eph. 5, 3; I. Tim. 2, 10, A, B; Sk. 38; 42; *heilahairb,* II. Cor. 4, 17; *god,* Mt. 7, 19; L. 3, 9; 9, 33; I. Tim. 1, 8, B; 2, 3, A, B; 5, 4; *manased,* L. 9, 25; *awiliud,* I. Cor. 15, 57; II. Cor. 4, 15; 8, 16, B; 9, 15; *braid,* Mt. 7, 13; *baud,* L. 14, 34; *swalaud,* J. 14, 9; Gal. 4, 1; *stad,* J. 14, 2; *sad,* L. 15, 16; *grid,* I. Tim. 3, 13; before voiceless initial and in pausa: *hlaib,* J. 13, 18; *gadob,* Sk. 38; *god,* L. 6, 43; 14, 34; I. Thes. 3, 6; *manased,* J. 12, 47. 47; 17, 18; *awiliud,* II. Cor. 2, 14, B; *garaid,* L. 3, 13; *gariud,* Philip. 4, 8; *saud,* R. 12, 1; *juggalaud,* L. 7, 14; *samalaud,* L. 6, 34; *stad,* L. 4, 17. 42; J. 10, 40; 14, 3; 18, 2; *bruþfad,* Mk. 2, 19.

accusatives of neuter *a*-stems (*liuhaþ* 14, *witoþ* 44, *druhti-witoþ* 1, *haubiþ* 26, *miliþ* 1 ; *liuhad*, L. 8, 16 ; J. 11, 10 ; 12, 46 ; *haubid*, L. 7, 46 ; J. 19, 2). Now the nom. and acc. of the neut. sg. being identical in form, would resist the influence of the other cases much more strongly than the acc. sg. masc. or fem., which stands alone. Moreover, these neuters are all substantives, and therefore the nom. and acc. sg. are under the influence only of the other cases of the neuter, the mono-syllabic and compound neuters are all adjectives (v. list above), and therefore influenced by the masc. and fem. forms as well. The labial spirant occurs only in the numeral *twalif* 13 (*twalib*, L. 6, 13 ; 8, 1) ; it is usually uninflected ; consequently the form in *f* predominates so strongly.

In the strong preterite 1, 3 sg. and in the imperative 2 sg., *f* and *þ* occur 77 times out of a total of 121 before voiced initial, *i.e.* in 64 % of the cases ; *b, d* occur in the same posi-tion 14 times out of 22, *i.e.* in 64 % of the cases. Omitting the forms *gaf, gif* with constant *f*, the figures for *f, þ* are 28 out of 42, *i.e.* 66 % before voiced initial.[1] In Luke *f, þ* occur 9 times out of 22, or omitting *gaf, gif*, 3 times out of 6, before voiced initial ; *b, d* 10 times out of 13 in the same position. In 7 of the 10 cases of *b* before voiced initial in Luke the following word is an enclitic pronoun with vocalic initial (*faurbaud imma*, 5, 14 ; *im*, 8, 56 ; *anabaud izai*, 8, 55 ; *bad ina*, 4), and here sandhi is evident. It may be added that *gaf* and *gif* with constant *f* in 79 cases, 49 of them before voiced initial, testify indirectly against the sandhi theory, for in accordance with it we may just as well expect **gab ina* (cf. L. 9, 1. 42 ; 10, 19 ; 19, 13) as *bad ina*.

[1] The cases with *f, þ* before voiced initial, are: *usgrof*, Mk. 12, 21; *swaif*, L. 7, 45; *afskauf*, R. 11, 1; *anabauþ*, Mt. 8, 4; 27, 10; Mk. 1, 44; 5, 43; 6, 27; 7, 36; 8, 15; 9, 9; 10, 3; 11, 6; Neh. 5, 14; 7, 2; *faurbauþ*, Mk. 6, 8; 8, 30; L. 9, 21; *fauragarairoþ*, Eph. 1, 5, A, B; *baþ*, Mk. 5, 10. 18. 23; 7, 26; 10, 17; L. 9, 29; II. Cor. 12, 8, A, B; before voiceless initial and in pausa: *anabauþ*, Mk. 7, 36; 8, 6; *baþ*, Mt. 27, 58; Mk. 1, 35; 6, 25; 15, 43; L. 7, 36; 8, 38; 9, 40; II. Cor. 12, 18, A, B; I. Tim. 1, 3, A, B; *gawaþ*, Mk. 10, 9 (cf. *bilaif*, Cal.); *b, d* before voiced initial: *grob*, L. 6, 48; *anabiud*, I. Tim. 5, 7, A, B; *anabaud*, L. 5, 14; 8, 29. 55; J. 14, 31; *faurbaud*, L. 5, 14; 8, 56; *bad*, L. 5, 12; 8, 31. 41; 15, 28; I. Cor. 16, 12; before voiceless initial and in pausa: *gadob*, Sk. 42; *biswarb*, L. 7, 38. 44; J. 11, 2; 12, 3; *anabiud*, I. Tim. 4, 11; *afskaiskaid*, Gal. 2, 12; *bad*, L. 18, 11.

The consideration of *gaf* naturally suggests those other forms, in which voiceless spirant from original voiced spirant is constant. They fall into two classes, the common characteristic of which is that they are free from the influence of forms with medial *b*, *d*, or *z*: 1. The particles *af*, *uf*, *miþ*, *hvaþ*, *us* (the isolated exceptions being *mid iddjedun*, L. 7, 11; *hvad gaggis*, J. 13, 36), four of which appear very frequently as adverb or preposition before sonant initial. 2. *s*-endings, exceedingly frequent in noun and verb (*e.g.* nom. -*s*, nom. and verb -*is*, -*ôs*, -*eis*, -*ais*, etc.; cf. *ainzu*, I. Cor. 9, 6; *anþarizuh*, Mk. 11, 3; *wileizu*, L. 9, 54, etc. Leo Meyer, *Got. Spr.*, § 197; Braune, § 78 c.). It is a significant fact that the seven cases of final *z* (cf. Leo Meyer, *l.c.*, Streitberg, *l.c.*) all appear in nominal stems, and are therefore under the influence of medial *z*.[1]

It is, I believe, quite clear from the foregoing that the sandhi-theory cannot be accepted as explaining in general final *b*, *d*, *z*; that, in other words, these letters are not in the main due to a conscious or systematic attempt at sentence writing by the later scribes. This does not mean, however, that sandhi is not to be recognized in individual cases, where it may be regarded as accidental and unconscious. It must, as we have observed above, be admitted in explanation of the voiced spirant in certain strong preterites in Luke. It is quite as evident as a contributory cause of the *d* final, which occurs in ten perfect participles in Luke. Of these, eight precede enclitic word with vocalic initial (*galadid in*, 2, 12; *gamelid ist*, 2, 23; 3, 4; 4, 4. 8. 10; 7, 27; *gasulid auk was*, 6, 48), two are in pausa (*gamelid*, 4, 17; *wagid*, 7, 24). With the exception of *bad ina*, 15, 28, these preterites and perfect participles with sandhi -*d* appear only in the first eight chapters, while in the succeeding chapters we find in the same position *þ*; e.g. *faurbauþ ei*, 9, 21; *gameliþ ist*, 10, 26; 19, 46. These two groups of cases are the only consistent and

---

[1] Summing up all the forms with *b*, *d*, or *z* final in the Gothic fragments, it appears that they occur 98 times out of 179 (in 55 % of the cases) before voiced initial; that is, about in the normal ratio of frequency of word-final before voiced initial.

indisputable exponents of sandhi in Luke, and it is important
to note that they support the view of sandhi only before
enclitic (subordinate member of a speech-group) with vocalic
initial, *i.e.* where the spirant is intervocalic.

Another theory in explanation of *b* and *d* final and before
s is that proposed by Axel Kock in the *Zfda.*, 25, 226 sq.
Kock observed that these *b*'s and *d*'s occur in the majority of
the cases in an unaccented syllable or in a long accented syl-
lable, and ascribes the persistence, as he conceives it, of the
original voiced spirant to its relative lack of accent ; while in
short accented syllable the voiceless fortes *f*, *þ* are regular,
and the exceptional cases of *d* are due to enclisis and other
causes.   Kock's theory has not found acceptance, as I believe,
for the following reasons : 1. The forms with voiced spirant
are most frequent in Luke, which exhibits peculiarities of
phonology and inflection to be ascribed to the dialect of the
East Gothic scribes, and therefore the strong presumption
is that exceptional *b*'s and *d*'s are not original (Braune, § 74,
Anm. 1, § 221, 1).   2. According to Kock, the same cause
which maintained *b* and *d* originally is exemplified in the
b of the East Gothic *Gudilub* in the roll of Arezzo, probably
written in the first half of the sixth century.   It is not clear,
in that case, how he would explain the numerically predomi-
nating forms with voiceless spirant ; e.g. *hlaif, usgrof, goþ,
anabauþ.*   Moreover, Kock attributes the unvoicing of the
spirant in nominatives like *hlaifs, bauþs,* to the influence of
following *s.*   But the sibilant was voiced in Pregerm. and
should therefore remain, according to Kock's law, in Gothic ;
the form of the nom. which we should expect is **hlaibz,*baudz,
stadz, and the development of *hlaifs,* etc., would be inexpli-
cable.   Then the practical universality of final *s* in suffix and
ending, and the overwhelming preponderance of *þ* in verbal
endings, directly oppose Kock's theory.   3. The difference
in the development of the voiced spirant in accented syllable
according as it is long or short, although conceivable from
a phonetic point of view, is so far as I know without parallel,
and therefore must be regarded with a certain amount of
skepsis.

Finally, Wrede's explanations of *b* for *f*, and *d* for *þ* — he gives separate ones for each letter — in the grammatical appendix to Heyne's Ulfilas, 9th ed. 1896, seem to me neither clear nor, so far as they contain new ideas, convincing. That Pregerm. *f* and Wulf. *f* ($<b$) were different sounds in Gothic, the first a labio-dental, the second a bilabial (§ 58, Anm.), is possible, but certainly cannot be made probable by such criteria as Wrede cites. That *b* for *f* final and before *s* is due to an attempt in later East Gothic to distinguish these two sounds in writing is, in the light of a thorough examination of the cases, impossible. In § 63, Anm. 1, Wrede explains *d* for *þ* as follows. In later East Gothic, where the Wulf. medial voiced spirant *d* had become a stop,[1] while Germ. *þ* retained its spirantal quality everywhere, *þ* ($<d$) followed in its development the former rather than the latter, either because the two *þ*'s were never completely identical in sound or on account of the influence of related forms with medial *d*. In view of the express statement, § 62, that the younger *þ* is voiceless, the suggestion of two *þ*-sounds in Wulfila is rather difficult of comprehension. Most decidedly the second alternative — viz. levelling — is the correct explanation of the *d* in question.

My conclusions as to the origin of the letters in question are as follows: In the original text of the Gothic Bible *f* and *þ* were consistently written in the final position and before *s* for the Pregerm. voiced spirants *ƀ*, *đ*, and *s* appeared in the final position for Pregerm. *z*. This regularity was no doubt merely orthographic, and cannot be taken as indicating that the underlying sound change was without exception, no matter what position the word occupied in the sentence. Wulfila's orthography was a system of word-writing which disregarded variations of the spoken word in the sentence. One concession to sentence-writing was made in the case of the enclitic particles *-u* and *-uh* ($= -que$); these never appeared

---

[1] The evidence drawn from the spelling of Gothic proper names in Latin, on which Wrede bases his assumption that Wulfilanic postvocalic *d* had become a stop in East Gothic (*Spr. d. Ostg.*, p. 171), is very meagre, and I am inclined to regard as stronger testimony for the persistence of the spirant the occasional representation of sandhi by the later scribes.

under accent, nor were they associated in the mind with other forms, as e.g. *ist* with *im, is, sind*, etc., *ina* with *is*, etc.; therefore they were not felt nor written as independent words. When appended to a word ending in original voiced spirant, this, as is well known, is preserved (cf. Schulze, *Glossar*, sub *-u, -uh*). But forms like *abu*, J. 18, 34; *uzuh*, L. 20, 4; *qiþiduh*, Mk. 16, 7, prove conclusively that the voiced spirant was spoken in Wulfila's time before a word in the same speech-group with vocalic initial, e.g. *uf imma* was spoken *u ƀimma*.

At a later period *b, d*, and *z* begin to creep into the texts for earlier *f, þ, s*. They are due in the first instance to levelling. This is evident in the case of *b* and *d* before *s*. It is quite as true of *b, d, z* final, as is shown by the fact that these letters appear with sporadic exceptions only in those classes of words in which the influence of medial voiced spirant is possible, viz. in the nom., acc., voc. sg. of nouns, and in the 1. 3 sg. pret. and 2 sg. imp. of strong verbs. Furthermore, they are more frequent in the case-forms than in the 1. 3 sg. pret., because the latter form a small class by themselves, and are, therefore, more isolated from the related forms than the nom., acc. sg. from the other cases. This fact is strikingly illustrated by *gaf* with its constant *f*.

This levelling was probably only a matter of spelling, but it prepared the way for the representation of the real voiced spirant in sandhi, which is to be seen in the first eight chapters of Luke, perhaps in isolated cases elsewhere. Were it not for the forms *mid, ƕad*, it might be suspected that in the particles the form with voiceless spirant had entirely supplanted in the spoken language its alternate form with voiced spirant. If this were so, it would be the best of proofs that the spellings *hlaib, bad*, are chiefly due to levelling. As it is, these forms show how strongly tradition rules in the spelling of the Mss., and help to solve the question of the source of *d* in the verbal endings.

The examination of these endings revealed the fact that the *d* is not due to sandhi. They are also not due to levelling, hence must be explained differently from the other forms. It seems quite clear to me that we have to do here with a

sound-change in East Gothic, by which the voiceless spirant became voiced in unaccented syllable. The verbal endings were in this dialect -*ið*, -*uð*, etc., and it is to be noted that East Gothic herein corresponds with High German (cf. Streitberg, *Urgerm. Gram.* § 211, 3). The dialectic form of these endings found expression to a considerable extent in the first seven chapters of Luke, in which late *b*, *d* are so frequent in other forms, elsewhere only sporadically. They occur more frequently after long vowel or diphthong than after short vowel, because perhaps the weak lenis-character of the sound was more evident in the former case than in the latter.

GEORGE A. HENCH.

ANN ARBOR, Jan. 29.

ON OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES.

I.

WHEN, some twelve years ago (in 1883), Mr. H. Sweet published his photolithographed text and transcription of the old *Epinal Glossary*, the event was greeted with expressions of delight by those interested in the study of Old English. Two years later there appeared the *Oldest English Texts* by the same author, and that book, too, was very favorably received by the press. Only one, as far as I know, raised the cry of warning at that time. I mean Mr. I. H. Hessels, of Cambridge ; but I fear only a few sided with him in his controversy with Mr. Sweet. At any rate, what he said against Mr. Sweet's editing does not seem to have been heeded, and the book has held undisputed sway these ten years. And yet, nothing could be truer than the very point Hessels had made, viz., that the Oldest English Texts were very inaccurate as far as the Latin was concerned, and, on the whole, failed to give a true picture of the texts they purported to represent. In the meanwhile, Mr. Hessels himself has given us his fine edition of the *Corpus Glossary* (Cambridge, 1890), a work that ought to be in the possession of every student of Old English. By this edition we can clearly see what a careless treatment the Latin text has received at Sweet's hands. For example, in OET, Cp. 2161, we find that puzzle of a gloss *uoluter, cupido votium : oestful.* If Sweet had not known from other sources that *oestful* meant 'graceful,' he hardly could have learned it from the lemma, such as he exhibits it. However, in Hessels' edition the thing is perfectly plain :

> U 277, we read there *uoluter. cupido.*
> 278,   *uotium. oest.ful.*

Now we perceive at once that we have to do with two glosses, one of which represents the 'winged one,' namely 'Cupid' (*uolucer. cupido*), while the other speaks of 'votive' (*uotiuum*). Another striking sample of reckless editing is Cp. 1329, where Sweet prints *sempiterna moles: falthing*, while *sempiterna* really belongs to the preceding gloss, as seen from Hessels'

> M 283, *monumentis. supplicis sempitẽrn.*
>   284, *moles. falthing.*

Moreover, *sempiterna* is wrong reading for *sempiternis*, for the whole gloss must be read *monumentis sepulcris sempiternis.*

The two instances given are fairly characteristic of Sweet's treatment of the Latin text. But, somebody might object, we do not care so much for the accuracy of the Latin as we do for the Old English, and in fact, that is the very excuse behind which Sweet tried to shield himself against the attacks of Hessels. Yet, in vain. For it is impossible to get a correct idea of what the glossator wished to say by his interpretation, if there is no reliance on the accurate representation of Ms. evidence. The above *moles. falthing* is an example in point. If Sweet's reading *sempiterna moles* were all right, we would have to suppose that Old English *falthing* tries to convey the meaning contained in the two Latin words, and who knows but somebody might be inclined to construe from that an adjective (or noun) '*fal*,' meaning 'eternal'? while now that we know *moles* alone is the true reading, the word will be viewed in quite a different light. Sweet, in his glossary to the texts, does not attempt to explain it. However, as we read M 237, *moles* interpreted by *uastitas. magnitudo*, and as the Old English interpretations, as a rule, are nothing but translations of former Latin ones, we shall be justified in assuming that such is the case here, too. Then, as *f* and *u* (or even *uu*) interchange, *falthing* may stand for *uual thing* = 'mighty thing.' Cp. German 'gewaltig Ding' and *Ahd. Gl.* II. 32, 67, *moles keuuel; ibid.,* II. 512, 5 *omnipollentis uual;* cp. also Kluge, *Etym. Wtb. d. deutsch. Spr.* s.v. *walten.* But not only the charge of inaccuracy can be brought against Mr. Sweet's *Oldest English Texts;* he has, in

one instance at least, not even shrunk from directly changing Ms. evidence. Witness his entry '*on-hrērnis* sf. agitation' (OET, p. 647[b]), for which he produces as evidence Bl. 12, *onhrernisse commotionem*. Here he has calmly substituted his own invention, *commotionem* for the Ms. reading *obdormiet*, and that for no other reason but to make the text fit in with his fancied explanation of the Old English word. The Blickling Gloss, designated No. 12 by him, reads *obdormiet onhrernisse*, or, rather (according to Mr. R. Morris, *Blickl. Hom.*, Part II. p. 260), *onhrernisset*. That is, of course, corruption of *onhnepnisseth*. From his edition of the *Epinal Glossary*, Mr. Sweet ought to have known that there is a form of the *r* so similar to *þ* that sometimes the two can hardly be told from each other. This fact and the obvious meaning of *obdormiet* might have led to the conclusion that *onhnepnisseth*, a verb formed from *onhnaepnisse* '*obdormitio*,' is the proper reading. But Mr. Sweet evidently did not care much for the evidence of the Latin; with what results and to what detriment of Old English Philology, I have tried to show in the *Modern Language Notes*, the *Anglia*, and the *American Journal of Philology*. As a consequence of this treatment of the Latin text, there appear quite a number of Latin words marked as Old English, while, on the other hand, not a few Old English words have been overlooked. In the following, I will give a short synopsis of the more prominent instances. Latin are:

brun, 'cloth,' OET, p. 636[b]	= *stibadiorum.*
staefod, 'striped,' OET, p. 463[a]	
coc, 'cook,' OET, p. 644[b]	= *cloacas.*
grundsopa, 'groundsoap (a plant)', OET, p. 584[a]	= *chondrus* = χονδρος *caepa.*
here-searu, 'war-stratagem,' OET, p. 483[a]	= *haeresearum.*
fitt, 'song,' OET, p. 515[a]	= *uitis.*
gerinen, 'diligent,' OET, p. 505[b]	= *germen.*
maffa, 'caul,' OET, p. 463[b]	= *mappa.*
cealwa , 'baldness,' OET, p. 488[b]	= *calva.*

Theodoice-snad, OET, p. 592[b], quoted from Ct 25/5, as compound noun, is, in its first part = *theodisce, i.e.* 'in the popular tongue.' The passage reads : *Silvam quam theodisce snad nominamus* = the wood we call in popular speech a ' coppice.'

Omitted in the list of Old English words are:

1) *fahame* (fahamel?) 'fine meal,' 'sifted flour'; on record in the *Erfurt* (C. G. L., V. 381, 9*), *pulmentum fahame* = Epinal, *ibid.*, *pullentum fahamae* = Corpus Glossary, P 562, 874, *polentum fahame; pullentum fahame.*

2) *framigan*, 'to work strenuously'; on record in the Corpus Glossary, N 34, *nauat . frangat = framgað.* Cp. N 30, *nauare. extremi (= strenue) . aliquid facere.*

3) *geherest ðu*, 'say!' on record in the Corpus Glossary, O 91, *ob esca (= obesta = ouestu = audistu = audis tu) . grestu (= gerestu = geerestu = geherestu = geherest thu).* Cp. French *ouïr*, 'hear,' and C. G. L., V. 300, 20, *heustu audistu*, of which the above is a truncation.

4) broð 'broth'; on record in the Corpus Glossary, U 208, *uiscellum broht.* This gloss, to be sure, is exhibited by Mr. Sweet, but no trace of it appears in the explanatory glossary, and so also Mr. Murray neglected to refer to it in his Oxford *Dictionary.* The first quotation there for *broth* bears the date a. 1000.

5) *ald*, 'old'; on record in the Corpus Glossary, U 313, *uuldac. uetustas sola = paloas uetustuss ola = palaios uetustus ald.* Cp. C. G. L., V. 399, 35, *uuldar uetustas sola.*

6) *aemonnis*, 'killing off of the male population'; on record in the Corpus Glossary, E 526, *excidium . euersio emonnis. uel discessio.* Cp. C. G. L., IV. 71, 57, *excidium euersio ciuitatis.*

7) *hos*, 'company,' 'association,' 'troup,' on record in the *Erfurt*² (C. G. L., V. 331, 3), *scola mos = scolam os = hos.* Cp. WW 371, 7, *clientele þegnscole; ibid.*, 371, 6 = 490, 15, *clientes þegnhyssas; Ahd. Gl.* II. 49, 16, *scola kinoscaf . lirnunga;* Old Spanish *escuellas*, 'detachments of soldiers.'

8) *craeclan*, 'to crackle, *i.e.* to gush forth with a crackling noise,' on record in the Leyden Glossary (C. G. L., V. 418, 1), *scatentibus credenti = creclentū = creclentum.* Cp. NL. krekel, 'sprinkhaan,' 'cricket.'

9) *unahreddandlic*, 'inextricable'; on record in the Leyden Glossary (C. G. L., V. 424, 39), *inextricabiles anatreten = una-*

* I cite according to the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz, Leipzig, Teubner, which is now *the* edition for Anglicists to study, besides Mr. Hessels' splendid edition of the *Corpus Glossary.*

cretenlic = unachredendlic = unahreddandlic.   Certainly, Mr.
Sweet exhibits this gloss, too, but omits the abbreviation
stroke over second part of the word, and does not attempt to
explain it.

10) *intraeppetan*, 'to jig,' 'to dance a jig'; on record in
the Leyden Glossary (C. G. L., V. 421, 2), *subsaltare intrepetan.*
This is a gloss taken from *Rufini Historia Ecclesiastica*, and
occurs also *Ahd. Gl.* II. 597, 37.   Steinmeyer compares
German *trepizen.*

11) *pocc*, 'pox,' 'botch,' 'boil,' on record in the Leyden
Glossary, *carbunculi poccas = Ahd. Gl.* II. 596, 7.   Although
Sweet exhibits it as No. 22, he wrongly prints *poaas*, and
otherwise takes no notice of the word.

12) *tysse*, 'coarse cloth (carpet).'   Sweet exhibits this as
Leyden, 160: *abctape tysse*, but failed to explain it.   The Latin
lemma is corruption of *amphitape* occurring in the Corpus
Glossary, A 544, *amphitare = amphitape . genus uestimenti .
utrimque uillosum.*   The Old English *tysse* answers to OHG.
zussa, explaining *lodix*, *Ahd. Gl.* II. 375, 22.

13) *wiht*, 'creature'; on record in the Leyden Glossary,
quoted by Sweet as No. 59, *ancillis animalibus figl*, but not
explained.   *Figl* represents *wigt = wight = wiht.**

14) *uuilduuaex*, 'gristle,' 'cartilage,' 'tendon,' 'cats-meat'
= German (Westphalian), 'Wildwachs'; on record, Ld 56,
cartillago uuldpaexhsue uel grost.   Sweet takes no notice of
the word in his glossary.   About *hsue* I am doubtful; *h* occa-
sionally is mixed up with *n*, and so it may stand for *nsue =
senu*, 'tendon.'

15) *maegsibbung*, 'reconciliation,' 'peace-making'; on rec-
ord in the *Erfurt*[3] (*Glosae Nominum*, C. G. L., II. 575, 9)
conciliatio ūaēg = māēg = maegsibbung.

16) *niðersigandi*, 'sagging,' on record in Epinal-Erfurt,
816; *pendulus ridusaendi*, Corpus, 1562; *pendulus ridusende*,
cp. *Corpus*, 1541, *penduloso haldi = pendulos ohaldi*, which is
a gloss taken from Orosius IV. 15, 2; cp. my remarks in the
forthcoming number of *Archiv f. L. L.* X.[3].   No trace of *ridu-*

---

* OET, p. 512[a] there appears a *wiht* 'creature' only on the strength of proper
names and derivations like *ō-wiht nō-wiht.*

saendi = niduseandi = niðrsiandi = niðersigandi is to be found in Sweet's glossary. At any rate, I have vainly searched for it. The index fails in a good many cases to indicate.

Not so positively do I wish to pronounce on the following two words, as there is only a fair chance of their being Old English. In the *Erfurt*[2] (C. G. L., V. 300, 34) we have *hiatus fura; fura* may be mutilation of *fissura*, but as *a* sometimes wrongly appears for *c*, there is a possibility of *fura* being *furc* = *furh*. Also, what we read (*Corpus,* J 231) *inuident . scident* may be Latin *infindent . scindent;* but since the *Erfurt,* C. G. L., V. 367, 22 exhibits *inuidens scidens,* I am inclined to think that *scidens* stands for *scidenc = scident = scidend,* representing an original *sciclend,* which, under the influence of the lemma, could easily take on a Latin appearance. In *sciclend* = German *schielend,* I see the OE. counterpart of MG. *schiekeln,* 'to look askance,' 'to squint,' and I think *scytehald* (*Corpus,* O 29) = *scytihalt* (*Epinal*) C. G. L., V. 375, 36, interpreting a Latin *obliquum,* favors such a view; for *scytehald* may be actually *scycehald.* Cp. the above *niðersigandi = pendulus.* There is also a passage in Aelfric's Version of Exod. 29, 26 that may belong here: *cedet in eius partem* is rendered there by *gescitt* (= *gescict ?*) *to his daele; ibid.,* 29, 8, *hig gesceotað* (= *gesceocað ?*) *to Aarones daele.*

Of the mistakes Sweet has made in consequence of his indifference to the Latin text of the glosses, I will, for the present, cite only a few: OET, p. 486[b], he tells us that *sweard* s. means 'skin,' when the one passage on which he founds this assertion (Cp. 406), *cater swearth,* is probably misreading of *taeter sweart* = 'black,' while the other, Cp. 2146, *uistula sugesweard* is mutilated from *uistularius = fistularius suueges-uueard,* i.e. 'organist.' Cp. *Ahd. Gl.* II. 40, 4, 5, *symphoniacus . orgenare suegelare,* C. G. L., V. 268, 27, *armonia confistulae organi perordinem repulatae = harmonia* [*est*] *cum fistulae organi per ordinem resuflatae* [*sunt*]. *Fering,* which interprets *insimulatione,* Cp. 1085, he finds it impossible to account for. But as *insimulatio* is 'accusation,' *fering* must stand for *wreging.* The Latin lemma in Cp. 66, *acus netl uel gronuisc,* points to the 'awn' rather than to a

fish (OET, p. 503ª), nor can the 'ail' (*egle* explaining *glis*, Corpus Glossary, G 104) be a dormouse! His 'God of War' should be the 'shawl' of linen which veils the Arabian woman's face, OET, p. 568ª (*Ep.* 627, *scybla maforte*), his 'kite' rather a 'fresh' man (OET, p. 567ᵇ, Cp. 340, *frysca butio*, read *pusio*). It is not 'recklessness' (OET, p. 595ᵇ), what the glossator of *Ep.* 549 meant, who, correctly enough, explains *in curia* by *in maethle*. From this *macðl* probably the *rhetor* was called *maeðlere*, Bd.² 6, where Sweet failed to understand the Ms. reading '*rethor se hloðere*,' = *se nleðere* = *se melðere* = *se maeðlere*.* He also failed to see *Ep.* 1024 *tin* (*tignum*), that not of a 'projection,' but of the metal *tin* (*stagnum*), the glossator is speaking. Cp. what I have said on that gloss in the *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, ed. Wölfflin, Vol. X.² 199. It also escaped Sweet that Bl. 18 *tinde bogan* (*tetendit arcem*), must be *thinde bogan* (*tetendit arcum*), or he would not have assumed (OET, p. 508) a verb *tinnan*, 'to stretch.' Nor can *Ep.* 790, the *bᵍrendae* appearing in connection with *berecorn* (*ptysones*), belong to *beran*, 'to bear' (OET, p. 519ª), but it answers to Latin *ferire;* as I have shown in the *Archiv l. l.*, p. 201, the gloss is taken from the Bible, Prov. 27, 22.

To the unprejudiced, it would have been self-evident that the glossator of Cp. 164 did not wish to speak of dress, when he interpreted *antemne* † by *waede*, but rather of *sail-cloth*, whence WW 515, 15, the 'sail-ropes,' *rudentibus*, are called *waederapum*,‡ of which the *waeterrap*, WW 535, 4, is a corruption, duly propagated by Hall in his *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*. Proper regard for the lemma would also have prevented Mr. Sweet from squeezing a *fōdrere*, 'sm. forager' (OET, p. 646ª) out of the *fodraðas* (*annonus*) Bd.² 20. He marks the Old English word as corrupt, but it is all right enough, and an error is there only in *annonus* that should be *annonas*.

<div align="right">OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.</div>

HARTFORD HIGH SCHOOL.

---

* On *h* mistaken for *n* and *n* interchanging with *m* cp. *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.*, Vol. X.² 195 and Corpus Glossary ed. Hessels, Introd. XXXII.

† That stands probably for *artem̂ne.*

‡ Cp. *Ahd. Gl.* I. 242, 16, *rudes* (= *rudes*) *uuaatreifa*.

PHONETICAL NOTES.

IT is my intention to publish, under the above title, a series of minor studies in phonetics. The investigations have been carried on with the aid of the apparatus used by Rousselot, and described by him in the *Revue des Patois gallo-romans*, fasc. 14, 15. A short account can also be found in an article by Professor Koschwitz, *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. 88, p. 241 ff., and, in a very condensed form, in the abstract of a paper read by the writer before the American Philological Association in 1895 (cf. *Proceedings*, 1895, p. 55). Cf., also, *Phonetische Studien*, vol. 4, p. 68, for an article by Ph. Wagner.

In order to give the reader a better insight into the method employed, the first articles will be accompanied by illustrations reproduced from the material collected. It is hoped that this may assist phoneticians and philologists in becoming acquainted with a method of research that is gradually gaining recognition, and that after the many desirable improvements shall have been perfected, will enable us to solve the numerous unanswered problems of physiological phonetics, and establish incontrovertible facts that leave no room for speculation.

I.

On *r*-Vibrations.

A rolled *r* sound can be produced by vibrations of the lips, the tongue, the uvula, or the vocal cords. The following statistics try to answer the question as to the frequency of the *r*-waves within a given period. As far as I know only Vietor and Donders have investigated this point with regard to the lingual *r*; both arrive at similar conclusions. Vietor

finds 20 to 35 vibrations within a second, Donders varies
between 15 and 39; cf. Vietor, *Elemente der Phonetik*, dritte
verb. Auflage, p. 208.   To determine whether his ratio is
individual I have supplemented my own records by a large
number of tracings gathered during a tour in Northeastern
Europe.   Professors Lundell, Noreen, Johansson, and Drs.
Wadstein, Krohn, Pipping, Masing, Mikkola, and Mr. Endsi-
lin, of Dorpat, have been kind enough to record their pro-
nunciation.   The following are the values found : [1]

A. lip *r*, sonant : 32, 30 (P.) ; 22, 24 ; 23, 25, 23 (S-W.) ; 27,
29, 27, 26, 25$\frac{1}{2}$, 25$\frac{1}{2}$, 23 (Mi.).
  surd : 26, 33, 34 (P.).
B. lingual *r*, sonant : 32 ; 27, 28 ; 30, 30, 32, 27, 25 ; 28,
29, 30 ; 28, 30$\frac{1}{2}$; 21, 21$\frac{1}{2}$, 29, 28 ; 27 (S-W.).   28, 29 (P.) ;
27, 27 (N.) ; 29 (J.) ; 24, 23 (W.) ; 26, 25, 24, 27 (Mi.).   29, 31,
29, 30 (K.).
  deep sonant : 26, 29 (S-W.) ; 29 (E.).
  high sonant : 27, 26 (S-W.) ; 24, 26 (P.).
  still higher sonant : 25, 24 ; 25, 24 ; 27, 25 (E.).   25$\frac{1}{2}$, 25 ; 20,
22 (S-W.) ; 26, 25 (Mi.).
  strong, emphatic : 30, 28, 30 (P.) ; 28, 26$\frac{1}{2}$ (S-W.) ; 32, 32 (Mi.).
31, 34, 36 (Mi.).
  Armenian rolled *r* : 20, 19$\frac{1}{2}$ (Ma.).
  surd : 33, 31 ; 33, 31, 31 ; 37, 35$\frac{1}{2}$ (S-W.) ; 38 (P.) ; 26, 26 (N.) ;
25 (J.).
  strong surd : 38, 42, 39 ; 39, 40, 41 (S-W.).

The above values show that the individual differences are
not considerable.   The surd *r*, as well as the sonant one pro-
nounced with a deep tone-color, slightly increase the number
of vibrations as the air current is strengthened ; the high tone-
color, with narrowed glottis, is naturally accompanied by less
vibrations.   Likewise, at the beginning of a continuous
pronunciation the number of beats is somewhat larger than
towards the end, unless an attempt is made to keep up the
force of expiration, in which effort the voice is occasionally
suppressed.   The tracings do not always show marks of this
loss of sonancy.

[1] Numbers separated by commas refer to values of one continued record.

Below are some illustrations of lingual *r* curves.
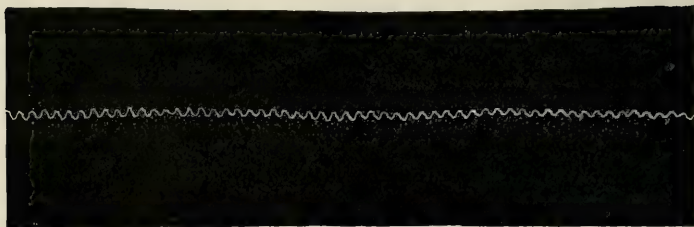
PLATE 1. — Sonant lingual *r*; vel. 4.6 cm. per second.
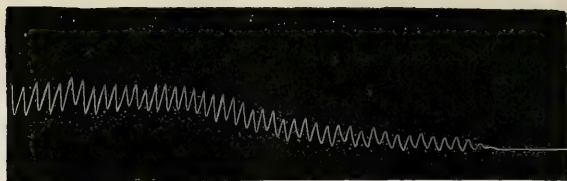
PLATE 2. — Sonant *r* becoming surd; vel 4.6 cm. per second.
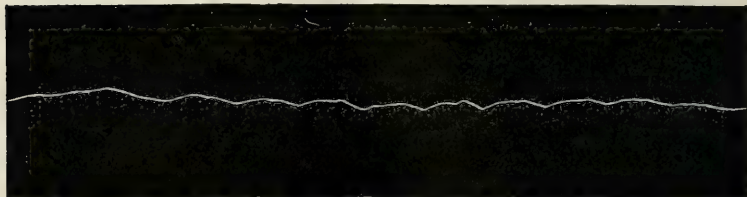
PLATE 3. — Sonant lingual *r*; vel. 26.6 cm. per second.

C. guttural *r*, sonant: 26 (S-W.) ; 24, 24, 25, 24 (pronunc. of a lady) ; 20 (P.) ; 20 (S-W.).

surd: 29 ; 32, 34, 32 ; 36, 35 (S-W.).

The results are interesting : the tongue and uvula vibrate with nearly equal rapidity. This fact speaks in support of Jesperson's theory concerning the origin of the uvular *r*; cf. *The Articulations of Speech Sounds represented by Means of Analphabetic Symbols*, Marburg, 1889, p. 72 ff.

The lack of more material for the uvular *r* is partly due to the fact that not many persons are able to produce continuous uvular vibrations, even in cases where the other variety is not known. Here, as also with the lingual *r*, the rolled quality is sufficiently perceptible, and the *r* characterized as such, by

one to three vibrations — the rest is either a deep guttural
spirant or, if lingual, a vocalic element. The following trac-
ings are self-explanatory.
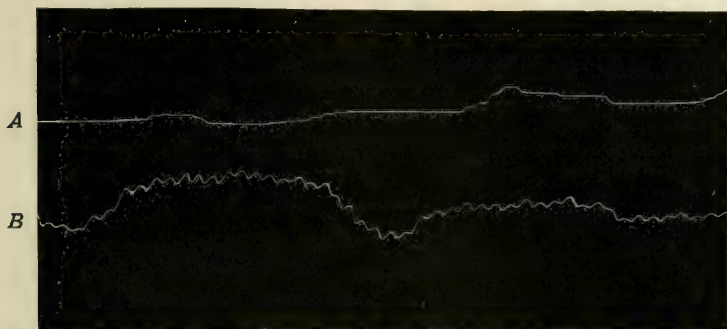
PLATE 4.—Guttural *r*; *A*, interrupted by spirant; *B*, voiced, trilled; vel. 4.6 cm. per second.

The glottal *r*, as pronounced, for instance, in Copenhagen,
I have not had an opportunity to investigate.

II.

The Quantity of Labials in Finnic Swedish.

Speech mixture exhibits an interesting phenomenon : the
influence of two or more languages or dialects on one another
with regard to the different factors that constitute articulate
speech — quality of sounds, accent, quantity, and syntax.
Some material obtained during a short stay at Helsingfors
is herewith submitted.

Geminated consonants are pronounced markedly long in
Swedish ; their quantity is said to have been affected by the
non-Aryan speech in Finland. Because of the simplicity
of the instruments required for the investigation of labials —
Rosapelly's lip observer — these sounds were chosen. The
tracings from which the values are derived were furnished
by Dr. Mikkola (Finnic), and Dr. Pipping (Swedish, Finland).

-*mm*- ; sammui, " extinguished " (cf. pl. 5).
a) 0.14 ; *β*) 0.175.[1]

[1] The values denote quantities expressed in seconds. Records pronounced in
continuation are collected under *a*, *β*, or *γ*.

ämmä, "old woman":

α) 0.13 ; β) very short, though impossible to express by a definite
            value.

-*m*- ; loma, "interval" :	α) 0.09 ;	β) 0.08.
aamu, "morning" :	α) 0.095 ;	β) 0.14.
-*pp*- : appi, "father-in-law" :	α) 0.26 ;	β) 0.25 ; γ) 0.15.
oppi, "doctrine" :	α) 0.2 ;	β) 0.3 ; γ) 0.12.
-*p*- ; lupa, "permission" :	α) 0.15 ;	β) 0.075 ; γ) 0.075.
apu, "help" :	α) 0.08 ;	β) 0.06 ; γ) 0.075.
papu "pea" :	α) 0.07 ;	β) 0.07 ; γ) 0.075.
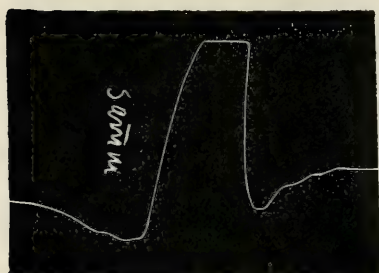
PLATE 5. — " sammui." The horizontal line
indicates the quantity of the *m* closure ; vel.
4.6 cm. per second.
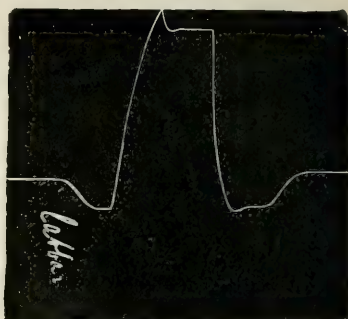
PLATE 6. — " labbar (Dr. Mikkola) ; vel. 4.6
cm. per second.

Swedish pronunciation as given by Dr. Mikkola :

1.	-*pp*- ;	pappa,	"father" :	0.21.
2.	-*pp* ;	lapp,	"rag" :	0.32.
3.	-*p*- ;	apa,	"ape" :	0.2.
4.	-*p* ;	gap,	"throat" :	0.17.
5.	-*bb*- ;	labbar,	"fists" :	0.18 (cf. pl. 6).
6.	-*bb* ;	labb,	"fist" :	0.15.
7.	-*b*- ;	snabel,	"bill" :	0.08.
8.	-*mm*- ;	mamma,	"mother" :	0.29.

The values obtained from Dr. Pipping's pronunciation are :

1. 0.18 ; 0.35 (!).	5. 0.15 ; 0.22 (cf. pl. 7).
2. 0.25.	6. 0.19 ; 0.23.
3. 0.16.	7. 0.1 ; 0.1 ; 0.09 ; 0.1.
4. 0.25.	8. 0.24 ; 0.16 ; 0.22 ; 0.225.

Professor Lundell's (Upsala) labials show the following values :

1. 0.375 ; 0.36 ; 0.34.
2. 0.375 ; 0.39 ; 0.48.
3. 0.275 ; 0.25 ; 0.24.
4. — — —

5. 0.3 (cf. pl. 8) : 0.23.
6. 0.25 ; 0.23.
7. — — —
8. 0.25 ; 0.24 ; 0.25.
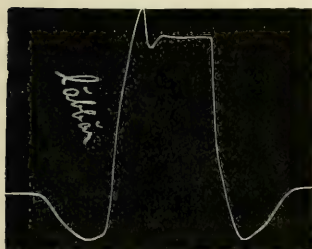
PLATE 7. — "labbar" (Dr. Pipping);
vel. 4.6 cm. per second.
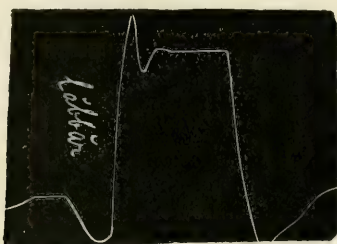
PLATE 8. —" labbar " (Prof. Lundell); vel.
4.6 cm. per second.

Further material would enable us to make nicer distinctions as to position of accent and quantity of the preceding vowel. The results that we can draw from the values presented may be shortly formulated as follows : In Finnic the labial closures are very short ; single labials are distinguished from double ones by quantity, ratio about 1 : 2. In the Swedish spoken in Finland the geminated labials approach the Finnic absolute quantities.

It will also be noticed that the "einsatz" is much more rapid and energetic in Swedish than in Finnic. The almost straight line, and the greater momentum, carrying the style beyond its point of rest (cf. pl. 8), are very instructive.

We may *a priori* suppose that this holds good also with regard to other consonants. Yet only a special investigation can decide this question.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

TEUTONIC "ELEVEN" AND "TWELVE."

THE generally accepted explanation of the words for eleven and twelve in the Teutonic group of languages identifies the second element with that of the Lithuanian *vënů-lika, dvy-lika,* etc., and derives this from a root, *liq, leįq, loįq,* seen in Latin *linquo,* Greek λιπ-εῖν, etc. According to this explanation, these Teutonic words are compounds of *oino-* and *dųo-* with a stem *liqi-* (Teut. *liƀi-*), "remainder," and mean literally "remainder of one (or two)": "one (or two) over (ten)."

As far as I have observed, this explanation is usually given dogmatically as if it were subject to no objection. Its general acceptance seems to be due to the analogy of the Lithuanian forms and to the supposed aptness of the meaning of the phrase to express the numeral idea. But there are serious objections to it both as to the meaning and as to the identification of the Lithuanian and the Teutonic words. That a primitive man might express "eleven" by holding up both hands for ten and following this with one finger for the added unit needs no proof, but if he accompanied the gesture (or replaced it) by a phrase, we should expect the meaning to be "addition of one" rather than "remainder of one." The gesture that denotes *one* is a process of addition, as is also the mental action that it expresses, and it would surely be strange if the accompanying phrase expressed the result of a process of subtraction. It is possibly in consequence of the feeling that the meaning thus obtained is not quite suitable, that some of those that accept the identification of the Teutonic and Lithuanian forms do not express themselves with any confidence in regard to the derivation from a root *liq.*[1]

[1] *E.g.* Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss,* I. 404.

Again, the passage of an Indo-European guttural into a labial as early as the Teutonic period is positively denied by some of the ablest students of phonology, and certainly needs more evidence than has yet been brought forward before we can accept it without hesitation. All the words cited in proof of such a development show some peculiarity that makes it easier to explain them as exceptional forms due to assimilation or dissimilation; the only exception is found in the two numeral forms now under consideration. The same words, too, show anomalous forms in other groups, and no one of them, I believe, is without dialectic by-forms, in which the guttural sound is kept in Teutonic. Lastly, the number of words in which the assumed labialization is found is very small, while the regular representation of Indo-European *q* by *h* or *hw* is very frequent. These reasons certainly furnish a strong presumption against the passage of IE. *q* into *f* or *b* as early as the Teutonic period, and consequently against the identification of the Teutonic and the Lithuanian forms. That a guttural may pass into a labial at a later date is beyond dispute; the occasional *f*-sound in modern English words that had the guttural *h* in the older period is a recent instance.

It was perhaps this difficulty of identifying the stems of Teutonic *-libi* and Lithuanian *-lika* that led Brugmann[1] to derive the former from a root *lip, leip, loip*, though he keeps the same notion of "remainder" which had been assumed for the Lithuanian. This meaning is suggested, it would seem, by the modern German *bleiben*, a compound of the root *lip*, which appears in its older form in Gothic *bi-leiban*, OHG. *be-līban*, OE. *be-līfan*. But it is not altogether clear that the idea of "remainder" can be legitimately given to a noun derived from the simple root. It seems reasonably certain that the idea of a remainder or surplus, a portion left after something has been removed, what is left after something has been measured off, is found in the compounds only, and is due to the adverbial prefix used rather than to the meaning of the verb-stem. Cases that seem to suggest this

[1] *Grundriss*, II. 487.

are German *Ueber-bleibsel* compared with *übrig;* Eng. *re-mainder* compared with Lat. *maneo;* Latin *super-esse, su-perare*, and scores of others, that suggest that the idea seems to spring out of *super* or *über* or *over* rather than from the verb-stems with which these and similar prefixes are compounded. The derivation of *-libi* from a root *lip* removes the phonological difficulty, to be sure, but as has just been shown, it is not certain that the meaning of "remainder" can legitimately be assumed for it, and if it could, there would still be left the inappropriateness of meaning mentioned above. We naturally expect here, as in any other case, a word meaning "addition" rather than "remainder," and this meaning, I think, can be properly assumed for a noun *libi*, derived from the root *lip.*

This root is found in Sanscrit in the verb *limp-āmi*, "I smear," "I cleave or stick to," and in the noun *lipi-*, "smearing." In Lithuanian the same root gives *lip-ti*, defined by Kurschat as "kleben," "kleben bleiben," "ankleben," and a long list of derivatives and compounds, all of which contain the idea of stickiness or sticking fast, which passes in one or two cases into that of "anhänglich" or "anhänglichkeit," as given by Kurschat. In the Teutonic Group the root is represented by the compound *be-līban* (see above), "stick," "remain." Greek has λίπος, "fat," and λιπαρός, "shining," and Old Bulgàrian *lip-nạ-ti*, "stick."

The older meaning of the root seems to be that of "smearing," as we find it in Sanscrit. Greek derivatives show a transition to "that which is smeared," "fat," or the result of smearing, "shining." In the Balto-slavic Group the notion is that of "stickiness," of gluing something to another, while in Teutonic the predominant notion is that of being stuck fast, of remaining fixed in a place. This development of sense is a natural one and occasions no difficulty; analogies are plentiful and need not be cited.

Now it is an easy step from the verbal idea, "to stick," "to adhere to," or the corresponding action-noun "adhering," to the concrete notion of that which adheres or is stuck on. Examples are plentiful: e.g. *section*, the act of

cutting or "a portion cut off"; *cutting*, the act or a branch cut off for planting; *washing*, the act or that which is washed; *addition*, the act or the portion added. It does not seem bold, therefore, to suppose that the noun *lipi*, which in Sanscrit means a "smearing," may have passed into Teutonic with the meaning which the corresponding verb-stem has in that group, a "sticking on," a "fastening to," and then "that which is stuck on or fastened to another thing," an *addition*. It may be added that Lithuanian *lip-snus*, "anhänglich," suggests that *lipi-*, if it could be cited from that language, would mean "Anhang" and show the same development of meaning.

If this sense be accepted as legitimately derived from the root assumed, the explanation of *ain-libi*, *twa-libi*, is easy. They are adjectives, compounds of the class called by Whitney in his Sanskrit Grammar "appositional possessives." He gives as examples, among others, *áçva-parna*, "horse-wing," *i.e.* having horses as wings (epithet of a chariot); *indra-sakhi*, having Indra as friend, "befriended by Indra." So *ain-libi*, *twa-libi* mean "having one (or two) as an addition," "increased by one (or two)." Thus our ancestors when they wished to say eleven and lacked a word to express it, resorted to the phrase "ten increased by one." Such a phrase is quite as suitable to express the idea as the "forty stripes save one" that Paul received of the Jews, or Latin phrases like *duo-de-viginti*, or the Sanscrit expression cited by Brugmann (*Grundr.* II. 488), *aṣṭādhikanavatis*, "a ninety increased by eight," *i.e.* ninety-eight. The loss of the noun *ten* from the phrase, when once it had become established, and the use of the remaining part with the sense of the whole, is so common a phenomenon that it needs only to be mentioned. Modern English furnishes analogies in plenty: e.g. *quart* (*i.e.* quarter of a gallon), *quarter* (of a dollar), *the Fourth* (of July), etc.

This explanation contributes nothing, of course, to clear up the Lithuanian forms. It only shows that if the noun *lipi-* shares the development of meaning which we find in the verb and other derivatives of the root *lip*, its sense in Teutonic is "addition," and that we can in this way secure a simple

explanation of eleven and twelve, without resorting to a doubtful phonological law or assuming a primitive meaning that lacks the essential element of fitness. Whether Lithuanian *dvy-lika*, etc., contain a derivative of the root *liq*, and whether it is possible or probable that the phrase "remainder of one" would be used in primitive times to express the idea of eleven, are questions still left open, though such questions can be answered affirmatively with less confidence if the analogy of the Teutonic forms cannot be cited.

<div align="right">F. A. Blackburn.</div>

University of Chicago, Jan. 26, 1897.

ON THE HILDEBRANDSLIED.

IN his review of Gallée, 'Altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler,' *Englische Studien*, XXII, p. 262 ff., F. Kluge takes occasion to express his opinion on the dialect of the Hildebrandslied. He considers the manuscript text as fundamentally High German. The *t* which stands for HG. *t* as well as for HG. *z(z)*, — then mostly double (*tt*), — he supposes to represent two different sounds, both HG. In the latter case, namely, it should stand for Germanic *t*, which had already been shifted towards the HG. *z(z)*, but had not yet reached this final phase. Thus, the OS. element would be reduced to a minimum, and Gallée was right in excluding the poem from his OS. documents.

Kluge's explanation of this *t* is untenable. It presupposes a condition of affairs much more archaic than the manuscript in other respects reveals, and very archaic indeed it would have to be, a *t* standing both for HG. *z* and ȝ, and consequently antedating the HG. split of Germanic *t*. The text has *d* for West Germanic *þ* next to exclusively, it has consistently *t* for West Germanic ð, it has *uo* for Germanic *ō*; a practically unshifted Germanic *t* is not compatible with such features.

If, however, Kluge takes the *t* to represent a somewhat later phase, more nearly like the normal HG. *z* and ȝ, we

would have the same sign *t* standing for three very different sounds: (1) for the common HG. *t*; (2) for HG. *th, the forerunner of *z*; and (3) for *þ, the sound which must have preceded the HG. 33.

With a rendering of sounds so imperfect as this, no safe conclusions of any sort could be drawn from the manuscript spelling; the *k* may then as well stand for *h(h)*, the *p* for *pf* or *ff*, etc.; and, indeed, unless we interpret quite a number of other details in a similar way, the OS. element would still remain far from being reduced to a minimum, even so far as phonology is concerned. Cp. on this point especially F. A. Wood, *The Dialect of the Hildebrandslied*, in the Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XI, p. 323 ff., though some of the author's arguments are fanciful.[1] And altogether, the view first held by Müllenhof, that the original text was OS., has been well established by Kögel in *Paul's Grundriss*, II, p. 174 ff. An additional indication that the first scribe was a High German may perhaps be found in the form of the phrases *Heribrantes sunu*, line 7, and *quad Hiltibraht*, line 30, and *quad Hiltibrant*, lines 49 and 58 (Braune's text), which are commonly and rightly considered as interpolations. In them the scribe himself speaks to us on his own account; he naturally uses his own language here if anywhere. The *d* of *quad* and the *t* of the names rather betray the High German, while the *h* of *Hiltibraht*, of course, shows that the interpolation is due to the first scribe. In the poem itself he succeeded to a certain extent in rendering the OS. sounds. The constant use of *t* for OS. *d* appears pardonable enough when we consider that the majority of our Ohg. manuscripts, phonetically exact as they on the whole are, neglect to a large extent the difference between voiced and voiceless sounds; the *s* stands throughout, in old as in modern times, for both varieties, and the hesitancy as between *g* and *k*, *b* and *p* also indicates a certain obtuseness in this respect. It is, therefore, much more natural to understand the *t* of our scribe from this point of view, as a HG. substitution for *d*,

---

[1] I refer to what Wood says on page 325 of *sceotantero*, on page 326 of the *d* in *wâri*, *suâsat*, on page 328 of the *h*, on pages 327 and 329 of the *ou* in *bougâ*.

than it would be to take with Kluge the *tt* in *whître*, etc., for
any sort of a HG. sound.

With regard to line 48,

> dat dû noh bî desemo rîche reccheo ni wurti,

F. A. Wood supposes, *l.c.*, p. 325, that 'the line has been
changed here, perhaps unintentionally, in the attempt to re-
place one alliteration that had been lost by one that the
writer could appreciate. Originally, the line might have
read in some such way as Möller (*Ahd. All.* 64) suggests':

> ðat ðu wreccheo ni wurti bi ðesse waltantes rîche.

But for an unintentional deviation this change seems alto-
gether too radical; and as Wood himself, in agreement with
Kögel, has shown, the first scribe much more attempted to
give the poem in its OS. form, while the later copyists simply
transcribed the text in a mechanical way. The simplest
emendation that suggests itself is:

> ðat ðu noh bi ðesemu weroldrîke wrekkio ni wurdi.

The verse is less objectionable metrically, and the common
but meaningless prefix *worolt* (cp. *irmindeot*, l. 13, *irmingot*,
l. 30), either the first or the second scribe could easily omit
by mere oversight.

Wettu, in line 30, — the quantity of the *e* is disputed, —
seems most probably to stand for *wêstu* 'thou knowest'; it is
then an interesting mistake of the HG. scribe who, knowing
that an OS. *t* commonly corresponded to his native sibilant,
carried his principle too far in this word in which, for once,
the OS. itself had a sibilant also. This interpretation makes
it impossible to see, with *Luft*, 'Die Entwickelung des Dia-
logs im alten Hildebrandsliede,' a present tense in the follow-
ing *gileitôs*, while the *du* of the dependent clause may refer
to *irmingot* or to *Hadubrand*. I take it to address the latter,
and the change from the ðu of *wêstu*, abrupt as it may seem
at first sight, is yet no more so than that which commonly
occurs in the usual formula *weiz got, er —*.

<div align="right">GUSTAF E. KARSTEN.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA.

REVIEWS.

English Drama: A Working Basis.   By Katharine Lee
Bates and Lydia Boker Godfrey.   Wellesley College, 1896.

THIS bibliography of one hundred and fifty-one pages is the joint
production of Professor Bates, of the Department of English Litera-
ture, and Miss Godfrey, Librarian.   Miss Bates is already favorably
known by her book, *The English Religious Drama*, published by
Macmillan in 1893, and by various editions.   In the present work,
however, her appeal is more directly to scholars, though she renders
a valuable service to all students of the drama.

The book falls under four main heads : Collections of Old Plays ;
General Index to Collections ; Authors, Plays, and References ; and
Books of General Reference.

The Collections are chronologically arranged, and preceded by an
alphabetical index.   A few collections, not of the first importance,
are omitted.   These are : *Collection of New Plays*, London, 1774 ;
Cawthorn's *Minor British Theatre*, London, 1807 ; Galt's *New Brit-
ish Theatre*, 4 vols., 1814, 1815 ; Sinnett's *Family Drama*, Hamburg,
1834 ; Dicks' *Standard Plays*, London, 1883 ; various compilations of
'Beauties of the Stage,' etc. ; and the later collections of acting plays,
such as Lacy's (continued by French).

The General Index to Collections is by titles of plays alphabeti-
cally arranged, and covers nineteen pages of rather small print.

The third division, that of Authors, Plays, and References, is again
subdivided into : Pre-Elizabethan Drama (including the Moralities,
but not Miracle and Mystery Plays) ; Elizabethan Drama ; Jacobean
Drama ; Restoration Drama ; Eighteenth Century Drama ; Nineteenth
Century Drama.   This part covers one hundred and two pages.
Here, under the authors arranged alphabetically in each division, we
have : (1) plays in chronological order, those with an asterisk being
found in the Index of Collections ; (2) accessible publications, other
than collections, containing them ; (3) critical references.   The sec-
ond division is introduced by ✠, the third by †.   A specimen will
exhibit the method :

GLAPTHORNE, HENRY. -Fl. 1639.

* Lady Mother.· Licensed 1635. (Pr. for the first time in Bullen's Old
    Eng. Plays. v. 2. 1883).
  Hollander. Wr. circ. 1635.
* Ladies Privilege. Wr. circ. 1636.
  Argalus and Parthenia. (Founded on Sidney's Arcadia). Acted
    circ. 1638.
  Wit in a Constable. Wr. 1639.
  Duchess of Fernandina. S. R. 1660. (Not extant.)
* Albertus Wallenstein. 1639?
✠ Plays and Poems, w. illustr. notes and a memoir. Lond. Pearson.
    1874. 2 v. 21/. (Retro. Rev. 1824. 10 : 122.)
† Bullen. Collection of Old Eng. Plays. 2 : 101–102.
  Zwickert, Max. Henry Glapthorne. (Inaug. Diss.) Halle.

The last head, Books of General Reference, includes : (1) Biblio-
graphical ; (2) Dramatic History and Criticism ; (3) History of the
English Theatre ; (4) Stage Polemics. This covers twenty-three
pages. Under (2) we have Aristotle, but neither Horace nor Boileau,
and Butcher's *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art* is entered
under Butcher, but not under Aristotle.

Here and there, as was almost inevitable, we detect marks of care-
lessness. Thus under Jonson we miss the recent article in *Anglia*
(xvii, 466–485), *Ben Jonson's Theorie des Lustspiels ;* under Glap-
thorne (*ubi supra*), *The Paraside, or Revenge for Honor,* S. R.
1653 ; *The Vestal,* S. R. 1660 (not extant) ; *The Noble Trial (The
Lady Mother),* S. R. 1660 (1635), printed in Bullen's *Old English
Plays,* Vol. II ; the dates of the original editions of *The Ladies
Priviledge* (1640), *Argalus and Parthenia* (1639), *Wit in a Con-
stable* (1640), and *Albertus Wallenstein* (1639, 1640). Again, under
Glapthorne, the date of Bullen's *Old English Plays* is given as 1883,
on pp. 5 and 7 as 1882 ; on p. 130, the first edition of Körting's
Grundriss (1887) is cited, instead of the second (1893) ; etc., etc.

However, it should be remembered that the work is not yet pub-
lished, and will not be (as I am informed by Professor Bates) until
it has undergone complete revision ; so that it cannot be said to
challenge public scrutiny and criticism. Copies, at the price of
$1.00, may in the meantime be procured of Professor Bates, Welles-
ley, Mass. ; and, so indispensable is the work to all students of the
English drama, even in its provisional form, that we may reasonably
hope that a speedy exhaustion of the stock will lead to revision and
definitive publication within a comparatively brief period.

YALE UNIVERSITY.   ALBERT S. COOK.

A Bibliographical Guide to Old English Syntax. Frank H.
  Chase, Clark Scholar in Yale University. Fock: Leipzig.
  pp. 27.

This pamphlet offers an interesting *résumé* of the present condi-
tion of investigation in Anglo-Saxon syntax, a searching criticism of
the relatively inutile methods of the past, and a suggestion towards
more comprehensive methods of investigation for the future.

The bibliography proper, including more than seventy titles arranged
alphabetically by authors, is certainly more complete than any former
list, probably from the point of view of the actual investigator abso-
lutely complete.   Formal correctness would have required the regis-
tering of reviews under each title.   Possibly Dr. Chase's experience,
like the present writer's, has been, that important reviews of syntacti-
cal dissertations are practically non-existent, while he may well have
grudged space to the titles of perfunctory journal notices.   Refer-
ences to Wülfing's reviews in *Englische Studien* would have been at
least a convenience.

Four bibliographical tables classify the more important mono-
graphs, — first, chronologically ; second, by universities ; third, under
syntactical categories ; fourth, according to the text or texts investi-
gated.   In the " general " list of this fourth table I miss a symbol to
distinguish dissertations registering full or relatively complete statis-
tics from those which contain examples for purposes of exposition
only.   In the classification by universities, the dates of their incum-
bency might well, in some cases, follow the professors' names.
Sievers, for instance, is in no way responsible for the Leipzig disser-
tations.

Although Dr. Chase in treating Anglo-Saxon syntax is quite justi-
fied in disregarding work in the Middle and Modern English fields, —
the converse of course could never be true, — he might well have
added in foot-notes works that definitely supplement the dissertations
cited.   Professor Ross' dissertation on " The Absolute Participle in
Middle and Modern English," for instance, with Callaway's, makes
the story of that construction complete for English.

These tables, carefully compiled and admirable in typographical
arrangement, form the most valuable portion of the book.   They
afford an orientation of the field such as we have hitherto lacked.   In
them one may see at a glance the contribution of each university to
Anglo-Saxon syntax, the portions of the syntactical field that have
been put in order or neglected, and the amount of work done upon

each text. The registration against four titles for Ælfric (but one of these for the *Homilies*) and one for the *Chronicle*, of six for *Andreas* — this on a single page — exposes, as nothing else could, the sins of omission and commission with which candidates in Anglo-Saxon syntax as a class have been chargeable.

Dr. Chase brings out briefly and moderately the moral of the tables, — the wastefulness of dissertations covering single texts only, the lack of sense of proportion that has directed more than half of the investigators to poetry rather than to prose, in prose, three-quarters of the work upon the partially latinized prose of Alfred rather than upon the Chronicle and Ælfric. Finally Dr. Chase outlines the plan of the ideal dissertation in this field as follows : " The ideal dissertation in Old-English Syntax should, it seems to me, be a complete historical account of a single form of expression or group of such forms. It should cover all the important texts, at least the prose texts ; it should distinguish between early and late usages, when a distinction exists, and should point out traces of Latin influence, if they are present. It should give accurate statistics of the proportional frequency of parallel modes of expressing the same idea, and whatever else may seem likely to be of use in the final determination of the norm for a given period." The utility of such definitive chapters of Anglo-Saxon syntax is obvious, their practicability is proved by existing dissertations, such as those of Blackburn, Callaway, Gorrell, and Smith, which fulfil, or at least approximate, this ideal.[1] Professor Wülfing's notable book points the way to that comprehensive syntax of our older language, for which such dissertations as those just cited are the necessary groundwork.

Some scholar with missionary instincts should see that a copy of Dr. Chase's bibliography reaches such candidates as may be planning dissertations on the " Dative in *Be Dōmes Dæge*," and that sort of thing, in time to warn them off altogether from syntax or to turn them into it intelligently. If this is too much to hope, we may at least wish for this useful little book the welcome it deserves with all who interest themselves seriously in the study of Anglo-Saxon syntax.

<div align="right">FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.</div>

WILLIAMS COLLEGE.

[1] Since writing the above I have received *The Present and Past Periphrastic Tenses in Anglo-Saxon* by Dr. Constance Pessels, Johns Hopkins, Diss., Strassburg, Trübner 1896, a statistical study of like scope with those cited.

Anglia. Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie. Unter mit-
wirkung von Ewald Flügel herausgegeben von Eugen
Einenkel. Band XVIII, Neue Folge, Band VI.

THE contents of the last volume of *Anglia*, in their relation to the
three great periods of English, may be succinctly summed up as fol-
lows : On the modern period of English language and literature
there are ten articles ; on Middle English eight, on Old English two.
Besides, one article is devoted to English of all periods, and one to
the life and work of that eminent scholar, Julius Zupitza. The vol-
ume therefore shows in a striking way the attention which is now
being given to the literature of more recent times, and in this respect
is in marked contrast with many of the earlier ones, in which Old
English held the principal place. For this reason it is not unnatural
that the contents of the volume before us should be considered first
in respect to the modern period of English.

In the first article relating to Modern English — the opening arti-
cle of the volume — A. W. Leslie discusses one of the famous cruxes
of literary history, " Was Swift married to Stella ? " In this contri-
bution the writer gives a negative answer to the question, thus oppos-
ing the view of Craik, the most careful biographer of the great Dean.
Leslie reaches his conclusion by an examination of all the evidence
on both sides, aiming especially at considering the character of the
witnesses, and giving more weight than is sometimes done to the
implications of Swift's own references to his long and faithful friend.
The examination shows to some extent the spirit of the advocate,
but is in the main sound and careful.

The negative answer to the question of Swift's marriage is certainly
the one which will usually be reached by the judicial mind. To some
this will mean no more than the " not proven " of the jury. These
will go no further than the most dispassionate negative. Others will
assert that a negative answer to the question is the only one consist-
ent with a proper interpretation of Swift's life and writings. Still
others will feel that any other answer adds more mystery to the life
of Swift, without explaining a single problematic factor, or helping
materially to interpret his works. All these will be strengthened in
their positions by the article of Leslie. Yet it is hardly to be hoped,
considering the natural fondness of the human mind for the myste-
rious, that others will not again discuss the question, and even reach
other, though we cannot think correct, conclusions.

Four brief articles connected more or less directly with Modern

English may be noticed together. The first, which calls for no comment, is a German translation of Keats' *Eve of St. Agnes* by Marie Gothein, the author of a recent work on Wordsworth. The translation was printed in recognition of the hundredth anniversary of Keats' birth (Oct. 29). R. E. Neil Dodge also points out a source, in Sidney's *Arcadia*, of an allusion in Coleridge's *First Advent of Love*. It would be interesting to know whether Coleridge had Sidney directly in mind or some other admirer of the *Arcadia*. Professor E. Flügel contributes a passage from a sixteenth century essay, in which occurs an unusual reference to "the irreverent Doctor Fawstus," an allusion which he leaves for elucidation to the special student of Faust. The last of these briefer notes is by Karl Borinski, who opposes E. Bormann's argument that Bacon wrote Shakespeare because the word "honorificabilitudino" (cf. *Love's Labor's Lost*, V, i, 44) is found in the former's works. Borinski notes that the word is in Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquio*, from which he supposes Shakespeare may have received it. He does not seem aware that a better explanation of Shakespeare's use of the word has been given by Hermann in *Euphorion* I, 283 ff.

The next important contribution to Modern English literature is an elaborate study, by Philipp Aronstein, of the opinions of Dickens as shown in his novels (pp. 218–263, 335–360). The completeness of the study may be seen from the various larger divisions of parts and chapters. An introduction on the popularity of Dickens and on the ethical character of his writings is followed by the main body of the investigation, which is divided into three parts. The first, Religious Opinions, is made up of chapters on Dogma, Practical Christianity, Catholicism, and Dickens and the Jews. The consideration of the last subject, though not particularly important, is eminently characteristic of a German critic in this time of anti-Semitic contention. The second part, Political Opinions, consists of chapters on Dickens' participation in politics, and on Dickens as a political teacher. This part ends with the following *résumé:* "So we find Dickens always fighting in the van against errors of history and abuses hallowed by time, while love of humanity and hate of its oppressors permeate his whole thought and feeling."

The third part, Dickens as a social reformer, begins with a chapter on Dickens the friend of the people. This is followed by others, in which are considered the relations of Dickens to the national economic policy, to popular education, care of the poor, and various philan-

thropies. The substance of Aronstein's conclusions may be found in these words, with which he closes a summary of the many conflicting opinions and the various crises of Dickens' time : " We have seen how Dickens, in this confusion, without knowledge of books, without a philosophical system or statistical material, found the right in all essential points. His great heart, filled with love of mankind, not less than his keen intellect, taught him to separate appearance from truth and selfish hypocrisy from genuine humanity."

The studies are fairly exhaustive for the opinions investigated, and the whole forms an interesting attempt to reconstruct the novelist's character from his works. It may here be mentioned also that, in a shorter article on Dickens and Carlyle, the same writer shows the influence of the latter upon the former. Starting with the different characters of the two, Aronstein calls attention to the common ground upon which they met and the fight which each waged in his own way against cant. The first chapter refers to the personal relations of the two ; and the second notes the influence of Carlyle upon the later writings of Dickens, an influence which is clearly proved by the citations made.

The last important contribution to Modern English in this volume is made by Professor E. Flügel, who, in two long articles to be followed by others, gives the poems of Wyatt with the variations of the manuscripts. The importance of this may be estimated from the fact that there has been no careful comparison of all the manuscripts since Nott's edition of Wyatt in the early part of this century, which, valuable as it is, scarcely represents the accuracy and thoroughness of present scholarship. As frequent variants of Tottel's Miscellany are also given, the reprint of the poems in this form will give invaluable assistance to scholars. All such will thank Professor Flügel for painstaking care in the preparation of his transcripts, as well as for not allowing them to slumber longer in his desk.

Of articles dealing with Middle English literature, the first is *Beiträge zu dem mittelenglischen Dialoge " Ipotis "* by H. Gruber. The author, who published a dissertation upon the poem in 1887, together with two previously unpublished texts, now contributes these notes which were originally intended to accompany a critical edition of the *Ipotis*. The article treats four points, — the language, the metre, the author, and the relation of the dialogue to those which had preceded it. There are also some textual notes. Of the four points the first and third are the most important. In the first,

Gruber shows from the rhymes that the author of the dialogue must have belonged to a region on the border of the East Midland and the Southeast, exclusive of Kent. The third part discusses the literary relations of the dialogue, the character of the author, and the relation of the *Ipotis* to former dialogues. None of the latter, however, result in very definite or very important conclusions.

In an article on Middle English alliterative verse, Trautmann propounds the theory that the alliterative line is one of seven accents, four in the first, three in the second half-line. In this way he would connect it with the theory which Ten Brink held to the end of his life, that the Old English line is one of eight accents. To the reviewer this new view is important, chiefly as an admission of the weakness of the eight-accent theory as a whole. The metrist who can discover four accents in such Old English half-lines as *gomban gyldan, lange hwīle, hȳran scolde, æfter cenned,* ought not to have difficulty in finding at least four accents in any half-line of Middle English alliterative poetry. If such a metrist can find but three accents, we must believe the eight-accent theory is on its last legs. Indeed, such a metrical analysis as Trautmann proposes seems to argue that he has no true conception of the reading of English poetry, as opposed to the barbarous scansion which the schools have tried to force upon it.

An important article for the phonology of Middle English is that by W. Heuser on the open and close $\bar{e}$'s in Scottish and Northern English. Heuser, after examining the rhymes in Blind Harry's *Wallace* and the *Fables* of Henryson, reaches the conclusion that the Northern poets, as the Southern, carefully distinguished the open and close $\bar{e}$'s in rhyme, thus indicating that they were distinguished in speech. The most striking difference between the two $\bar{e}$'s in the North and in Chaucer, is in the development of Old English $\bar{æ}$, which in the North became close $\bar{e}$. The reader may perhaps be reminded that Heuser has also investigated the *ai-ei* rhymes in Bruce (*Anglia,* xvii, 91–105).

There is no more interesting article in the whole volume than that in which Professor E. Flügel has again shown how unwise it is to rely on even recognized authorities, instead of investigating for one's self. Skeat and others have followed Tyrwhitt in supposing that Chaucer's Wife of Bath was not quoting or else misquoting Ptolemy in her prologue, ll. 178, 323 ff. Flügel points out that both quotations are from the *Almagestum Cl. Ptolemei,* to which Chaucer refers them. The same book of Ptolemy is quoted again in the *Astrolabe,* in which

case, again, the source has never before been properly searched for.
Flügel also refers to citations of Ptolemy in the *Roman de la Rose*,
the sources of which have been similarly missed by Langlois in his
Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose.

Dr. J. E. Wülfing gives, on pages 175–217, a study of John Audelay
and his works, in which he brings together the few facts known of
the blind poet's life and character. In addition, Wülfing has paid
special attention to the rhyme and strophic structure in Audelay, and
gives a summary for the Audelay poems. To this is added a valuable
table of the various thirteen-line strophes in Middle English, together
with the poems belonging to each. Students of Middle English
will also be grateful to F. Holthausen for printing a critical text with
manuscript readings of two medical poems from a Stockholm manu-
script. The first is a rhymed poem on medicine, and the second one
on healing herbs, both formerly printed by Stephens, but in so care-
less a manner as to require this new edition. The same painstaking
scholar has contributed some critical notes on the *Wright's Chaste
Wife* in his eighth article *Zu alt- und mittelenglischen Dichtungen.*

We regret the necessity of differing again in this review with
Trautmann, who opposes the statements of Sweet and Morsbach in
regard to Orm's orthography, and again presents his theory of con-
sonant length (cf. *Anglia*, vii, 94, 208). The theory of Trautmann,
at first sight exceedingly plausible, seems to us to fail entirely in
not accounting for the consonant doubling in unstressed syllables
(cf. Sweet, *Hist. of Engl. Sounds*, § 616). In any case the principal
value of the Ormulum is in determining vowel, rather than consonant,
quantity.

As pointed out at the beginning of this review, there are but two
articles in this volume exclusively devoted to Old English. In the
first of these Trautmann presents a new view of the so-called *Crist*.
After calling attention to the article by Dietrich (*Z. f. d. Altert.*,
1853), which Gollancz follows in his recent edition, and the later
ones of Sievers and Cremer, he proposes the theory that the *Crist*
consists of three distinct poems. Of these the second, concerning
Christ's Ascension, is by Cynewulf, while the first and third are by
unknown poets. This view is based on considerations of vocabulary
and metre, together with the fact that the well-known runes of Cyne-
wulf's name occur near the end of the second part, and may there-
fore be considered as belonging to that part only. Trautmann's
conclusion follows so naturally upon those of Cremer and Sievers

that those who accept the latter will not unlikely follow the former also.[1]

A notable contribution to the grammar of Old English is that on the Old English Perfect by George Caro. Not only are the results of the paper of special value, but the systematic presentation of the whole body of the material is especially commendable. As to results, the author shows that the distinction between the preterit and perfect tenses was fairly marked in Old English times, and that the participle was uninflected in the great majority of cases, whether preceded or followed by the object. In addition to these principal results, several points of minor importance occur in the paper, especially investigations of word order in the case of the perfect and of the possibility of Latin influence in the establishment of the compound tense. As to the latter, the investigator finds that there is no evidence of the influence of Latin.

It was noted that one article deals with English of all periods. This is one by Eugen Einenkel on Word Order, a continuation of one in the preceding volume of *Anglia*. We have no space in which to consider this in detail, but here note with regret that Einenkel pursues a method which has already been condemned in connection with his *Streifzüge durch die mittelengl. Syntax*. It proves nothing to set side by side Old French and Middle English phrases or sentences which may happen to correspond in order of words. The only proper way is to exhaust all possible influences within a language before even attempting to show foreign influence, and even then something more than assertion is necessary.

The volume closes with the usual valuable " Survey " of books, dissertations, and articles which have appeared in the field of English language and literature, that in the present volume being for the year 1893.

<div align="right">Oliver Farrar Emerson.</div>

Western Reserve University.

Englische Studien, herausgegeben von Eugen Kölbing. Vol. XXII. 1896.

I. F. Holthausen, *Notes on English Songs and Ballads of the Sixteenth Century*. In Lemcke's *Jahrbuch für Romanische und Englische Sprache und Litteratur*, XIV and XV, Böddeker published a number of sixteenth century poems, whose text is in many

---

[1] Cf. Blackburn's article on the same subject, *Anglia*, XIX, 89.

places very corrupt. Holthausen in this article offers emendations and elucidations, as a contribution to the study of these poems.

L. KELLNER, *Shelley's 'Queen Mab' and Volney's 'Les Ruines.'* After a brief summary of Shelley's poem, Kellner gives a more detailed *résumé* of the contents of Volney's work. The argument is as follows : The author, in his journeyings through the East, visits the ruins of Palmyra. Here, one evening, seated on a broken column, he sinks into melancholy reverie upon the transitoriness of earthly glory and man's helplessness before the blind fate that controls him. Suddenly from the tombs a spirit appears, and rebukes him for his injustice and ignorance, but, moved by his genuine longing for truth, consents to reveal to him the secrets of the past. At the spirit's touch the wanderer is freed from the bonds of the flesh, and rises with his guide so far above the earth that it seems but a point of light. Yet with quickened vision he discerns upon it the movements of men. He beholds man in his primitive state, a mere animal, wandering alone in the forests ; he notes how men come together into societies, and how the strong begin to oppress the weak. Kingdoms arise, from whose earthly tyrannies men infer heavenly ones, and thus construct religions, each nation framing its own. All the horrors of war follow, until the wanderer in despair longs for death, that he may no longer look upon miseries which he cannot relieve. Touched by his grief, the spirit shows him the future. At the far end of the Mediterranean [that is, in France] there is a great movement of the people, who, deposing their tyrants, raise up new leaders. These search out the foundations of morals and reason, and declare to the people the two great principles of liberty and equality. The priests, called to account in their turn, reveal a depth of ignorance and hypocrisy whose only excuse is the equal ignorance and the ignoble submission of the people, their dupes. Now at last religions are seen to be not divinely inspired, but wholly human — man's attempts to explain a universe which he does not understand. The people see that knowledge of 'natural law' is the only absolute knowledge attainable, and that upon this knowledge life must be based.

The striking resemblance, not only in thought but in structure, between Shelley's and Volney's work is apparent, even from this rough outline. It becomes even more evident as one glances over the parallel columns in which Kellner has placed, for convenient comparison, passages from *Queen Mab* and *Les Ruines*. Compare, for instance, *Queen Mab*, IV, 33 ff. :

> Ah! whence yon glare
> That fires the arch of heaven? — that dark red smoke
> Blotting the silver moon? etc.,

with *Les Ruines*, Chap. 12 :

> ' Vois-tu,' me dit le Génie, ' ces feux qui courent sur la terre, et com-prends-tu leurs effets et leurs causes ? ' — ' O Génie,' répondis-je, ' je vois des colonnes de flammes et de fumée,' etc.

There can be no doubt that for *Queen Mab* Shelley's inspiration came, not in a general way from Godwin and Holbach, so copiously cited in the notes, but in a particular and direct way from Volney, whose name the poet does not mention at all. Shelley's reasons for this misleading course we can only conjecture. Kellner appends a few parallel passages from the *Revolt of Islam*, which seem to indicate that even after the date of *Queen Mab* the influence of Volney still lingered, though it is by no means so evident as in the earlier poem.

PH. ARONSTEIN, *The Development of Local Government in England in the Last Decade*. Believing that English literature has in the past been more affected by the circumstances connected with local administration than by the most important changes in politics, Aronstein calls attention to the fact that the local self-government of Old England has by the bills of 1888 and 1894 been done away with, and that, in this sense, the England of Jonson, of Fielding, of Smollett, and of Dickens, is no more.

After a review of the history of English county and parish administration, he takes up the changes involved in the reforms of 1832 and 1834, and finally considers more in detail the two latest bills, the County Council Bill of 1888 and the Parish Council Bill of 1894.

The book notices include reviews of F. Liebermann's *On Pseudo-Cnut's Constitutiones de Foresta*, and *The Text of Henry I.'s Coronation Charter*, M. H. Turk's *The Legal Code of Ælfred the Great*, O. F. Emerson's *The History of the English Language*, E. Sievers' *Outlines of Old English Grammar*, F. Graz' *The Metre of the So-called Cædmonian Poems, with Reference to the Question of Authorship*, D. Abegg's *The Development of Historical Poetry among the Anglo-Saxons*, P. Bellezza's *Comparative Study of English Proverbs*, H. Lange's *Asseverations in Chaucer*, C. H. Baldwin's *The Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur of Sir Thomas Malory*, R. Ackermann's edition of Chettle's *The Tragedy of Hoffman, or A*

Revenge for a Father, F. von Westenholz' *The Tragic Element in Shakespeare's Coriolanus*, F. Adler's *The Relation of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra to Plutarch's Biography of Antonius*, and F. Lindner's *Henry Fielding's Dramatic Works, a Literary Study*.

In Liebermann's edition of the *Constitutiones de Foresta* we have at last a truly critical edition of this curious forgery. The text is preceded by a full and scholarly introduction. The editor assigns the work to the end of the eleventh century. The edition of the coronation charter of Henry I. is an excellent piece of work, especially considering the bewildering variety in the manuscripts, which are probably not even descended from a common source. Emerson's *History of the English Language* is highly praised by Ellinger, especially its treatment of the Middle English period. Kaluza, reviewing Lange's work, remarks that the author's reference to Chaucer as ' the father of English poetry ' is in this connection singularly inappropriate, since in the use of asseverations — such expressions as *ywis*, *trewely*, *parde*, etc. — Chaucer ' is the child of his times, not the creator of a new poetic era.' Such words were obviously used for padding or for convenience of rime ; and it is a pity that Chaucer did not free himself from this convention, as he did from some others. Lange's work, interesting though it is in subject, has serious faults. First, incredible as that may seem, he does not discriminate between the genuine and the spurious poems. On the other hand, he leaves out of account altogether Chaucer's prose writings, where the use of asseveration is especially interesting, because uninfluenced by the requirements of rime and metre. Finally, for the writings he does consider his treatment is not exhaustive ; and no student can rely on the work, but must test it by going himself over Chaucer's writings. Kellner commends Baldwin's study of Malory, but protests against the claim to completeness made by the author in his preface. ' The work itself,' he says, ' as a contribution to the syntax of Malory, but only as a contribution, is in every way welcome.' Sarrazin, in connection with Ackermann's edition of Chettle's tragedy, protests against the prevailing ideas of scholarship, which demand that every old work when reprinted shall be accurately reproduced in its original orthography. While recognizing the necessity of such editions for the classics, and for works of interest in language study, he holds that no such necessity exists in the case of works whose sole interest is an æsthetic, or, more often, a ' literary-historic ' one. He sees no reason why such books should not be reprinted with modernized

orthography, and he sees many reasons why they should, the weightiest being that the circle of their readers would be increased. ' Many philologians,' he concludes, ' seem to think it a good thing that the science is becoming continually more exclusive, more esoteric. I do not.'

The Miscellanea contains a new Middle English version of *Paul's Journey through Hell*, edited by Kölbing, some notes by Kölbing on Byron's *Manfred*, and by Kluge on *Beowulf and the Hrolfs Saga Kraka*, and comments by Sprenger on passages from Shakespeare, Massinger, Irving, Longfellow, and others.

II. R. THURNEYSEN, *When did the Teutons come to England?* The paper is an attempt to extract from the rather bewildering testimony which has come down to us some consistent account of the Germanic invasion. The date usually given, 449, is taken from Bede, who himself had no sufficient authority for it. There are four sources of information for this period: I. Gildas' *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae*, written before 547; II. that part of Nennius which is taken from the earlier (circa 679) *Historia Britonum*; III. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, finished in 731; IV. the beginning of the *Annales Cambriae*, which were completed in 954. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle takes its early dates directly from Bede.

A critical survey of these accounts gives the following result: About 406 A.D. Britain was deprived of foreign aid, and about 410 was overrun by northern pirates, collectively termed Saxons. They were driven back, but about 428 were invited by Guortigirn, who seems to have held a kind of overlordship amongst Britain's petty kings, to come to Britain and assist in repelling the incursions of the Picts and Irish. They received as reward the island of Thanet. From defenders they turned marauders, as their numbers grew; and in spite of many defects their occupation of Britain advanced until the close of the fifth century. Then the British united under one leader, Arthur, who about the year 500 won a decisive victory which checked for half a century the encroachments of the foreigners.

F. KLUGE, *The French Element in the Orrmulum.* In his *English Literature*, Ten Brink says that the *Orrmulum* shows no trace of French influence, and Morris seems to have taken the same ground. But examination of the *Orrmulum* shows that it contains a surprising number of words showing French influence; and in order finally to settle the question, Kluge gives a list of these words. There are, moreover, many proper names whose terminations are French, and

Kluge suggests that here is a rich field for investigation. A comparison of Biblical proper names in Middle English and Old French would yield results interesting, not only to the student of linguistics, but to the historian as well.

F. MAYCHRZAK, *Lord Byron as a Translator* (III). This completes the series, of which the first two numbers, I, 'Byron's Knowledge of Foreign Languages,' II, 'The Translations and their Relation to the Originals,' appeared in *Englische Studien*, XXI. The present paper treats of the relation of the translations to Byron's style. The translations are compared with the rest of his works with a view to showing the effect of his translations (1) on his thought, and (2) on his language. The bulk of the paper consists of instances of parallelism, either in thought or expression. Some of the examples are very striking, though many may seem to have no special weight. This paper is from its nature less satisfactory than the preceding ones, but all three will be of interest, not only to Byron students, but to all who are interested in the development of the art of translation.

J. ELLINGER, *The Seventh Summer Meeting of the University Extension Students in Oxford, 1895.* The paper gives an account of the proceedings, with brief summaries, of the most notable lectures. The next summer meeting was announced to take place in 1897, subject, 'The Revolutionary Period in England, from 1789 to 1841.'

O. SCHULZE, *Contributions to English Grammar.* The paper is a continuation of work begun in *Englische Studien*, XX, where a study was made of limiting relative clauses. The present number takes up the use of the article before titles, and the separation of the genitive from its governing word.

In the book notices are reviews of Gallée's *Old Saxon Linguistic Monuments*, Brooke's *The History of Early English Literature*, Skeat's *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer* and *The Student's Chaucer*, Bellezza's *Introduction to the Study of the Italian Sources of G. Chaucer*, Pollard's *English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes*, 2d edition, E. Koeppel's *Studies in the Sources of Ben Jonson, John Marston, and Beaumont and Fletcher*, Bülbring's edition of *Defoe's Of Royall Education*, E. H. Coleridge's *Anima Poetae, from the Unpublished Note-books of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, and K. Schmidt's *The Causes for Changes of Meaning*.

Kluge's review of Stopford Brooke's history is warmly appreciative. The only fault of the book is that occasionally it treats as if settled some question that is still a subject of controversy — such questions,

for instance, as the origin of the Beowulf or its date—and the average reader is in danger of being misled. But the book, uniting as it does true scholarship with charm of manner, must prove invaluable to the student of English literature in its beginnings.

Kaluza, reviewing Skeat's *Chaucer*, admits that 'the inevitable German' has been forestalled, adding that the Germans themselves will be glad that it is so, since if one of their countrymen had attempted the task, we should not yet have received from him more than the first volume, and might have to wait ten or twenty years for the completed work. In order rightly to appreciate the worth of Skeat's edition, we must remember the difficulties he had to meet. Of Chaucer editions there has been, indeed, no lack, but Skeat's remark as to the text of the *Legend of Good Women* is more or less true of Chaucer as a whole. 'The net result is this: that none of the editions are complete, and they are all much the same. After twenty editions we are left almost where we started at first.' Skeat's text is, indeed, far from being the final one, but it furnishes a good basis for further special work, the results of which may be embodied in a new edition. Kaluza then takes up the volumes one by one. Under Vol. I he reverts to the *Romaunt of the Rose* controversy, but adds nothing new to it. In discussing the minor poems, he calls attention to the curious persistence, even in books that claim to be 'standard,' of exploded notions as to Chaucer's authorship, and instances Courthope's *History of English Literature* as a flagrant offender. 'One could not,' he remarks, 'turn things more upside down than this account does.'

Perhaps the most interesting point in the review is the comment on Skeat's interpretation of Lydgate's testimony as to Chaucer's writings. The lines in question are, —

> He wrote also full many a day agone,
> Dant in English, himselfe doth so expresse,
> The piteous story of Ceix and Alcion.

'Dant in English' cannot be taken as meaning 'a translation of Dante into English,' — that is, *The House of Fame* — but can only be understood as a designation of Chaucer himself. The line becomes, then, parenthetical; and the whole passage might be punctuated thus, —

> He wrote also, full many a day agone,
> — Dant-in-English him-selfe doth so expresse—
> The piteous story of Ceix and Alcion.

In Vol. III Kaluza justly criticises the confusing arrangement of the two prologues to the *Legend of Good Women*, and hopes that this will be altered in the next edition. The introduction to the *Canterbury Tales* is valuable as bringing together material which has until now been scattered through countless monographs and journals. The glossaries are more complete than any hitherto published, and the plan of making out separate glossaries for the spurious and doubtful works is a distinct gain, as it enables the student now for the first time to get at the real Chaucer vocabulary. Skeat has, however, confused two classes of verbs, those like *to-dasshe*, *to-slitere*, where *to* is a genuine prefix, and those like *to-go* and *to-laughe*, where it is apparently a prefix, but really a preposition.

Pollard's second edition of the pre-Elizabethan plays is characterized by Kölbing as still very faulty. The revision has been carelessly done, and the editor has failed to profit by the results of recent investigation. The book is, therefore, even at its very appearance, 'out of date.'

Koeppel has, in Boyle's judgment, rendered good service to students of the drama in giving 'a full account, up to date, of all that has been hitherto discovered of the sources of the above-mentioned dramatists.' The weakest part of the work is that dealing with questions of authorship, where Koeppel has given too much weight to the opinions of Fleay and Oliphant, and not enough to those of R. Boyle. Sarrazin, reviewing Gossner's edition of Kyd's *Cornelia*, gives a number of striking parallel passages from *Cornelia* and *The Spanish Tragedy* to show that Kyd's translation greatly influenced his later work.

The Miscellanea contains some interesting notes on the derivation of *collet*, *minx*, and *gixie*, adopted by Swaen from the Dutch of A. Kluyver. Kluyver traces all three words to words used with similar meaning by the Gypsies, who are known to have been in England by the year 1505, and who probably crossed from the continent some time in the fifteenth century. Sarrazin contributes some suggestions as to the origin of the difficult word *she*. Schmidt reports on the proceedings of the Modern Philology Section at the Forty-third Convention of Philologists, held in Cologne in September, 1895.

III. A. TREICHEL, *Sir Cleges, a Middle English Romance*. This romance was printed by Weber, from an imperfect manuscript, in his *Metrical Romances*, Edinburgh, 1810. The work is now very

scarce, and for this reason the poem has been generally overlooked, even by such men as Ten Brink and Körting. Meanwhile, a second, more nearly complete, manuscript has been discovered in the Bodleian Library, and it is now possible to give the poem entire. Treichel's paper consists of the two versions of the poem, printed in parallel columns, and an introduction, which is in four parts : I. Literary-historical ; II. The Manuscripts ; III. Metrics ; IV. Dialect.

I. The argument of the poem is briefly as follows : In the days of Uther there lived a wealthy knight, Sir Cleges, who spent most of his fortune in charity, and gave, every Christmas, a great feast, at which all the poor were welcome. At last the knight had spent all his substance, and a Christmas came when he and his family were themselves almost in want. On Christmas Eve he was praying in his garden. As he arose, he saw one of the branches above him loaded with ripe cherries. He plucked the bough, and took it to his wife, who, accepting the miracle as a sign of God's favor, advised him to carry the fruit to the King for a Christmas gift. Next morning he set out, but at the palace was denied entrance by the porter unless he would promise to give up one-third of whatever the King gave him. He agreed, but within the palace was stopped again by the usher and then by the steward, each of whom forced him to a like promise. Arrived at the King, the knight presented the fruit, and on being told to name his reward, asked that he might have twelve strokes of a staff to distribute where he pleased. The King gave wondering consent ; and the knight at once searched out the three servants, and gave to each his share — four strokes. Explanations ensued, to the great entertainment of the court ; and the knight, being recognized as the King's once-honored servant, Sir Cleges, was richly rewarded, and appointed royal steward.

The story is seen to be a rather neat combination of two old plots, that of the over-generous knight, who becomes poor, but is restored to fortune by a miracle, and that of the joke by which the King's servants are punished for their greed. The first plot appears in *Sir Launfal* and in *Sir Amadas ;* the second seems to be current in all literatures. It appears in Eastern tales, in Grimm's collection of tales ; in the French collection, *Nouveaux Contes à Rire ;* in English Jest Books in Sacchetti's *Novelle* in the *Gesta Romanorum ;* and elsewhere. Treichel quotes many of these versions in full. This part of his introduction is an interesting contribution to comparative literature.

II. The two manuscripts assigned to the end of the fifteenth century are both imperfect, but fortunately each supplements the other. They are probably both derived from an earlier manuscript.

III. The poem is in the twelve-line, rimed strophe, with the rime-scheme *aab, ccb, ddb, ccb*, from which, however, there are occasional deviations.   The lines are four-stressed and three-stressed.

IV. The dialect is regarded by Reichel as North Midland, and the date of the poem is, at earliest, the beginning of the fifteenth century.

A. B. GROSART, *Was Robert Greene substantially the Author of Titus Andronicus?*   Grosart answers the question in the affirmative, but inserts the word 'substantially' in consideration (1) of the stage-tradition, preserved by Ravenscroft, that Shakespeare 'gave some Master-touches to one or two of the Principal Parts or Characters,' and (2) of the fact that such 'master-touches,' which cannot have come from Greene's hand, do appear in the play.

After a preliminary examination of the stationers' records and other data, from which Wright and Verity have, in his opinion, drawn erroneous conclusions, he passes to his main argument.   There are three lines of proof for Greene's authorship: I. A parallelism, in thought and expression, between *Titus Andronicus* and some of Greene's undoubted work, viz. *Planetomachia* (1585) and *Perimides* (1588).   The passage in *Titus Andronicus* (II, 2) is as follows:

Chiron.   Aaron, a thousand deaths
          Would I propose to achieve her whom I love.
Aaron.   To achieve her, how?
Demetrius.   Why makst thou it so strange?
          She is a woman, therefore may be woo'd;
          She is a woman, therefore may be won;
          She is Lavinia, therefore must be lov'd.

The same rather curious use of *achieve* occurs in *Planetomachia* and in *Perimides*.   In the former work also occurs the following: 'that Pasylla was a woman, and therefore to be won.'   And in *Perimides*, this: 'He therefore began to encourage his champion with the plausible conjecture that Melina was a woman, and therefore to be won.'

The phrase is found three times in Shakespeare, in Sonnet XLI, in *Rich. III.*, I, ii, 228–9, and in *1 Henry VI.*, V, iii, 78–9, which runs:

          She's beautiful, and therefore to be woo'd,
          She is a woman, therefore to be won.

Grosart adds : ' Is it too much to affirm that there we have one of the feathers that " Mr. Shake-scene " the " upstart crow " was complained of by Greene as having stolen ? '

II. The second line of proof is based on the character of the play. It is not only one of the ' tragedies of blood,' but one whose gross physical horror is equalled by but one other play, to wit, *Selimus*, by Robert Greene [?]. Grosart gives a comparison of the two plays. But *Selimus* resembles *Titus Andronicus* not only in its bloodthirsty character, but in its metrical system and in traits of style — the use made, for instance, of animals, birds, plants, and precious stones, in a way peculiar to Greene.

III. The third line of proof is drawn from the use in *Titus Andronicus* of classical allusions and out-of-the-way words peculiar to Greene. Grosart gives a list of words found in the play, which are favorites of Greene but are not found in Shakespeare. Finally he gives a list of words which, though they are found in Shakespeare, occur much more frequently (he gives references) in Greene.

Grosart then quotes two passages from Fleay on *Titus Andronicus* and on *Selimus*, and comments, with what Matthew Arnold would call ' vivacity,' on the opinions therein stated. In conclusion, he protests against the way in which *Titus Andronicus* has been, with equal unreason, exalted and depreciated by the critics, and quotes some of the passages which, in his judgment, show Shakespeare's master-hand.

Ph. Aronstein, *The Reform of the Secondary School System in England*. The report of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, appointed in 1894, appeared in the following year. It is divided into four parts : I. Historical Sketch ; II. The Present Condition of Secondary Education in England ; III. Review of the Evidence ; IV. Recommendations.

We may pass over the first three parts, noting only that the commission judges that at present technical subjects, natural science, and mathematics are over-emphasized, at the expense of the so-called ' literary ' subjects, *i.e.* the modern languages, history, etc. This part of the report concludes, in part, as follows : ' In every phase of secondary teaching, the first aim should be to educate the mind, and not merely to convey information. It is a fundamental fault, which pervades many parts of the secondary teaching now given in England, that the subject . . . is too often taught in such a manner that it has little or no educational value. The largest of the problems

which concern the future of secondary education is how to secure, as far as possible, that . . . the pupils shall be not only instructed, but educated.'

The commission proposes the following scheme of reform : At the head of the entire school system shall be a minister of education, responsible to Parliament, who shall have a permanent secretary. The departmental staff shall be assisted by an educational council of twelve members, four appointed by the Crown, one by each of the four universities, and four by co-optation. It is, however, expressly stated that interference of the central with the local authorities be strictly bounded. The duty of the central office shall be to oversee the local boards, to give them advice and support, and to prevent unnecessary competition. An all-powerful central body which, through a hierarchy of commissioners, should control the entire school system according to a unified scheme, would run counter to all English ideas of freedom and self-government.

The weight of reform presses more especially upon the local authorities. These shall be representative of the county councils and the universities and university colleges, shall have entire oversight of the public and to some extent of the private schools, and shall control the appropriations. The influence with private schools shall lie in the power of the county authority to ' recognize ' such private schools as place themselves under its supervision, and to grant to these ' recognized schools ' some financial support. All schools, public or private, shall obey the sanitary regulations of the authorities, but aside from this little power of compulsion is given to the county boards, lest they might interfere with private initiative. The commission declines to lay down any definite rules either as to the erecting and management of schools or as to methods of teaching, etc., as these are things that should be left to the local authorities.

It will be seen how thoroughly English the plan of reform is, in its conservatism, its elasticity, its insistence on local government. In the words of the commission : ' Freedom, variety, elasticity are, and have been, the merits which go far to redeem the defects in English education, and they must at all hazards be preserved.'

The Miscellanea contains *The Fragments of Manuscript C. of the Old English Chronicle*, edited by K. Horst, and an emendation by A. Höfer of *Coriolanus*, II, 2, l. 42. The passage reads :

> Having determined of the Volsces, and
> To send for Titus Lartius, it remains,
> As the main point of this our after-meeting, etc.

The second line of the passage he would alter to :

> To send forth Titus Lartius, etc.

Swaen gives some explanatory comments on passages in *Patient Grissill* which Hübsch fails to clear up. Swaen also reviews W. L. Phelps' edition of Chapman's Plays. The edition is meant to serve a literary purpose, and it is well adapted to its end. For this reason, too, the modernized spelling can meet with no objection, ' if we bear in mind what Professor Sarrazin writes about modernized spelling.' A. Beyer gives an account of the Seventh General Convention of German Modern Philologists, at Hamburg.

<div align="right">ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE.</div>

YALE UNIVERSITY.

Euphorion; Zeitschrift für Literaturgeschichte, herausgegeben von August Sauer.

ITS RANGE AND AIMS.

The modern tendency to treat literary history as a scientific study has been amply illustrated by the establishment of periodicals devoted to that specific purpose. Among others may be mentioned the *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte,* which was founded by Richard Gosche in 1870, while its ideals were well defined by the dedication of the first two volumes respectively to Moritz Haupt and Hermann Hettner. From 1874 to the cessation of the periodical in 1887, Franz Schnorr von Carolsfeld assumed the management. The history of German literature from the close of the middle ages was the field chiefly to be examined, although the earlier period and the history of other literatures were not excluded ; and this range was generally maintained.

Bernhard Seuffert's *Vierteljahrschrift für Literaturgeschichte,* 1888–1893, with Erich Schmidt and Bernhard Suphan as co-editors, continued the mission initiated by Gosche's *Archiv.* Before the foundation of the former periodical, indeed, the methods and the materials for the work of the literary historian were analyzed in a masterly fashion by Erich Schmidt in his inaugural address at the University of Vienna ; and these views regarding the course and aims of literary history might well be noted for reiteration before a larger audience of scholarly workers.

Seuffert's quarterly was in its turn succeeded in 1894 by August
Sauer's *Euphorion*, which, like its predecessor, has been practically
limited to the consideration of modern German literature, with
special supplements devoted to the literature of the nineteenth cen-
tury.   The obscure title is illumined by the words of the offspring
of Faust and Helena, which appear as the suggestive and encour-
aging motto of the magazine :

> "Immer höher muss ich steigen,
> Immer weiter muss ich schaun."

This desire for a higher standpoint, for a wider range, is revealed
in the preface to the first volume, and is further elucidated in two
open letters to the editor from Anton Schönbach and Otto Harnack.
On the occasion of the establishment of a Journal of Germanic Phi-
lology in America, it is timely to review this confession of philological
faith, which sets a common standard and indicates a common goal.
For the history of a nation's literature is in truth a part of the history
of the development of the nation itself, reflecting faithfully the intel-
lectual, the moral, the spiritual, and even the political ebb and flow
in the tides of national life.   It is part and parcel, then, of every
great movement in that life, whether in philosophy or theology, in
the theatre, in journalism, in music, or in the plastic arts ; and the
true literary historian is he who regards and reviews these intertwin-
ing relations without detriment to the proper perspective and natural
limitations of his own field.   The picture which he draws for us pre-
sents a literary character set in the foreground of the time, pre-
sents a period in its connection with the past and future, presents
the literature of a people in its relations to contemporary literatures
and peoples.
   Another article of faith yields homage to the great masters in
German literature, whose influence has neither been supplanted nor
become superfluous, in spite of all the active and ardent, and often
aimless aspiration of this closing century.   Back to them the Ger-
man of to-day must turn for any true progress, or for the true foun-
dations on which to continue the structure of the nation's intellectual
life.   The German, we say ; for his era of victorious literary produc-
tion practically closed before the great Victorian era in English and
American literature began.   Of those masters some, however, like
Klopstock and Wieland, accomplished their main task in their own
day and generation, and have now chiefly an historic interest.   Others

have still a message for the present.   Schiller, says Schönbach, now leads the van, and has become the people's own.   Goethe's influence, he would almost be persuaded, is waxing rather than waning.   That Lessing yet lives is esteemed a blessing, and his image must be kept bright.   Herder has spoken to us largely through others, but the voice is still Jacob's voice.   And Romanticism is beginning in many of its representatives to celebrate a second spring.

But the note of warning also which Schönbach sounds in his communication is not to be disregarded.   German literature of to-day, whether tale or poem or drama, must not be overlooked or undervalued.   For if its productions may not ultimately be ranked with the imperishable creations of the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, they deserve serious study and are invaluable and trustworthy records of the seething, vigorous flux of this age.

Harnack discusses methods rather than materials.   He expresses the hope that in the curriculum of *Euphorion* the same scientific spirit will control special investigations and general treatises; that a minute contribution may not only be marked by care and thoroughness, but may actually add to the sum total of knowledge; that a comprehensive essay may be distinguished for its clearness and accuracy as well as for originality and brilliance.   So will each class of performance complement the other, and the scientific structure be made true and entire.   May this spirit animate all who labor in this field.

In subsequent numbers of the JOURNAL attention will be called to the more important articles and reviews appearing from time to time in *Euphorion.*

<div align="right">HORATIO S. WHITE.</div>

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, ITHACA, N. Y.

Indogermanische Forschungen, herausgegeben von Karl Brugmann und Wilhelm Streitberg.

VOL. I, 1892.

H. HIRT, *Vom schleifenden und gestossenen Ton in den indogermanischen Sprachen.*   Part I, pp. 1–42 ; Part II, pp. 195–231.   A discussion of the points here raised would now more fittingly be connected with a review of Hirt's treatment of the whole subject of Indo-European accentuation in *Der indogermanische Accent,* Strassburg (Trübner), 1895.

A. Noreen, *Ueber Sprachrichtigkeit*, pp. 95–157.   A translation and
adaptation for German readers of Noreen's *Om Språkriktighet* (Upsala,
1888), to which are added some notes and strictures by the trans-
lator, A. Johannson, pp. 232–255.   The author rejects the theory of
those who would measure the correctness of our current speech by
the standard of a more or less arbitrarily chosen past period, often
termed 'classical.'   In like manner he is at variance with those who
hold that the terms 'correct' and 'incorrect' cannot properly be
applied at all to phenomena of speech; that whatever exists is, by
the very fact of its existence, proved to be 'right'; that the majority
is always right and the minority always wrong.   Against these two
conflicting views N. places his own theory.   Starting from the
principle that the chief aim of all speech is to be a means of com-
municating thought, he regards that speech best which is most
quickly and most clearly understood by the listener, and, at the
same time, most easily produced by the speaker.   Wrong — not
merely relatively, but absolutely, because counteracting the very pur-
pose of speech — is therefore, according to N., everything which is
likely to be misunderstood, or cannot be understood at all, or is
understood only by some effort, or increases the difficulty of produc-
tion (*e.g.* retention of foreign sounds in naturalized words), or requires
a special mental effort on the speaker's part by falling outside of
association-groups, or increases the speaker's labor by unnecessary
cumbersomeness, or by unnecessary clearness.   Finally, N. would
discountenance all changes in the existing speech-material by which
a distinct gain is not obtained.

As the subject is of general interest (cf. the notes on N.'s article
in the *Academy*, Sept. 26, 1891, No. 1012, p. 268, and Collitz' critique
in the *Anzeig. f. deutsch. Alterthum*, xviii. (1892), p. 171), a few
remarks may be permitted.   At the very outset we must distinguish
between *didactic* grammar and *historical* grammar.   It is the aim of
the *latter* to write a history of a given language, *i.e.* to trace and
interpret its development through the various periods.   The facts
with which it deals are not *sub judice*, but they are *res adjudicatae*.
It is difficult, therefore, to imagine a case when it would be called
upon to pass an opinion, as to whether a form or phrase be 'correct'
or 'incorrect.'   As it would be manifestly absurd for a historian
to discuss what Hannibal ought to have done, or to embellish his
account of the French Revolution with ethical speculations, in no
less degree would it be labor lost, if a *historical* grammar should

attempt to point out the directions in which a language ought to have developed, instead of recording and explaining the actual facts.

Quite different is the attitude of the *didactic* grammarian. If the historical grammarian resembles the historian, the didactic grammarian may be compared to the politician. The *former* deals with accomplished facts which no amount of moralizing can change, the *latter* takes an active part in the shaping of the present. It has become almost a trite axiom that 'the people' make and change language. This is true only in so far as 'the people' in a democracy may be said to make and change institutions and laws, or in so far as 'society' may be said to set and change fashion. A closer scrutiny will show the inexactness of all three phrases. In all three cases the majority of the people or of society play a passive part; with them rests merely the privilege of final ratification. It is the individual (or a small group) from which all alterations start, be they linguistic, or political, or economic. The 'people' or 'society' either ratify or reject, not so much according to an impartial and judicial discrimination, but mainly according to the degree and weight of advocacy a given innovation receives. If this be admitted, and if it be agreed that innovations in language do not 'grow' but are 'made,' there is no good reason why no critique should be passed on them. If language be a tool, why should we not have the right to fashion it as we will? Collitz' *ehrfurcht vor den geschichtlichen schöpfungen des volksgeistes* is the proper attitude of the *historical* grammarian, as it is that of the historian. But it gives us no help as to our attitude toward a proposed innovation. These must be judged by some canon or other, and for this N.'s principles appear sound and practical. For innovations they are mainly intended; for N. himself (p. 132) deprecates wanton changes in the existing material.

K. BRUGMANN, p. 176, connects OHG. *scrintu*, 'burst,' with Lith. *skérdžiu*, 'burst.'

O. WIEDEMANN, pp. 257–8, derives Goth. *saihvan*, 'see,' with Lat. *inseque*, Gr. ἔννεπε, Lith. *sakýti*, 'say,' from a √ *seq*, 'see,' which in Lat., Gr., and Lith. has assumed causative meaning. For the latter he compares Gr. δείκνυμι with Lat. *dīcere*.

J. WACKERNAGEL, *Ueber ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung*, pp. 333–436. (Cf. the abstract of this paper in *Verhandlungen der 41. Versammlung deutscher Philologen u. Schulmänner in München*, 1892, p. 304.) Delbrück, in his *Syntakt. Forsch.*, iii, 47

(cf. also his *Altind. Synt.*, p. 22), was the first to observe that in Sanskrit the enclitics (particles and pronouns) are usually placed after the first words of the sentence. W. traces the same law in the Greek (pp. 333–402), Latin (pp. 406–424), and Iranian (pp. 403–406), while the Germanic is merely touched (pp. 405, 406) with a reference to Kluge's article in KZ., xxvi, 80, and the Keltic omitted. On this basis W. infers that in Indo-European monosyllabic and dissyllabic enclitics stood as near as possible to the first word of the clause. His attempt, however, to explain by this law the position of the ModHG. verb in dependent clauses is certainly unsuccessful.[1] He argues that in Latin, Sanskrit, and Lithuanian the normal position of the verb in *all* clauses is at the end. The German *dependent* clause he classes with these, and infers from the coincidence that this was the normal position of the Indo-European verb in the *dependent* clause, where, as the Sanskrit shows, the verb was accented. In the *independent* clause, on the other hand, where the verb, as the Sanskrit shows, was accentless, *i.e.* enclitic, it stood next to the first words of the sentence, as it still does in German. Latin, Sanskrit, etc., extended the position of the verb in dependent clauses to the independent clauses. Every link in this chain is more than doubtful. It is not certainly established that the position of the verb at the end of dependent clauses can be claimed for the Germanic (cf. E. Hermann, KZ., xxxiii, 509 ff.). It cannot be proved with any degree of certainty that the Latin, Sanskrit, and Lithuanian verb-position represents an Indo-European original. H. Zimmer in the *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 173 ff., denies it and sees in the Keltic order the direct descendant of the IE. There is no evidence that the Sanskrit enclisis of the verb in an independent clause was Indo-European (cf. Zimmer, *l.c.*). There is no evidence that the IE. possessed any hypotactical clauses (cf. E. Hermann, KZ. xxxiii, 481–535).

O. WIEDEMANN, p. 436, connects Goth. *fairguni*, 'mountain,' with OBulg. *pragъ*, 'threshold.'

H. HIRT, *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen*, pp. 464–485. This is another of the many attempts to determine the 'original home' of the Indo-Europeans on linguistic evidence. H. infers, chiefly from what he claims to be the IE. fauna, that the original seat of the Indo-Europeans was on the shores of the Baltic Sea. With all the

---

[1] Cf. W. Braune in *Forschungen z. deut. Philol.* (*Festgabe f. R. Hildebrand*), 1894, pp. 34–54, to which Professor Palmer calls my attention.

ingenuity of its combinations, it shares the fundamental weakness of
all such investigations which is inherent in their method. For many
of the comparisons not more than possibility can be claimed (*e.g.*
H., p. 481, claims that ' no doubt can exist as to the identity of
ONorse *Fjǫrgyn* and Goth. *fairguni* with Lith. *Perkúnas*, Pruss. *per-
cunis*, but this very identity is denied only 45 pages before (p. 436)
by Wiedemann). Even more fatal to all such investigations is that
no value can be assigned to negative evidence, because words may
be lost; that the value to be given to positive evidence is limited
because of the possibility of borrowing; and that identity of words
does not always imply identity of object, etc.

O. WIEDEMANN, pp. 511–513, connects Goth. *bairhts*, 'shining,'
with Lith. *bérszti*, 'turns white,' *béržas*, 'birch'; — Goth. *maþl*, 'mar-
ket,' *maþljan*, 'talk,' with Engl. *meet* (= Goth. *mētan*) by way of
Prim. Germ. **maþla-* from IE. **matlo-* from **mad-tlo-*; — Goth.
qiþan, 'speak,' to OIr. *bēl*, 'mouth,' IE. √*ʒet*, 'speak.'

W. STREITBERG, pp. 513, 514, derives Goth. *speiwan*, OBulg. *pljują*,
Lith. *spjáuju* from IE. **spiéuō;* compares the relation of OHG. *Zios-*
to Ang.-Sax. *Tīwes-* to that of Lat. *Jovis* to Lat. *Diovis;* [1] and supports
Grimm's comparison of ONorse *tyggja*, 'chew,' with OHG. *kiuwan*,
by deriving both from a Prim. Germ. **kjewonon* (IE. √*gieu*),
the palatalized *k* of which became *t'* in ONorse.

VOL. II, 1893.

G. MEYER, *Von wem stammt die Bezeichnung Indogermanen,*
pp. 125–130. The term does not occur in Schlegel's *Über Sprache
und Weisheit der Inder* (1808), as often claimed (e.g. *Encycl.
Britann.* (1875), ii, 672). M. finds it first used by Klaproth in his
Asia Polyglotta, Paris, 1823, but not as if he had coined it.

G. KOSSINNA, *Arminius deutsch?* pp. 174–184. The author en-
deavors to explain the phonetic difficulty which stands in the way
of connecting *Arminius* with Germ. *Ermin-*. After refuting the
theories of those who regard Arminius as the name of a Latin
gens, he suggests that the Roman form of the name owes its *A* to
the fact that the Romans became acquainted with the name by way
of Gaul. He gives a list of changes of Germ. *e* to Gallic *a* before
liquids and nasals.

---

[1] This equation is attacked by Bremer, IF. iii, 301, who connects Prim. Germ.
* Tīwaz with Lat. *dīvus*.

K. BOJUNGA, *Der indogermanische Konjunktiv im Germanischen*, pp. 184–197. An attempt to find a few remnants of the IE. subjunctive in the Germanic, where it has been generally superseded by the IE. optative. With Hirt, IF. i, 206, he regards the 1 sing. pre. opt. *bairau* as the Gothic reflex of original *bherōm (Lat. *feram*, OBulg. *berǫ*). This is doubtful (cf. Brugmann, *Grundr.* ii, § 928, p. 1294). Another remnant he sees with Collitz, BB., xvii, 50, note, in the mod. obliq. of the athematic *ō*-verbs (type *salbō*). Difficulties against this are pointed out by Brugmann, p. 194 of B.'s article. In regard to the 1 plur. imperat. (Goth. *faram*), for which subjunctive origin has been claimed by Kögel (PBB., viii, 133) and Jellinek (*Germ. Flex.*, p. 103), and the solitary Goth. *ogs*, which since J. Schmidt, KZ., xix, 291, has generally been claimed for the subjunctive (cf. *Paul's Grundr.*, i, 383), B. is sceptical.

F. JOSTES, pp. 197–198, explains Anglo-Sax. *ides*, OHG. *itis*, as a compound of *ī*, 'water' (cf. Yssel = *I* + *sala*, etc.; *ī* is still used as an independent word in the former Niederstift Münster), and *dis* (= ONorse *dís*, 'matrona,' and West Flemish *dyze*, 'woman').

H. PEDERSEN, *Das Praesensinfix n*, pp. 285–332. After discussing the representatives of the three IE. nasal classes (for which Sanskrit *yunájmi, gṛbhṇámi*, and *çṛnómi* are typical examples) in the various IE. languages, the author attempts an explanation of the so-called nasal infix, by assuming that in the oldest members of the infixing verb-classes the *n* was no infix, but belonged to the root. In certain positions (*i.e.* in the group *i* or *u* + nasal + consonant) it was regularly dropped; *e.g.* from a root *leinep a present *linép-mi and a perfect *lelóip-a (for *lelóimp-a) was formed.

A. KOCK, *Zum Wechsel von ū : ō in den altnordischen Sprachen*. In order to explain the East Norse *ō* against the West Norse *ū* (*e.g.* OSwed. *bōa* : Icel. *būa*), the author assumes that after IE. *ōw* had changed in Parent Norse before vowels to *ū*, and before consonants to *ō* (a stage which is, in general, represented by the Icelandic), the East Norse further changed the *ū* before *a* (and perhaps also before other vowels) to *ō*.

G. MEYER, pp. 441–445, derives Mod. Germ. *Tornister* from Byzant. Greek τάγιστρον, 'bag into which a horse's mess of corn is put.' Passing through Roumanian *taistră*, Polish *tajstra*, it blended with Lat. *canistrum*; the result was (1) *καίστρον = Little Russian *kajstra*, whence Upper Silesian *Keister;* (2) *τάνιστρον = Slovac. *tanistra*, whence Magyar *tanisz1ra*, whence Mod. Germ. *Tornister*.

Vol. III, 1894.

Ch. Bartholomae, *Zur l-Frage*, pp. 157–197. Fortunatov, BB. vi, 215 ff., advanced a theory according to which the group consisting of an original *l* + dental is reflected in Sanskrit by the lingual mute (e.g. *pāṇi-*, 'hand,' against Gr. παλάμη). Although this law was sceptically received by Brugmann (*Grund.*, i, 211) and J. Schmidt[1] (*Pluralbildung.*, 179), Bechtel undertook in his *Hauptprobleme*, 380 ff., a defence of it, and used it for the purpose of proving the existence of an *l* in IE.: "The existence (of an IE. *l*) would be proved, if it could be shown that the European difference of *l* and *r* is paralleled by a phonetic difference in the Aryan languages. According to Fortunatov's law this is the case. For while the combination *r* + dental remains unchanged in Sanskrit, the *l* of the combination *l* + dental is dropped and the dental changed to the lingual." Bartholomae here offers a careful review of the evidence submitted by Fortunatov and Bechtel, and reaches the conclusion that it is *not* only the group original *l* + dental which is reflected by the Sanskrit lingual. The question, therefore, whether the IE. possessed an *l* remains still open.

K. F. Johansson, p. 199, sees in the first member of OHG. *fol-gēn* a cognate of the Gr. πέλας.

R. Kögel, *Zur altsächsischen Grammatik*, pp. 276–304, gives additions and corrections to Behagel-Gallée's *Altsächsische Grammatik*, I (1891).

W. Streitberg, *Entstehung der Dehnstufe*, pp. 305–416. This is the final revision of a paper read by St. before the meeting of German Philologists at Vienna, May 25, 1893, and before the American Philological Association at its meeting in Chicago (published in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, xxiv (1893), pp. 29–49, under the title "Ein Ablautproblem der Ursprache"). In view of the exhaustive and easily accessible review by Bloomfield in the *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, xxvi (1895), pp. 1–15, "Origin of the Indo-European Long Vowels" (cf. also the reviews by P. Giles in the *Classical Review*, ix, pp. 115–

---

[1] More recently, in his 'Kritik der Sonantentheorie,' ·foot-note to p. 1, J. Schmidt has turned positively against Fortunatov's rule. Of *r* and *l*, he argues, the former alone was lingual in Sanskrit, while the latter was dental and could not have turned a following dental into a lingual. All words with only a lingual mute instead of European *r* or *l* + consonant, are Prākrit borrowings, and in all cases, even in those in which the Sanskrit shows related or collateral forms with *l*, a more original *r* must have preceded the secondary lingual. Cf. also Wackernagel, *Altind. Gr.*, § 189, and quite recently Bartholomae, *ZDMG.*, L. 716.

125, and by Henry, *Revue Critique*, 189, No. 29/30, pp. 27–32), it is not necessary to discuss this very important paper here in detail. The aim of the investigation is to account for the long vowels which appear in certain inflectional categories, *e.g.* the η in masc. nom. sing. εὐγενής from a stem εὐγενές, the ω in ἡγεμών as against the ο in ἡγεμόνες, again the long vowel in Lat. *vōc-*, Sanskrit *vāc-* against the short vowel in Homeric ὄπ-α, Sanskrit *vácas-*. etc.   In order to explain these lengthenings of an originally short vowel, St. makes use of the (somewhat modified) law of Compensation or Preservation of Quantity ("*Morenersatz*").   This law was hinted at by H. Möller in PBB., vii, 498 ; it reappears in articles by Fick (GGA., 1881, p. 1452) and Johansson (*Ibid.*, 1890, p. 765), and was criticised by Bechtel (*Hauptprobleme*, p. 177).   In St.'s improved version the law teaches : "Whenever in a word a *mora* is lost, the accented syllable immediately preceding the syllable sustaining the loss undergoes the following compensative changes.   If it be an accented *short* syllable, it is lengthened ; if it be a *long* syllable having the 'cut' accent, the 'cut' accent is changed into the 'slurred' accent."   It should be added that the law receives corroborative evidence from certain phonetic phenomena in modern languages.   St.'s systematic application of this law to all cases of apparent lengthening is brilliant and suggestive throughout.   That it should be convincing in every single case no one would expect.   I think that it may be laid down as a general methodological principle applicable to all linguistic investigations, that it is not safe to infer from an apparent likeness of a large number of phenomena a likeness of the forces which shaped them.   If like forces operating under like conditions on like material *must* produce like effects, different causes operating under different conditions *may* produce like effects.   A law which satisfactorily explains fifty cases is not necessarily a bad law because it leaves twenty cases unexplained ; nor does it become a better law if these twenty cases, by chopping or stretching, are forced into its Procrustes-bed.   If, therefore, one or the other of St.'s explanations cannot be maintained (cf. *e.g.* Wackernagel's strictures in his *Altindische Gr.* (1896), p. 68, § 61), the correctness of his interpretation of a large number of cases of lengthening is not thereby invalidated in the least.

<div align="right">Hanns Oertel.</div>

Yale University.

NOTICES.

At a recent meeting of the American Dialect Society a committee was appointed to supervise the reading of American books, for the purpose of collecting all words and uses of words not yet recorded in dictionaries. This is part of the larger work of the Society in gathering all dialectal material which represents spoken and written usage in America. Such material will be eventually incorporated, it is hoped, in a compendious American Dialect Dictionary, similar to the English Dialect Dictionary now in course of publication.

The reading of American books for this purpose has already begun, but the committee desires to secure more volunteers for this great and important undertaking. The books to be read include especially all dialect novels, as well as dialect stories and sketches in magazines or special volumes. Besides, American books of all sorts, particularly books of early date, may furnish valuable material. Any one who wishes to assist in the reading is invited to address the chairman of the committee, stating the book or books he wishes to undertake, or asking for assignment of reading. Such volunteers will receive a circular of directions, describing a simple and uniform plan of collecting and reporting dialect words.

The committee hopes to secure the coöperation of teachers of English or other languages in colleges and schools, of clergymen, and of people of leisure who are interested in observing peculiarities in language. The assistance of all such, as well as of any others who are willing to undertake the reading, is earnestly solicited.

To most readers of this notice the importance of such an enterprise need not be urged. The undertaking should appeal to all Americans, as contributing to settle the relations of English in Britain and America, and as showing the growth and development of the language upon American soil. Besides, the Dictionary, which will doubtless grow out of the work of the Dialect Society, will be a reliable compendium of American usage, useful not only to this, but to coming generations.

The committee in general charge of the work consists of Professor Benjamin I. Wheeler of Cornell University, Mr. E. H. Babbitt of Columbia, and the chairman, whose name appears below.

O. F. EMERSON.

Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Beginning with No. 2, the following CO-EDITORS will share with the Managing Editor the editorial responsibility for their respective departments: —

For the Department of English :
ALBERT S. COOK, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

For the History of German Literature :
HORATIO S. WHITE, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.

For the Historical Grammar of the Germanic Dialects :
GEORGE A. HENCH, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

European Co-editor :
GEORG HOLZ, University of Leipzig, Germany.

*** Contributions intended for the JOURNAL OF GERMANIC PHILOLOGY may be submitted to the Managing Editor, or to the Co-editor for the department concerned.

CHAUCER'S CLASSICISM.

PERHAPS no two words, outside the realm of theology, are more fraught with associations of clash and contest, of wars and rumors of wars, than the words Romanticism and Classicism. Each has been used as a term of deep contempt and of reverent admiration, and even yet we find critics at variance as to their significance. One affirms that classicism is in the last analysis essentially romantic; another asserts that the two are at opposite poles of the literary world; and a third — the loveliest as the subtlest of literary appreciators — while pointing out the differences, hints, with one of his own peculiar touches, at the time when 'in that House Beautiful which the creative minds of all generations . . . are always building together for the refreshment of the human spirit,' all oppositions between the two shall cease.[1]

Yet the names stand for two tendencies, whose divergence is, we may confidently say, as old as art, — as old as human nature itself, since in human nature it is based; tendencies of which the two Greek tragedians are surely not the earliest embodiment, as they are not the latest.

Freeing ourselves, then, from any associations of praise or blame attached to the terms, we find that one of them is comparatively easy to define. The critics — Pater, Brunetière, Sainte-Beuve — seem to unite in attributing to classicism the qualities of measure, poise, sanity; making it not so much any one quality as a certain relation between qualities. Thus Brunetière, who is by temperament best fitted to give the classic spirit its most sympathetic interpretation: 'Ce qui constitue proprement un classique, c'est l'équilibre en lui de toutes les facultés qui concourent à la perfection de l'œuvre

---

[1] Pater: Postscript; *Appreciations*, p. 241.

d'art, une santé de l'intelligence, comme la santé du corps est l'équilibre des forces qui résiste à la mort. Un classique est classique parce que dans son œuvre toutes les facultés trouvent chacune son légitime emploi, — sans que l'imagination y prenne le pas sur la raison, sans que la logique y alourdisse l'essor de l'imagination, sans que le sentiment y empiète sur les droits du bon sens, sans que le bon sens y refroidisse la chaleur du sentiment, sans que le fond s'y laisse entrevoir dépouillé de ce qu'il doit emprunter d'autorité persuasive au charme de la forme, et sans que jamais enfin la forme y usurpe un intérêt qui ne doit s'attacher qu'au fond.'[1] But, it may be objected, this is not classicism merely, this is perfection! And, indeed, the writer's classic sympathies may have led him unconsciously from description into eulogy. Yet classicism must imply a kind of perfection, and the passage is set right if we qualify it by noting that it deals only with relative, not with absolute values, — that the question of greatness is not logically involved. The test would, for example, make Lanier's little sonnet, *The Harlequin of Dreams*, by virtue of its exquisite perfection, as truly classic as the *Œdipus King*.

Classicism, then, is easily known; but the romantic spirit is, like Euphorion, elusive. It is difficult to define, except in terms of negation and exclusion. Yet, as we think of Rousseau and Hugo and Musset, of the youthful Schiller and Novalis, of Coleridge and Blake, we feel their kinship, despite their individual and national differences. The romanticists are always, though in varying degree, marked by *lack* of equilibrium, measure, poise; they stand for reaction against convention. But this is unfairly negative. Pater gives us the positive side: 'It is the addition of strangeness to beauty that constitutes the romantic character in art; and, the desire of beauty being a fixed element in every artistic organization, it is the addition of curiosity to this desire of beauty that constitutes the romantic temper.'[2]

---

[1] Brunetière: 'Classiques et Romantiques'; *Études Critiques*, III, pp. 302, 303.

[2] *Appreciations*, p. 248.

This seems the most far-reaching and psychologically adequate suggestion that we have found. For it implies much. Traced out with regard to the art-product, this curiosity, this emphasis of strangeness in beauty, leads, as Pater points out, to neglect of perfection in form, everything else being sacrificed to this one purpose, — leads, sometimes, to the sacrifice of beauty itself; hence we get the grotesque, the passionate, the horrible — one thinks instantly of Coleridge and Musset and Hugo. Traced out in its subjective aspects, this curiosity and emphasis of strangeness lead to introspection, the search after the hidden meaning of things, which sometimes finds new beauties, sometimes magnifies trifles into crises, and makes commonplaces momentous and fraught with significance; — gives us, in short, the mystical temperament in all degrees of sanity, according to the physical and spiritual organization. And this helps us to interpret such natures as Blake and Novalis, or Shelley in some of his phases.

But if the two tendencies, the classic and the romantic, are distinctly different, that is not to say that they may not be united in one individual. Brunetière admits that they may, only stipulating that they be not confounded; and Pater suggests that even Sophocles shows romantic traits, nay, that the highest art results from a fusion of the two temperaments. Nor does it mean that classicism is always good and romanticism always bad, or the reverse. If Pater is right, the two qualities — curiosity, dealing with matter, and sense of proportion, dealing with form — are both necessary and both excellent, while both may fail of excellence; the faults of romanticism being those of sentimentality, unpractical ineffectiveness, extravagance; the faults of classicism being those of commonplaceness and tame prettiness.

To which of the two groups, then, does Chaucer belong? We may judge him in two ways: by his temperament, that is, psychologically; or, more objectively, by his works in their æsthetic and historic values. The first way may prove the only fair one, at least if we accept Brunetière's decision that a classic cannot exist until the language has reached perfection, and has freed itself from foreign influences. For

neither of these conditions is fulfilled in Chaucer's time : the language was inchoate and transitional, and both language and people were strongly under French and Latin influence. Thus in Brunetière's somewhat narrow and rigid system Chaucer has no place; though, as the professed advocate of evolutionary theory in literature, Brunetière might admit a growth in the direction of classicism in Chaucer's spirit as it gradually freed itself from French and Italian influences, and made towards a more truly English ideal.

In thinking of Chaucer's writings, one trait occurs to us that might be considered, if not romantic, at least non-classic, that is, a lack of architectural proportion in them. It is not lack of form, for taken in detail they do show fine artistic modelling. But it is surely significant that of all his longer works not one is finished, — unless *Troilus and Criseyde* be called finished, because its story is told out. Moreover, all the structural value of this poem is of course due, not to Chaucer, but to Boccaccio, whose plans the English poet used throughout, while refining his psychology. Of the other poems it may be argued that their incompleteness was perhaps due to outside circumstances, and in the case of the Canterbury Tales this has special weight; but one can hardly suppose that the most propitious conditions would have made, for instance, the *House of Fame* an organically unified creation; its superficial resemblances to Dante's poem make the differences all the more striking. And even in his ripest work — perhaps most of all there, because of its very ripeness — do we not feel that he had not within him an impelling and informing sense for the architectonics of his art? Yet one may hesitate before saying that this means anything for our purpose. If Chaucer had a fine sense of form and proportion in detail, but not, as it were, in the large, this may be only one way of saying that he was, when all is said, second-rate; it may mean, not that he was not a classicist, but that he was not a classicist of the first rank.

More indicative is the lack in his works of any signs of such reaction from earlier conventions as could be called

romantic. His common sense saved him, to be sure, from
the vapid prosing of his predecessors, but this is the reaction
of common sense purely, the check by which the self-con-
scious humorist saves himself in time from becoming dull ;
and it was compatible in him with much conformity — the
conformity that shows itself, to take a trifle as illustration, in
his retention of the senseless and tiresome asseverations in
use in his time. Compare him with Dante, who, a century
earlier, had not been prevented by his worship of Virgil
from striking out for himself into an entirely new form,
in a wholly new spirit, and the difference becomes at once
apparent. '

When we turn from the form to the content of the poems,
a first impulse might be to class them, without question, as
romantic. What are his stories about ? Knights and ladies,
adventure by land and sea, the very subject-matter which
French and German romanticists turned to when they sought
refuge from the garish present in the dim light of the Middle
Ages, when they followed the call —

> Noch einmal sattelt mir den Hippogryfen, ihr Musen,
> Zum Ritt ins alte romantische Land !

But we must note that what is romantic to us may not —
probably did not — seem so to Chaucer. If it is, perhaps,
putting it too strongly to say that a knight and squire were
to him as much a commonplace as to us a business man and
his clerk, we may at least be sure that the terms had no
such vague charm then as now. But what of *Troilus and
Criseyde ?* Was its subject-matter not practically as remote
from him as from us ? In a way, yes ; but in a way, no. For
the poets of Chaucer's day, instead of feeling the mystery
and dim suggestiveness of the past, drew the past to them,
into the light of their own times, and made it commonplace.
And it is significant that the illuminated margins of the old
manuscripts pictured the Trojan heroes in the full panoply
of a mediæval knight, and drew Hector as carried to his
grave by tonsured monks. There is in the *Troilus* no sug-
gestion that Chaucer felt in his subject the fascination of

antiquity, the fascination such as, for instance, Pater must have felt in the times of Aurelius Antoninus, and whose glamour rests over his wonderful romance.

The truth is that, after all, the question is not one of remoteness or nearness in subject-matter; this is comparatively external, as Pater[1] recognizes, when he calls Scott, who turned to the past, less romantic than Emily Brontë, who took the seemingly commonplace world about her and touched it into strangeness. The vital question is as to the poet's attitude towards his material; and thus we find ourselves at last forced into the psychological treatment. Is Chaucer's temper of mind classic or romantic? If he had been born in the eighteenth century, would he have been more akin to Addison or to the forerunners of the later romantic reaction?

Two expressions, used by two critics temperamentally as far asunder as the poles, may indicate the answer. Arnold[2] speaks of the 'shrewdness' of Chaucer; Swinburne[3] of his 'composed and comfortable genius.' Neither expression professes to be adequate, and, especially with Arnold's, it is somewhat unfair to wrench them from their context; but, without pressing them too far, we feel their force. We feel, too, that they are expressions which might be applied to some among the classicists, but never to a romanticist, *qua* romanticist. And to Chaucer they apply very well — to the keen, reflective, perhaps slightly melancholy, artistic man of the world, with a relish for the humor and the irony of life, but no sensitiveness to what Novalis would have called its veiled secrets. Whether he dealt with the remote days of Troy town, or with his own English country-people, he gave to all the stamp of his sanely rational spirit, which was never oppressed by a sense of the mystery of things, nor overpowered by a divine curiosity to fathom this mystery. Allowing that there might still be

Wel more thing then men han seen with yë,[4]

[1] *Appreciations*, pp. 244, 245.
[2] 'The Study of Poetry'; *Essays in Criticism*, 2d series, p. 33.
[3] *Miscellanies*, p. 3.
[4] Prologue, *The Legend of Good Women*, l. 11.

the poet yet summed up his practical philosophy in the
words — one may picture the quiet smile about his eyes as
he wrote:

> A thousand tymes have I herd men telle,
> That ther is joye in heven, and peyne in helle ;
> And I acorde wel that hit is so ;
> But natheles, yit wot I wel also,
> That ther nis noon dwelling in this contree,
> That either hath in heven or helle y-be.[1]

If he had lived in the days of romanticism he might have
been outwardly tinged by it, for he was sensitive and recep-
tive, — but a true romanticist he could hardly have been ; while
among his predecessors he was rather akin to Boccaccio,
whom he imitated, than to Dante, whose words, indeed, he
borrowed, but whose mystical, romantic spirit he can never
have caught or felt.

<div align="right">ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE.</div>

YALE UNIVERSITY.

[1] Prologue, *The Legend of Good Women,* Text B, ll. 1–6.

SOME NOTES ON CHAUCER'S PROLOGUE.[1]

I BEG to submit the following notes on Chaucer's Prologue
to the *Canterbury Tales*, and wish to state at the begin-
ning that these notes are only selections from a great number
of 'Chauceriana,' consisting of new parallels, textual emenda-
tions, and explanatory matter, collected in the course of my
work at the *Chaucer Lexicon*.

The new parallels were yielded mainly by a verbal con-
cordance to Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and by a word-index
to Wycliffe's *Minor Writings*. The explanatory matter was
derived from a study of the historical, political, and legal
documents of Chaucer's time, from the writings of some of
his contemporaries, and from the encyclopædic works at
Chaucer's disposal. It is especially the great *Encyclopædia*
of Vincent de Beauvais, the *Speculum Doctrinale, Historiale, et
Naturale*, which has not yet been used in as systematic and
complete a way as it deserves, although the industry of the
latest editor of Chaucer's works has derived from it many
a valuable elucidation of Chaucer's text.

v. 1.   *Whan that Aprille with his shoures soote*
        The droghte of March | hath perced to the roote
        And bathed euery veyne | in swich licour
        Of which vertu | engendred is the flour

v. 5.   *Whan Zephirus eek | with his swete breeth*
        Inspired hath | in euery holt and heeth
        The tendre croppes . . .

v. 9.   *And smale foweles | maken melodye*
        That slepen al the nyght | with open ye
        So priketh hem nature in hir corages, etc.

[1] Verses 1, 9–10, 60, 91, 177, 212, 248.

It is interesting and instructive to compare Chaucer's highly artistic description of the awakening of nature in April with the plain style of the popular poet, who sings in the Harl. Ms. 2253 (ed. Boeddeker, p. 174):

> *a*) When þe nyhtegale singes, þe wodes waxen grene
>   Lef & gras & blosme springes, in aueryl y wene.

> or *b*) Bituene mersh & aueril
>   when spray biginneþ to springe
>   þe lutel foul haþ hire wyl
>   on hyre lud to synge.
>   —*Ib.* 147.

Or the poet of *Alisaundre* (ed. Weber, p. 108):

> *a*) In tyme of May the nyghtyngale
>   In wode makith miry gale;
>   So doth the foules grete and smale,
>   Some on hulle, som on dale.

> *b*) Averel geveth mury shoures
>   The foulis syngith than spryngith the flouris.
>   —*Ib.* 287.

Does Chaucer not show himself by this contrast as the great pupil of the Renaissance?

This becomes more evident still if we compare his 'Introductory verses' with the passages Skeat quotes from *Vincent de Beauvais* and *Guido dalle Colonne.* I wish to add another passage from Guido's *Historia Troiana* (ed. Strassburg, 1486, cap. 56) and one from Bartholomæus (Glanvilla), *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (ed. Strassburg, 1505):

> *a*) *De horeste vindicante mortem patris in morte matris et recuperatione regni sui.*

[Fol. 80ª] Tempus enim erat quo iam sol tauri signum intrauerat. tunc cum prata virerent & vernarent. flores in arboribus redolentes ruberent. rose in viridibus rubis earum & in dulcibus cantibus philomene dulci modulamine citharisarent Tunc cum esset mensis ille maius qui horum ductor est omnium & blandus alumnus

ipsorum tunc Horestes cum rege forense . . . mecenas accelerant.[1]

b) The passage from Bartholomæus, *De Propr. Rerum,* Lib. IX, c. 4:

Ver est principium anni cuius initium est quando sol in prima parte arietis consistit & contra septentrionem per rectam lineam ascendere incipit. . . . Durat autem tempus veris vsque in finem geminorum quantum .s. sol discurrit per tria signa. quorum vnum quidque habet suum mensem ad tempus vernale pertinentem. Primus mensis est arietis incipiens a .xviij. die martii vsque in .xvij. diem aprilis. Secundus est tauri incipiens a .xvij. die aprilis vsque ad .xviij. diem maij. Tertius est geminorum incipiens a .xviij. die maij vsque ad .xvij. diem iu[n]j. Est autem vernum tempus inter frigidum et calidum maxime temperatum. inter hyemem et estatem medium : qualitatum vtriusque participatiuum. quum sanguis tunc incipit multiplicari in corpore animali : & humores qui in hyemali frigore constricti fuerant & compacti : calore vernali moueri incipiunt & dissolui. Ver autem in suis qualitatibus temperatum : sanissimum tempus est : & minime mortiferum ac infirmum vt dicit Const. & Gal. . . . Vernum insuper tempus terram diu clausam & pro frigore constrictam aperit : et radices & herbas in terra latentes producit. floribus & herbis terram renouat. Aues ad garritum & amorem sollicitat & inducit & miro decore omnem terre superficiem induc^it [induit?] & venustat ; Vnde ver dicitur a virore vel a vigore. quod tunc herbe & arbusta virescere incipiunt & frondere. Tempus veris est tempus agriculture & laboris tempus leticie & amoris. Vernali enim tempore omnia videntur letari. Nam terra viret[2] : silua frondet, prate florent : celum splendet : mare quiescit : volucres vociferant & nidificant. & omnia que in hyeme videbantur mortua & arida (alias marcida)

---

[1] This passage is original with Guido, nothing corresponds to it in Benoit, ed. Joly, p. 521 ff.; but the English translator retains it, *Gest. Hysteriale,* v. 12969 :

> Hit was the moneth of May when mirthes begyn;
> The Sun turnyt into tauro, taried þere vnder;
> Medos & mountains mynget with floures
> Greues wex grene, & the ground swete
> Nightgalis with notes newit þere songe
> And shene briddes in shawes shriked full lowde.

[2] Cf. Isidorus, *Or.* V, 35 : Ver autem dictum, quod viret. Tunc enim post hiemem vestitur tellus herbis, et in florem cuncta rumpuntur. How dry and matter-of-fact !

vernali tempore renouantur.   Vnde serenitas aeris vernalis vocatur a
Marciano risus [cf. Martiani *De Nuptiis* I, § 17, 67] iouis . . .

Gower's attempts to describe Spring fall short of Chaucer,
and I quote only two specimens by way of contrast.

a)   But whan the winter goth away
        And that nature the goddesse
        Woll of her owne fre largesse
        With herbes and with floures both
        The feldes and the medewes cloth,
        And eke the wodes and the greves
        Ben heled all with grene leves
        So that a brid her hide may,
        Betwene March, Aprille and May
        She that the winter held her clos
        For pure shame and nought aros,
        Whan that she sigh the bowes thicke
        And that there is no bare sticke
        But all is hid with leves grene,
        To wode cometh this Philomene
        And maketh her first yeres flight,
        Where as she singeth day and night.
                                    — *Conf. Am.* 2, 327.

b)   The weder was merie and fair inough
        Echone with other pleid and lough
        And fellen into tales newe
        How that the fresshe floures grewe
        And how the grene leves spronge
        And how that love amonge the yonge
        Began the hertes thanne awake,
        And every brid hath chose his make.
        And thus the maies day to thende
        They lede . . .
                            — *Conf. Am.* 1, 112.

And how lame and impotent is the imitation of Lydgate
(*Minor Poems*, 244; cf. 243, etc.):

        First Zephirus with his blastys soote
        Enspireth Ver with newe buddys greene
        The bawme ascendith out of every roote

Causyng with flourys ageyne the sonne sheene
May among moneths sitte lyk a queene
Hir sustir April wattryng hir gardynes
With holsom shoures shad in the tendyr vynes.

Prol. v. 9, 10. I have no doubt Chaucer refers to the nightingale, and follows the old tradition, according to which the nightingale, in early spring, sings for a fortnight, day and night, without stopping. The tradition is referred to in Aristotle's *Histor. Animal.* Lib. IX, c. 49. It is treated in Plinius, *Hist. Nat.* Lib. X, c. 43 ; Isidorus, *Etym.* XII, c. 37 ; Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Spec. Nat.* Lib. XVII, c. 102, and in many other works of mediæval natural history.

I quote from

a) Plinius, *Hist. Nat.* X, 43 (ed. Franzius, 4, 86) :

Lusciniis diebus ac noctibus continuis .xv. garrulus sine intermissu cantus est : densante se frondium germine . . . digna miratu aue.

b) Isidorus (ed. Strassburg, 1473, fol. 92ª) :

Luscinia auis inde nomen sumpsit quod cantu suo significare solet diei surgentis exortum quasi lucinia, etc.

c) Vinc. Bellov. *Spec. Nat.* Lib. XVII, 102 :

Actor : Luscinia ipsa est filomena vt in papia legitur. *Isidorus.* Luscinia dicitur quasi lucinia : quod cantu suo solet signare diei surgentis exortum : eadem et acredula a cicerone vocatur. *Ambrosius.* Luscinia peruigil custos cum oua quodam sinu corporis et gremio fouet insomnem longe noctis laborem cantilene suauitate solatur . . .

In mediæval bestiaries I find only the lion mentioned as not closing the lids of his eyes.

Cf. Mätzner's *Sprachproben*, 1, 1, 58, from the Latin *Physiologus* (15) :

Et quotiens dormit, sua numquam lumina claudit ;

which the *English Bestiary (Old Engl. Misc.* 2) translates :

þe þridde lage haueð þe leun
ðanne he lieð to slepen   .
Sal he neure luken
þe lides of hise egen

Cf. Isidorus, *Etym*. Lib. XII :

> Cum dormierit vigilant oculi ;

and Aldhelm's *Riddle* (ed. Giles, 255) :

> Dormio nam patulis non claudens lumina gemmis.

Gower alludes to the nightingale's 'open eye' twice :

a) The slepy nightes I despise
And ever amiddes of my tale
I thenke upon the nightingale
Which slepeth nought by wey of kinde
For love, in bokes as I finde.
— *Conf. Am.* 2, 98.
(Cf. *The Young Squire* of Chaucer.)

b) To wode cometh this Philomene
And maketh her first yeres flight
Where as she singeth day and night.
—*Ib.* 2, 327.

A remarkable parallel to Chaucer's words,[1]

'So priketh hem nature in hir corages,'

is found in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Lib. VII (3, 119),
where he speaks in his dry catalogue manner of the months
of the year, and comes to *April* and *May* and their zodiacal
signs :

His [Taurus] month assigned eke also
Is Averil, which of his shoures
Ministreth way unto the floures.

.   .   .   .

The thridde signe is Gemini

.   .   .   .

His propre monthe wel I wote
Assigned is the lusty May
Whan every brid upon his lay
Amonge the grene leves singeth
And love of his *pointure stingeth*
After the lawes of nature
The youthe of every creature.

---

[1] Cf. *Parl. of Foules*, 386 ff.: as I prik yon with plesaunce.

Prol. v. 60. *At many a noble Armee | hadde he be.*

<div align="right">— Ellesmere Ms.</div>

The Mss. read here :

> Armee : Ellesmere Ms.
> armee : Hengwrt Ms.
> aryue : Cambridge Ms.
> arme : Corpus Ms.
> armeye : Petworth Ms.
> Arme : Lansdowne Ms.
> ariue : Harl. Ms.

Skeat follows the reading of the Harleian and Cambridge Mss., and remarks in his note :

' aryve,' arrival or disembarkation of troops, as in the Harleian and Cambridge Mss. Many Mss. have *armee*, which gives no good sense, and probably arose from misreading the spelling *ariue* as *arme*. Perhaps the following use of *rive* for ' shore ' may serve to illustrate this passage :

> The wind was good, they saileth blive,
> Till he took lond upon the rive
> Of Tire.

<div align="right">— Gower, *Conf. Am.* 3, 292.</div>

Against this statement I should say :

1) That the Harleian Ms. and the Cambridge Ms. have *not: aryve,* but *aryue* and *ariue.*

2) That it is not '*many*' Mss. that have ' arme,' etc., but *all the Mss.* with exception of the two just mentioned ; viz., five good Mss. against two.

3) That the quotation from Gower is out of place ; for ' arrivage,' ' arrivayle,' even Mätzner would have given better parallel quotations.

4) That '*arrivee*' as ' landing, disembarkation,' gives scarcely any sense ; it would not have been a great heroic deed to have been present at the landing of a ship ! And what is a ' noble ' landing ?

5) That ' arrivee ' does not occur, as far as the dictionaries and glossaries (which I consulted) show, in French authors, or English authors before the sixteenth century.

6) That 'armee' gives a perfectly good sense, and was in common use in French at Chaucer's time. Froissart alone yields, in Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Glossaire, five* examples for '*armée*' as '*expédition militaire*,' viz. :

4, 101 : Il estoit chils qui plus loiaument se acquittoit en ses armées et chivaucies.

4, 154 : Comme chiés et souverains de ceste armée et chevaucie.

5, 315 : Enfourmés de l'armée au roy d'Engleterre (and besides 8, 104 ; 15, 25).

7) 'Armee,' or 'army,' in the sense of 'an armed expedition by sea or land' is found in English still in the sixteenth century ; cf. *New Eng. Dict. s.v.*

I think for these reasons the old reading of Tyrwhitt (followed, as I see, by Hertzberg and Düring in their translations) ought to be reintroduced into our texts.

Prol. v. 91.   *Syngynge he was | or floytynge all the day.*
                                                          — Ellesmere Ms.

> floytynge : Hengwrt.
> floutynge : Cambridge.
> floytynge : Corpus.
> floytenge : Petworth.
> flowteinge : Lansdowne.
> flowtynge : Harleian.

All commentators explain this as 'playing on the flute.' Now the lively young squire has no flute on his picture in the Ellesmere Ms. He gallops so jolly that a flute would endanger his teeth, and I do not believe Chaucer intended him to do anything but what he calls also 'piping,' 'whistling,' and what in modern German is 'pfeifen,' 'flöten,' 'floiten.' Indeed, in Low German it is the common word, unfortunately not recorded in Grimm. I was at a loss about a quotation from an English dialect as to 'flouten,' 'fluten,' etc., for to 'whistle'; but old Baily, the first edition of whose *Dictionary* appeared in 1721, comes to the rescue, giving from Oxfordshire the quotation I wanted.

Cf. *English Dialect Words of the* 18*th Century, as shown in the Universal Etymological Dictionary of Nath. Bailey.* Edited by W. G. Axan. London, Eng. Dial. Soc., 1883 :

'Floting [of fluten, L. S.] Whistling, Piping. *O.*'

O = Oxfordshire.

Chaucer and 'Nembrot.'

Prol. v. 177. There are two passages in which Chaucer refers to 'Nembrot'; only one, though, where he really names the great hunter :

I. *Former Age* 59 [in the happy times of the golden age] :

> Yet was not Jupiter the likerous
> That first was fader of delicacye
> Come in this world ; *ne Nembrot desirous*
> *To reynen, had not maad his toures highe* . . .

II. In the *Prologue* 177, where Chaucer says of the Monk that :

> He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
> That seith | that *hunters beth nat hooly men.*

To us only the account in Genesis x. 8 is familiar, and we scarcely remember why Nimrod was such a bad man, the connection between him and the Tower of Babel being a very loose one in the Bible. We do not regard him as a tyrant, as the first man that exalted himself above his brother men to rule over them ; we learn this if we follow the whole stream of the mediæval Nimrod legend, the very well and fountain-head of which is hidden back in the earliest centuries of the Christian era, and may even originate in a Hebrew tradition.

The Vulgate reads :

Genesis x. 8 ff. : Porro Chus genuit Nemrod ; ipse coepit esse potens in terra, (9) et erat robustus venator coram Domino. Ob hoc exivit proverbium : Quasi Nemrod robustus venator coram Domino. (10) Fuit autem principium regni eius Babylon, et Arach, et Achad, et Chalanne, in terra Sennaar, etc.

And Wycliffe translates this:

Nemoroth began to be my3ti in the erthe, and he was a strong hunter bifore the Lord; of that 3ede out a prouerbe, as Nemoroth, a strong hunter bifore the Lord.

Out of these words grew the legend, according to my view, in the following way:

I. Nimrod was 'mighty':

1) Bodily. He was a giant (cf. Augustine, etc.); all giants are heathenish and bad.[1]

2) He was a hunter 'before' the Lord. This 'before' is a wrong translation of the Greek ἐναντίον; he was a strong hunter 'against the Lord' '*contra Dominum*,' not '*ante* dominum,' Origen, St. Augustine, etc.; he was an enemy of God.

3) He was strong and mighty, and in Genesis follows immediately after the Nimrod passage the story of the Tower of Babel; therefore *he*, Nimrod, built it; he was a proud lord, who would, as a tyrant, have his fellow-men work for him. There is no king mentioned in the Bible *before* his time; therefore he must have been the first ruler, king, tyrant.

4) It was only recently that a quotation from the Pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* opened a further vista to me, and showed to me how the democratic tendency in the Church utilized this Nimrod legend. "If the first ruler was such a bad man as Nimrod, why then indeed the royal authority cannot be 'gratia divina,' but rather 'gratia diabolica'!" This is openly pronounced in a passage like the following from the *Registrum Gregorii VII*, Lib. VIII, ep. 21 (*Monumenta Gregoriana*, ed. Jaffé, 1865, p. 457):

Quis nesciat: reges et duces ab iis habuisse principium qui Deum ignorantes, superbia rapinis, perfidia, homicidiis, postremo universis pene sceleribus, mundi principe diabolo videlicet agitante, super pares, scilicet homines, dominari caeca cupidine et intolerabili praesumptione affectaverunt.

---

[1] Cf. Alfred's Bœth. 35, where the 'Nefrod' story is inserted after the 'gigantes' of the original (III, pr. 12).

That Chaucer was fully aware of this construction of the — to us — innocent Bible passage, there is no doubt ; his almost satirical allusion to the 'text' (venator contra dominum), according to which hunters must be unholy, and his distinct mentioning of the happy times before a Nemrod had started as a ruler, prove it.

I subjoin a collection of passages from mediæval ecclesiastical writers, lawyers, and poets, to show the general views on the Nimrod legend before and in the times of Chaucer.

1. Augustinus, *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. 16, ch. 3 :

(De generationibus trium filiorum Noe) : Generationes ergo filiorum Noe deinceps intuendae. . . . Quibus enumeratis reditur [*sc. in Genesis*] tamquam ad caput et dicitur : Chus autem genuit Nebroth ; hic coepit esse gigans super terram. Hic erat gigans venator contra Dominum Deum. Propter hoc dicunt : Sicut Nebroth gigans venator contra Dominum. Et factum est initium regni eius Babylon, Orech, Archad, et Chalanne in terra Sennaar. . . .

2. De Diversitate linguarum principioque Babylonis (*Ib*. c. 4). . . . Unde colligitur, gigantem illum Nebroth fuisse illius conditorem, quod superius breviter fuerat intimatum, ubi, cum de illo scriptura loqueretur, ait initium regni eius fuisse Babylonem, id est quae civitatum ceterarum gereret principatum, ubi esset tamquam in metropoli habitaculum regni ; quamvis perfecta non fuerit usque in tantum modum, quantum superba cogitabat impietas. Nam nimia disponebatur altitudo, quae dicta est usque in coelum, sive unius turris eius, quam praecipuam moliebantur inter alias, sive omnium turrium, quae per numerum singularem ita significatae sunt, ut dicitur miles et intelleguntur milia militum ; ut rana, ut lucusta. . . . Quid autem factura fuerat humana et vana praesumtio, cuiuslibet et quantumlibet in coelum adversus Deum altitudinem molis extolleret, quando montes transcenderet universos, quando spatium nebulosi aeris huius evaderet? Quid denique noceret Deo quantacumque vel spiritalis vel corporalis elatio ? Tutam veramque in coelum viam molitur humilitas, sursum levans cor ad Dominum, non *contra* Dominum, sicut dictus est gigans iste *venator contra Dominum*.[1] Quod non intelligentes nonnulli ambiguo Graeco falsi sunt, ut non interpretarentur *contra Dominum*, sed

---

[1] Cf. August., *Locut. in Heptateuchum*, Gen. 10, 9 : incertum est utrum possit accipi coram Domino. Cf. Origenes in Genesim (*Migne* 12, 110) : οὗτος ἦν γίγας κυνηγός. ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ. Ὁ κυνηγὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ δικαίων κεῖται νῦν καὶ τήρει μήποτε οὐδὲ ἄλλοτε.

ante Dominum; ἐναντίον quippe et contra et ante significat. Hoc enim verbum est in psalmo : Et ploremus ante Dominum qui nos fecit ; et hoc verbum est etiam in libro Job, ubi scriptum est : In furorem erupisti contra Dominum. Sic ergo intelligendus est gigans iste *venator contra Dominum.* Quid autem hic significatur hoc nomine, quod est *venator,* nisi animalium terrigenarum deceptor oppressor extinctor ?[1] Erigebat ergo cum suis populis turrem contra Deum, qua est impia significata superbia. . . . Genus vero ipsum poenae quale fuit ? Quoniam dominatio imperantis in lingua est, ibi est damnata superbia, ut non intellegeretur iubens homini, qui noluit intellegere ut oboediret Deo iubenti.

[This latter addition might be valuable for the history of Philology, for the history of a certain contempt of ' languages ' we find among mediæval writers.]

3. Cf. *Interrogationes Sigewulfi,* § LVII :

Hwâ wolde ǣrest beon cynincg on mancynne ? Nembroð, se ent, sê þe fyrmest wæs æt þǣre ȝetimbrunge þǣre micclan byrig Babilonian, on þǣre þe hî woldon þone stýpel ûp tô heofonum ârǣran, on þǣre wurdon þâ gereord on twâ and hundseofontig tô dǣlde.

4. Cf. Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* (ed. Paris, 1526, fol. 15ᵇ), cap. 37 : De dispersione filiorum noe et nemroth. . . . Generationi Sem insistemus : alias transeuntes : hoc tamen addentes quod chus dicitur filius cham et filius chus nemroth qui cepit primus potens esse in terra : & robustus venator hominum coram domino primus extinctor & oppressor amore dominandi : & cogebat homines ignem adorare adhoc exijt prouerbium ad dicendum de aliquo qui fortis sit et malus quasi nemroth robustus venator coram[2] domino. Hoc ideo diximus quia methodius dicit hunc fuisse de filiis hieron filij sem. Quare vero primus ceperit dominari : ostendit agens de quodam filio noe, de quo non egit moyses sic dicens. Centesimo anno tertie ciliadis natus est noe filius in similitudinem eius et dixit eum ionithum. Trecentesimo anno[3] dedit noe donationes filio suo ionito et dimisit eum in terram ethan. & intrauit eam ionithus vsque ad mare orientis : quod dicitur elioschora prima solis regio hic accepit a domino donum sapientie : et inuenit astro-

---

[1] It would be an interesting task for one of Nemrod's disciples to collect from ecclesiastical writers quotations in favor of his art, passages, and there *are* quite a number of them (cf. Pseudo-Thomas *de Regimine*), where St. Augustine is contradicted.

[2] A marginal note adds: *id est contra dominum,* I Paralip. I.

[3] Cf. note at the end of this quotation.

nomiam.   Ad quam veniens nemroth gigas .x. cubitorum eruditus est
ab eo et accepit ab eo consilium in quibus locis regnare cepisset.
Ionithus iste futuros quosdam eventus previdit & maxime de ortu
.iiij. regnorum et occasu eorum per successionem.   Quam etiam
plane prophetauit daniel.   Et predixit discipulo suo nemroth : quod
primi regna rem [regnarent?] de cham de quo belus descendit : post
de sem medi et perse et greci : post de iaphet romani.   A quo
rediens nemroth accensus amore dominandi sollicitauit genus suum
de sem : vt imperaret aliis quasi primogenitus sed noluerunt.   & ideo
transiuit ad cham qui acquieuit et regnauit inter eos in babylone : et
exinde dictus est de filiis cham.   Sed si vere fuit de filiis cham tunc
nulla est questio quare inter eos regnauerit.   Huius exemplo cepit
regnare iectan vel ietram vel vram super filios iaphet.

Narrat autem philo iudeus : velvt alij volunt gentilis philosophus
in libro questionum super genesim : quod ex tribus filijs noe adhuc
ipso viuente sunt nati .xxiiij. milia virorum : & c extra mulieres &
paruulos habentes tres super se duces quos prediximus.

NOTE. — There is an 'additio' to the words 'trecentesimo anno,' which shows
the budding critical spirit against the words of a 'Father':
    Objicitur secundum methodium de ionitho : quia non genuerat eum noe ante
diluuium quia non fuit in arca cum non fuerit mortuus ante : quia post instruxit
nemroth : nunc post diluuium.   Forte non est vera ratio methodij.

5. From Petrus Comestor the story was copied into a great num-
ber of poetical versions of Genesis : *e.g.* the once famous *Aurora*
of Petrus de Riga, which Chaucer quotes for the Tubal-story in the
Boke of the Duchesse.   I give the extract from a thirteenth-
century manuscript in my own possession :

[11^b]   de chus corpore forti

[12^a]   Nemrot venator i^n babilona regens
       nitit^{ur} ut turris co^{n}surgat ad astra suosq^{ue}
       Colligit · in campo Sennaar ille pares
       Pessimus ille gigas.   Satana^m notat ista loqu^{e}nte^m
       Vt deus efficiar me sup^{er} astra fera^m
       Ex isto p^{ri}mu^m fuit orta sup^{er}bia tanqua^m
       Turris . que crescens duxit ad astra minas
       Vis ho^{m}i^{n}um turri^m locat i^n babilone s^{ed} horu^m
       Confunde^{n}s linguas destruit o^{m}ne deus.

6. In the Old English poem of *Genesis and Exodus*, the account of Petrus Comestor was condensed to the following lines (v. 659, ed. Morris) :

> Nembrot gat hise feres red
> for ðat he hadde of water dred
> To maken a tur, wel heg & strong . . .
> Nembrot nam wið strengðe ðat lond
> And helde ðe tur o babel in his hond.

7. And the *Cursor Mundi* (Cotton Ms.) reads :

> v. 2195.   O cus com Nembrot al-sua,
> þat in his time wroght mikel waa,
> For he was fers, prud, and fell ;
> Of him sumthing her es to tell.
> þis nembrot wit his mikel pride
> Wend to wyrk wondres wide,
> Ful far aboute men bere his nam,
> Mikel he cuth o sin a scham ;
> O babilon king stijf in stur
> And þer-wit was he gret werrur
> Reuer and manqueller gret
> Mikel he liued wit il biyett
> þar was na folk he wond bi
> Moght þam were wit his maistri
> Oueral he raxhild him wit rage.

[*Göttingen Ms.* : Ouerall he rahut wid gret vtrage ; *Trinity Ms.* : Ouer al he went wiþ greet outrage.]

8. If we turn to the mediæval encyclopædists, we find, first, in Isidorus, *Etym.* VII, c. 6 :

Nembroth interpretatur tyrannus.   Iste enim prior arripuit insuetam in populis tyrannidem, et ipse aggressus est adversus Deum impietatis aedificare turrem.

and again, *ib.* XIV, c. 3 :

In Persia primum orta est ars magica, ad quam Nemroth [v. l. Nebroth] gigas post confusionem linguarum abiit, ibique Persas ignem colere docuit.

9. Vincentius Bellovacensis, *Speculum Historiale* (ed. Strassburg 1473), Lib. 1, c. 61 :

Primus enim nembroth de filiis cham regnauit super fratres suos.

eruditus a ionitho quodam filio noe sapiente .de. quo moyses tacet.
qui & astronomiam inuenit. & futuros quosdam euentus preuidit.
maximeque de ortu et occasu quattuor regnorum. de quibus &
daniel prophetauit. Exemplo vero nembroth cepit regnare iectan
super filios sem.

10. Johannes Saresberiensis, *Polycraticus*, Lib. I, c. 4 :

De venatica, et auctoribus, & speciebus eius, et exercitio licito
et illicito.

Venatores omnes adhuc institutionem redolent Centaurorum. Raro
invenitur quisquam eorum modestus aut gravis, raro continens, et, ut
credo, sobrius nunquam. Domi quippe Chironis habuerunt, unde
haec discerent. Caveri namque jubentur convivia Centaurorum, a
quibus sine cicatrice nemo revertitur. Quod si historiis, quas suis
poetae decoloravere figmentis, fides subtrahitur : illi utique credi
necesse est, quae ex eo quod scripta est Dei digito, irrefragabilem
apud omnes gentes sortita est auctoritatem. Primus ergo ponitur
Nemroth robustus venator contra Dominum. Eum reprobum fuisse
non ambigis, quem omnium doctorum turba condemnat. Traditur
hic in tantam elationis erupisse vecordiam, ut non vereretur jura
temerare naturae, quum consortes conditionis, et generis, quos
ingenuos illa creaverat, hic addiceret servituti. Tyrannidis ergo
fastigium in contumeliam creatoris a venatore incipiens, alium non
invenit auctorem, quam eum qui in caede ferarum, et volutabro
sanguinis, Domini contemptum didicisset. Coepit enim potens esse
in terra. Sic namque scriptum est : Eo quod non expectaverit, ut
acciperet a Domino potestatem. Principium regni eius Babylon,
dilatatusque est in terram Sennaar, ubi quum tota terra esset unius
labii, eorundemque sermonum in coelum erecta est turris Babel
habens lateres pro lapidibus, bitumen pro caemento, non habens in
fundamento petram ; cuius singulari soliditate structa, omnis aedifi-
catio in Domino convalescit. At improba temeritas ab unitate prae-
cisa, linguarum succidit unitatem, et prima confusionem meruit, quae
in se quam in Deo maluit gloriari. Exivit ab hoc proverbium, Quasi
Nemroth robustus venator coram Domino, forte quia tantae elationis
in se extitit, ut nec recentis poena diluvii posset instrui, quin in
oculis Domini superbiret, et obsequium quod ab homine Domino
debebatur, sibi contumaciter usurparet ; quum constet quod confu-
sionem linguarum diluvium antecessit. . . .

[p. 27] Interroga patres tuos, et annunciabunt tibi, majores tuos,
et dicent se nusquam sanctum legisse venatorem. . . .

[p. 30] Nonne reputabis indignum si ad regnum vel ad pontificium venator aspiret? . . .

11. And after Chaucer, the 'text' is taken up again by Sir John Fortescue, *Governaunce of England*, ch. II. Whi oon King regneth *regaliter*, and another *politice et regaliter*.

Whan Nembroth be myght for his owne glorie made and incorperate the first realme, and subdued it to hymself bi tyrannye, he wolde not have it gouernyd bi any oþer rule or lawe, but bi his owne wille; bi wich and for the accomplisshment þerof he made it. And therfore though he hade thus made hym a realme, holy scripture disdeyned to call hym a Kynge, *quia rex dicitur a regendo;* wich thynge he did not, but oppressyd the peple bi myght, and therfore he was a tirraunt and callid *primus tirannorum*. But holy write callith hym *robustus venator coram Domino*. Ffor as the hunter takyth the wilde beste for to sle and ete hym, so Nembroth subdued to hym the peple with myght, to haue þer seruice and thair godis, vsing vppon thaim the lordshippe that is callid *dominium regale tantum*. Aftir hym Belus that was first callid a Kynge. . . .

12. That a man who puts Chaucer on a line with Judas Iscariot does not think more charitably of hunting, will not surprise us. And so we find the following words in Gascoigne's *Liber Veritatum* (ed. Rogers 224):

[Bethsaida]   In domo enim venatorum et in ipsis venatoribus sunt plura sæpe peccata sanguinaria, sc. voluptas, qua delectantur videndo effusionem sanguinis et poenam animalis morientis, et eciam in vanis et in turpibus saepe inordinate delectantur; et rebus suis et tempore saepe abutuntur, inferendo mala et nociva rebus et pasturis aliorum. Quanto possum in mea recolere memoria, *nunquam sc. in scriptura, venatorem in bonam partem legi*.

Prol. v. 212. *He hadde maad | ful many a mariage*
        Of yonge wommen | at his owene cost

Skeat remarks to this: 'This is less generous than might appear; for it almost certainly refers to young women who had been his concubines.' Then Skeat quotes Furnivall as to priests' children and meddling with married women, etc.

This passage certainly does *not* refer to concubines, but to a practice common in Chaucer's time and complained of by Wycliffe and others, which consisted in friars giving the

blessing of the church (what they had no right to) on run-
away couples, 'at the highway,' — the 'Gretna Green'
fashion, practised not by an honest(?) smith, but by dis-
honest friars; cf. *Romeo and Juliet.* I quote from *Wyc-
liffe,*

    a) *Of the Leaven of the Pharisees,* ch. 6 (ed. Mathews,
p. 20):

þis men myȝten schewe bi seuene ȝiftis of þe holy gost, by mys-
pendynge of fyue wittis, bi sixe consentis of synne, and colouringe and
meyntenynge of alle synnes preue and apert, and *namely bi false pro-
curynge of matrymonye,* bi soteltees and queyntese and false bihetynges,
and fals dyuors makynge, hou þes newe feyned religious ben anti-
cristis. . . .

    b) *Three Treatises* (ed. Todd, 32):

They makyn many dyuorsis and many matrimonys unleeful bothe
bi lesynges madd to parties, and by priuileges of ye court.

    c) On 'freres' procuring of false divorces (*not* 'marriages')
cf. Wycliffe's *Order of Priesthood,* 176; dyuors bi false wit-
nesse, *Three Things,* p. 185.

From a satirical poem of Chaucer's time I quote:
Jack Upland's Reply (Wright, *Polit. Poems,* 2, 55):

          a) thou and other pseudo
             han marrid hem in the way

          b) We can not make mariage Dawe
             ne pursue no divorse;
             we wynne not meche money with thes,
             as thi secte [= the freres] doth ful oft
                              — *Ib.* 68.

This last quotation seems to corroborate an explanation of
Chaucer's enormous satire, hidden in the words 'at his owne
cost'; that is, 'he did not lose much by it,' 'at his own gain.'
If the latter words do not mean this, they must be taken, I
think, in the sense of 'at his own expense,' 'on his own
account,' 'at his own risk,' 'at his own responsibility.'
    The whole passage was strangely misunderstood by Brewer,

who in his *Monumenta Franciscana*, Preface XL, quotes it with the following comment:

Even in their degeneracy Chaucer, a Wickliffite, and therefore not favourable to the friars, notices their encouragement of marriage:

He hadde made, etc.

And a little below:

At yeddynges [weddings] *he bar utterly the prys.*

Prol. v. 248.   *It is not honeste | it may nat avañce*
ffor to deelen | with no swich poraille
But al with riche | and selleres of vitaille
And ouer al | ther as profit sholde arise

In an article of *Modern Language Notes*, 1890, Vol. V, No. 8, I find a statement:

It is most satisfactory to understand *sellers* as *givers*, with Carpenter. Old English usage suggests this interpretation and Stratmann gives *sellen* as *tradere, vendere*.

This sounds very well, but in fact 'sellere of vitaille' is a technical term; it is the same as 'vitailler,' and is to be met with in this sense in early (and late) statutes and other official documents.

I quote here only the following examples:

a) 13 Richard II *Stat.* I, c. VIII:

lestat des vitaillers et hostillers et autres vendours des vitailles.

b) 23 Edward III, c. 6:

Item Carnifices Piscenarii Hostellarii Brasiatores Pistores Pulletarii et omnes alii *Venditores Victualium* quorumcumque teneantur huiusmodi Victualia vendere [not 'sellan' in the Old English sense any more] pro pretio rationabili.

c) *Rotuli Parl.* III, 508:

A. D. 1402   Item priount les Communes q̃ l'Estatut fait l'an XIIIe du regne de darrein Roy Richard, de Vitaillers & Hostellers, & autres *Vendours des Vitails*, soit fermement tenuz & gardes, & mys en execution sanz entre enfreinte.

EWALD FLÜGEL.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY,
CALIFORNIA.

THE PRIMITIVE TEUTONIC ORDER OF WORDS.

I.

INTRODUCTION.

IN striking contrast with our relatively precise knowledge of phonology is our ignorance of certain subjects in syntax, especially of the order of words. The phonology of primitive Teutonic we know with something like scientific accuracy; the order of words is still a matter of doubt and uncertainty. This uncertainty is strikingly illustrated by the number of different opinions that have been offered on the subject. For example, note the different theories as to the original position of the verb. Erdmann[1] and Tomanetz[2] maintain that in primitive Teutonic the normal position of the verb was second in the clause. A greater number, including Ries[3] and Behaghel,[4] believe that the normal position of the verb was at the end of the clause. An opinion different from both of these is that recently advanced by Wackernagel,[5] who maintains that the differentiation of principal and subordinate clauses in modern German is no specific modern development, but is the direct lineal representative of the original Indo-European order of words. Braune[6] takes a still different view, and believes that the order of words in primitive Teutonic was free. Wunderlich,[7] practically in agreement with Braune, has recently expressed

---

[1] Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax,* Stuttg., 1886.
[2] Tomanetz, *Relativsätze bei den ahd. Übersetzern des* 8 u. 9 *Jh.,* Wien, 1879.
[3] Ries, *Quellen und Forschungen,* XLI. 4.
[4] Behaghel, *Germania,* XXIII. 284.
[5] Wackernagel, *I. F.,* I. 333.
[6] Braune, *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie. Festgabe zur R. Hildebrand,* Leipzig, 1894.
[7] Wunderlich, *Der deutsche Satzbau,* Stuttg., 1892.

the opinion that in primitive Teutonic the speech-element coming first in articulation was the one that stood in the foreground of consciousness at the moment of utterance. Such is the diversity of opinion on this subject.

A final solution of the problem can be had only after a thorough investigation of the order of words in the oldest dialects of the Teutonic group. This field of investigation has been by no means neglected. Ries induces his theory, already mentioned, from the facts of word-order observed in the *Heliand* and in *Beowulf.* Tomanetz's theory is based on facts observed in the OHG. translations of the eighth and ninth centuries. Other investigators have been at work: Lohner,[1] Starker,[2] Rannow,[3] Ohly,[4] Erdmann,[5] and Gering[6] in OHG.; Friedrichs[7] in Gothic; Kube,[8] Todt,[9] and Smith[10] in Old English. But heretofore, if we except the passing consideration given the subject by Hermann,[11] no one has attempted to collate the results of these separate investigations. It is my aim to take this further step, and from the results of the investigations mentioned above and of independent investigations of my own in Gothic, in Old Norse, and in Old English, to converge as many rays of light as possible on this obscure point and to determine whether the facts in the different dialects do not point to some one order of words in the primitive Teutonic speech.

But before proceeding to cite statistics and draw conclusions, I shall attempt to define my method by clearing up an ambiguity which has misled many writers on this subject. This ambiguity arises from the twofold meaning attached to

---

[1] Lohner, *Zt. f. d. Phil.* 14. 173 ff.
[2] Starker, *Wortstellung der Nachsätze in den ahd. Übersetzungen des Matthäus-Evangeliums, des Isidor und des Tatian,* Progr. Beuthen, 1883.
[3] Rannow, *Der Satzbau des ahd. Isidor,* Berlin, 1888.
[4] Ohly, *Wortstellung bei Otfrid,* Diss. Freiburg, 1888.
[5] Erdmann, *Syntax des Sprache Otfrids,* Halle, 1874–76.
[6] Gering, *Causalsätze bei den ahd. Übersetzern des 8 u. 9 Jh.,* Halle, 1876.
[7] Friedrichs, *Stellung des pron. pers. im Gotischen,* Diss. Jena, 1891.
[8] Kube, *Wortstellung in der Sachsenchronik,* Diss. Jena, 1886.
[9] Todt, *Anglia,* 16.
[10] Smith, *Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Amer.,* 1893.
[11] Hermann, *K. Z.* 33.

the phrase *order of words.* Order of words may refer to a *subjective* movement, to the order in which the thought-elements receive expression. In this sense of the phrase, the order of words is, or tends to be, always the same, in all languages, ancient or modern; or perhaps better expressed, the principles that determine the order of words, in this sense of the phrase, are universal, as valid for synthetic Latin as for analytic French or English. This general subjective order in the progression of ideas is from the known to the unknown. Of a thing known, something new, unknown, is predicated. That the new idea may be connected with ideas already in mind, the speaker begins with something known. This something known, from which the speaker sets out, called by Weil[1] the "initial notion," by von der Gabelentz[2] the "psychological subject," naturally comes first, the "goal of discourse," or "psychological predicate," coming last. The goal of one proposition may form the initial notion of the proposition following, making a continuous thought-chain. Only in case of passion or excitement, when the new idea or feeling rushes with violence to the foreground of consciousness, does it come first in the proposition. This departure from the rule, known as 'pathetic order,' is often made by persons in speaking of subjects with which they are very familiar or by persons under the influence of passion, as in poetry. The speaker in such cases is apt to jump from one point to another without giving the connecting thought.

At the cost of a slight digression I shall attempt to expound some of the universal principles that determine word-order in this first acceptation of the phrase. In the first place, word-order is influenced by the nature of the clause. Imperative clauses are quite different in nature from affirmative clauses, and this difference has its influence directly on the accentuation, indirectly on the order of words. For instance, in imperative clauses the interest is centred in the verb, which, accordingly, should have the position of greatest emphasis.

---

[1] Weil, *Order of Words in the Ancient Languages,* transl. by Super, Boston, 1887.

[2] Von der Gabelentz, *Zt. f. Volkerpsych.,* VIII. 1874–75.

Further, clauses of command are usually isolated and are, therefore, free from the influence of context. Interrogative clauses differ from affirmative clauses in that a question has not in itself the completeness that belongs to a statement of fact, but waits for a reply. This peculiar incompleteness, expectancy, influences the accentuation and, directly or indirectly, the order of words. Wunderlich has pointed out the essential difference between principal and subordinate clauses. He says (p. 91): 'In the principal clause consciousness and language work almost simultaneously; in the subordinate clause consciousness precedes speech. The principal clause builds itself up before the hearer in individual elements; the subordinate clause, on the other hand, introduces complete ideas with which the principal clause deals as with a unity.' This difference between principal and subordinate clauses has its influence on the order of words. For the subordinate clause the most appropriate construction is the 'locked construction,' the governing word, usually the verb, standing at the end.

Such internal forces undoubtedly influence word-order. Another potent influence is the consideration of emphasis. This has usually been regarded as the most important influence in determining the order of words. It is usually assumed that the first place in the sentence is the position of emphasis.

This is possibly true of isolated sentences; but, as was explained in the introduction, in context, if there is any absolute position of emphasis in affirmative clauses, it is at the end of the clause.

To form a more accurate notion of the influence of emphasis in determining word-order, we must bear in mind that this influence is an indirect one. The desire to emphasize first influences the accentuation and only indirectly, through the accentuation, influences the order of words. The principle of emphasis, then, influences word-order only in this way, that a writer or speaker always endeavors to place the word to be emphasized in the position that naturally has the stress, the next most important word in the position that naturally has the secondary stress, and so on, thus placing the ideas in perspective.

To determine the principles of accentuation, then, is nec-
essary before one can understand the influence of the prin-
ciple of emphasis on word-order. This has not yet been
satisfactorily done. In making such a determination, the
unit of language considered must be, not the logical unit,
the sentence, but the spoken unit, the breath group. At
present we know only that the accentuation is different in
different kinds of clauses, the interrogative clause differing
in this respect from the affirmative clause, and that different
languages have peculiar modes of accentuation. For example,
in French the accent seems to fall naturally at the end of the
breath group ; in Irish it seems to fall naturally at the begin-
ning. Note the peculiar influence of the different national
modes of accentuation on the word-order in the following
sentences : 'At such a time as this I wouldn't tell you a lie.'
'It's not a lie that I'd be bellin' you now.'

All that we can say at present about the influence of
emphasis on word-order, is that the emphasis of any position
is not an absolute one, but a relative one, depending on the
language, on the kind of clause, and on the number of
unemphatic words surrounding the position.

The consideration of force has a great influence in deter-
mining the order of words; but in word-order, as in the more
general subject of rhetoric, the first essential is clearness.
This influence, which heretofore has been almost entirely over-
looked, is the most potent influence in determining word-order.
Clearness is promoted by putting next to each other words
which are connected in thought, and accordingly upon con-
nection as well as upon emphasis depends the order of words.
The element that stands at the beginning of a clause is not
necessarily the element to be emphasized : it is usually the
element that is associated, by likeness or contrast, with the
last element in the preceding clause. The arrangement of
words and phrases in a clause is determined primarily by the
nearness of their relation to each other.

In addition to the above-mentioned principles determining
word-order, must be mentioned the logical one, analogy. The
tendencies which owe their origin to considerations of con-

nection or of emphasis have, by a levelling process, developed into fixed rules. The result is the fixed order characteristic of the modern analytic languages, in which different arrangements of words have different meanings.

It must further be noted that the order of words in poetry is quite different from that in prose. The functions of the two kinds of writing are in many respects different. Poetry expresses states of feeling that cannot easily be expressed in prose. It does this because it throws off the restraints of logical arrangement, and jumps from idea to idea more in the natural manner of thought. In the older Teutonic literature the usual arrangement of the essential elements of the clause is often departed from, the 'pathetic order' appearing in the form of inversion. In the later literature the same order occurs, but the real inversion is concealed through the use of a deputy subject (*e.g.*, *es war* . . . etc.).

The order of words representing the order of ideas, as we said above, is governed by the same general principles in all languages, ancient and modern. Note the difference of meaning in the two following different arrangements of the same sentence :[1] 'To escape from his misery, he slew himself; He slew himself to escape from his misery.' The choice between these two arrangements would be determined by the context. The principles of connection and emphasis would operate. The speaker would begin with the known, reserving the new element for the end. Note exactly the same effect of order in the two following Latin sentences: *Quia natura mutari non potest, idcirco verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt; Verae amicitiae sempiternae sunt, quia natura mutari non potest.* We have another illustration in the stock example, *Romulus Romam condidit.* The order of words in this proposition will depend on the context, on the thread of the discourse. If the subject under discussion is the founding of cities, the 'initial notion,' or 'psychological subject,' will be the founding, and the order will be : *Condidit Romam Romulus ; the founder of Rome was Romulus.* If, on the other hand, the subject in hand is the founder, the order will be : *Idem Romulus Romam*

---

[1] This and the following two examples are quoted from Weil.

condidit; The same Romulus founded Rome.   If the subject
is the cities founded, the order will be : *Hanc urbem condidit
Romulus; This city was founded by Romulus.*   In each
instance the principle of connection operates ; the idea con-
necting with what precedes, comes first ; the new idea comes
last.   In other words, the progression is from the known to
the unknown.   Or, expressed in still different terms, the
' psychological subject ' comes first in each instance, the ' psy-
chological predicate ' last.

Order of words may, however, have a second, very differ-
ent meaning.   It may denote an *objective* movement.   It
may refer to the relative position of the essential terms of a
proposition.   As Bergaigne[1] has maintained, there are but
two essential relations between the terms of a proposition, —
the predicative and the dependent.   Consequently there are
but three essential terms, — the subject, the predicate, and
the object.   The history of the proposition with three essen-
tial terms is probably as follows : We express our thoughts
by means of words grouped into sentences or propositions.
Originally the groups most commonly occurring were those
expressing action.   For such expression, if complete, there
are essential three fundamental terms : one to express the
actor, another the *action*, a third *that acted upon.*   Though
not all groups had actions to express, propositions expressing
action occurred so frequently as to become the dominating
type, so much so that to this model were conformed the less
frequent expressions not describing action, so that in the end
all propositions, whether expressing action or not, became con-
stituted with three essential terms called *subject, object, predi-
cate.*   Though in many instances the subject is no longer the
actor, as in passive constructions, this pattern is the one used
in all propositions.   The question as to the order of these
terms, it will be readily seen, is quite different from the ques-
tion as to the order of words representing the order of ideas.

It is apparent that the order of words representing the
order of ideas, since it is the same in all languages, ancient
and modern, is not a subject for historical consideration.

[1] Bergaigne, *Mem. Soc. de Linguistique*, III.

The matter of the relative position of the syntactical terms — subject, predicate, object — is different. In uninflected languages the order of words is an important means of indicating syntactical relations. It shows not only the order in which the words presented themselves in the mind of the writer, but it serves to indicate the person or thing acting and the person or thing acted upon. Even in inflected languages there will gradually establish itself a traditional order of words. Ideas become associated with forms of expression, and in consequence the order of words becomes fixed. Speech custom is developed. For example, in Malay, Polynesian, Siamese, Anamese, the attribute follows, by preference, the word modified; in Teutonic, Chinese, Tartar, Japanese, it precedes. In modern English also, in principal clauses, idiom demands that the grammatical subject precede the grammatical predicate. Within these restraints the principles, above mentioned, of connection and emphasis must operate. When these principles demand that the person or thing acting stand at the end, there must be some way of evading the fixed law of order. This evasion is usually effected by the use of the passive, or by the use of a deputy subject. One instance must suffice. In the sentence, 'There came about a revulsion of public sentiment,' the principle of emphasis prescribes that *revulsion of sentiment* should come last. This desired order is obtained without violation of the fixed principle that the grammatical subject should come first, by the use of the deputy subject, *there*. Here, then, we see the psychological principle of emphasis operating within the restraints of a conventional order of grammatical terms, or *order of words* as we shall henceforth use the phrase.

By making this distinction between the two different meanings of the phrase, *order of words*, we have accomplished two results. In the first place, we have eliminated certain theories as to the primitive Teutonic order. When Wunderlich asserts that 'the order of words is determined by the order in which the different thought elements present themselves in consciousness,' he is probably right as far as he goes; but he leaves still undetermined the order of the syntactical parts

in a proposition. His theory, then, has no bearing on our discussion. Braune's [1] recent discussion of the subject is open to an objection of the same kind. In his paper he considers only the position of the verb, and considers practically only three possible positions. His discussion narrows itself to this: Did the verb occupy the first, the second, or the third position of stress in the clause? He concludes that the verb was free to occupy any one of these three positions. His conclusion is probably right. But was not this position subject to one of the general principles mentioned above? Did not this freedom of position exist, as in modern German and in modern English, within the restraints of a fixed order of syntactical terms? This is what I shall try to determine in the following pages.

The second result accomplished is the exact definition of our subject. I shall now proceed to discuss the relative position in primitive Teutonic of the grammatical terms, *subject, predicate, object.*

As already mentioned, many different theories have been advanced. Wunderlich's we may leave out of consideration after the discussion above. The theory that the order of words in Indo-European was free, if it refers to the order of syntactical parts, cannot have been true for any long period; for besides the natural association of ideas with forms of expression, it seems probable, from the evidence of compounds, that the IE. parent speech in its earliest stages was uninflected, and therefore dependent on word-order for the indication of the syntactical relations between the terms, *subject, object, predicate.*

One might infer on *a priori* grounds that in the case of a proposition with three simple terms, the natural order would be, *subject, object, predicate.* This is the order followed in the language of the deaf and dumb; but it is difficult in this matter entirely to eliminate the influence of custom and to say with certainty that the order *subject, object, verb* is, from intrinsic reasons, the natural one. We must, then, search for further evidence.

[1] Braune, *Forschungen zur deutschen Philologie,* " Festgabe für R. Hildebrand," Leipzig, 1894.

Some of this further evidence is supplied by compounds and by inflected forms of speech. From inflected verbal forms, in which the verbal root precedes the pronominal element of the ending, and from compounds in which qualifier precedes qualified, we infer that in the primitive form of the IE. language the predicate preceded the subject. From compounds in which governed precedes governing, we infer that in primitive IE. the object preceded the predicate. The primitive norm of order, then, would be, *object, predicate, subject.*

Further evidence on this subject is supplied by the earliest monuments of the different languages of the IE. family. This evidence seems to point to the fact that in the parent language the predicate came last in the proposition. In Greek, in Russ., in Armen., and in Celtic, traces of this original order are relatively few. Also in early Teutonic it remains to demonstrate conclusively that this was the original order. But in Lith. and in Lat. the tendency is most noticeable. In Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic war, 2d book, if we leave the verb *be* out of consideration, there are only fifteen instances in which the verb stands elsewhere than at the end of the clause. Further, in O.Pers. and in Skt. the verb at the end is the regular order. In the Brahmanas, even in the locative absolute, the most primitive form of the proposition, the verb stands last, though in this same text the qualifiers regularly precede the qualified. It is to be noted that the relation between an adjective and its substantive is the same as that between subject and predicate; the adjective and its substantive is equivalent to a subordinate clause. To adopt Bergaigne's conclusions, the order of subject and predicate seems to have been inverted in principal propositions in order to distinguish these from subordinate ones, the original order being represented by the position of the attributive adjective before its substantive. The relative position of subject and object in Skt. prose and in oldest Lat. was evidently variable. But the tendency was to place the subject before the object, which in turn directly preceded the predicate. This was no doubt due to the logical

dualism of the proposition, according to which the subject formed one part, the predicate and object a second. Naturally, then, when the primitive order was inverted, the subject placed itself first, forming the first part of the proposition, while the predicate, preceded by the object, formed the second part. To the type of order, then, *object, subject, predicate,* may be added a second type, probably used concurrent with the first, and probably soon becoming dominant, *subject, object, predicate.*

Further strong evidence in favor of this position of the verb at the end is supplied by Delbrück.[1] He shows that the regular position of the verb in Skt. was at the end, and that the enclitic accentuation of the Skt. verb was probably due to this position. He further shows that the accent of the Greek verb is that of the Skt. verb, only modified by the law of three moræ. He concludes that this accent is proethnic, and that consequently the final position of the verb, the cause of the accent, is proethnic.

Evidence, both *a priori* and *a posteriori,* seems to indicate that originally in IE. the verb stood at the end of the clause. The question, then, arises, whether the order of words in Teutonic is descended directly from that of the parent speech or is a new development. The former supposition seems much the more probable, since the Teutonic could hardly have been entirely independent of the parent language in this matter. External evidence, then, would lead us to expect that in primitive Teutonic the regular position of the verb was last in the clause.

It remains to bring internal evidence to bear on the solution of this problem.

II.

WORD-ORDER IN GOTHIC.

In making an historical study of Teutonic word-order, we naturally direct our attention first to the oldest language in

[1] Delbrück, *Syntaktische Forschungen,* IV. p. 148 ff.

the family, to the Gothic.   Unfortunately there are preserved in Gothic only two works of sufficient length to be of any value in the study of word-order; the translation of the Bible by Wulfila, and the so-called Skeireins, fragments of a commentary on the Gospel of John.

For the study of word-order, Wulfila is of little value, owing to the slavish way in which he followed the Greek order.   Friedrichs, in his investigation of the word-order in Wulfila, explains the exact correspondence of the Gothic order with that of the Greek original, as resulting not from slavish imitation on the part of the translator, but from the natural similarity of word-order in the two languages.   But so exact a coincidence in every phrase is hardly to be explained in this simple manner.   Although many of the Greek idioms belong also to Teutonic, and actually do occur in other ancient Teutonic monuments, it is absurd to assume between any two languages a natural similarity in word-order as striking as that between the Gothic translation of the Bible and the Greek original.   Consequently the statistics gathered by Friedrichs show not the word-order of the Gothic of that period, but that of New Testament Greek, and the only evidence afforded by the translation of Wulfila is that offered by those passages 1) in which the Gothic employs more words than the Greek does and, therefore, necessarily has an independent arrangement, or 2) in which the word-order of the translation differs from that of the original.

Such passages are not numerous.   In the fragmentary translation of Matthew, if we leave out of consideration differences in the position of the particles, we find less than a hundred.   Of these passages three-fourths are 1) instances of Gothic circumlocution, and only about one-fourth are 2) instances of departure from the Greek order.

The few general tendencies revealed in these passages I will point out.

(*a*) The position of the Gothic particle usually corresponds to that of the Greek particle, *e.g.* :

$$\textit{þugkeiþ im auk} = \text{δοκοῦσιν γάρ, vi. 7.}$$

But frequently the Greek post-positive particle is represented in Gothic by a particle standing first in the clause, *e.g.*:

Iþ huzdjaiþ izwis   = Θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν, vi. 20 ;
unte jabai fijaiþ ainana = ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσαι, vi. 24.

(*b*) The object pronoun follows the verb.
　1) Independent of the Greek, *e.g.*:

þugkeiþ im auk = δοκοῦσιν γὰρ, vi. 7 ;
ogeiþ izwis ins   = φοβηθῆτε αὐτούς, x. 26 ;
ataugidedun sik = ἐνεφανίσθησαν, xxvii. 53.

　2) In disagreement with Greek order, *e.g.*:

ibai Ivan atgibai þuk   = μήποτέ σε παραδῷ, iii. 25 ;
Miþþanei is rodida þata du im = ταῦτα αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος αὐτοῖς, ix. 18.

NOTE. — There is one exception, due no doubt to counter-tendency (*f*).
ik in watin izwis daupja = Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι, iii. 11.

(*c*) The possessive adjective (pronominal) follows its substantive.
　1) Independent of the Greek, *e.g.*:

þo giba þeina   = τὸ δῶρον, iii. 24.

　2) In disagreement with the Greek, *e.g.*:

haubiþ þein   = σου τὴν κεφαλὴν, vi. 17 ;
waurda meina = μου τοὺς λόγους, vii. 26.

(*d*) On the other hand the demonstrative adjective precedes its substantive.
　1) Independent of the Greek.　No instances.
　2) In disagreement with the Greek, *e.g.*:

in jainai Iveilai = ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ, viii. 13.

NOTE. — In one instance a numeral follows its noun in disagreement with the Greek order. *bi Iveila niundon* = περὶ δὲ τὴν ἐννάτην ὥραν, xxvii. 46.

(*e*) The dependent genitive precedes its substantive.
　1) Independent of the Greek.　One instance,

in Tyre jah Seidone londa = ἐν Τύρῳ καὶ Σειδῶνι, xi. 26.

2) In disagreement with Greek order.   One instance,

> *afstassais bokos* = ἀποστάσιον, iii. 31.

(*f*) There is a tendency in the case of verbs to place the governed before the governing word.

1) Independent of the Greek.   The past participle always precedes the finite verb, *e.g.* :

> *gameliþ ist* = ἠγεγράπται, xi. 10 ;
> *wrohiþs ist* = κατηγορεῖσθαι, xxvii. 12 ;
> *þatei du stauai gatauhans warþ* = ὅτι κατεκρίθη, xxvii. 3.

In a similar manner predicate nouns precede their verb, *e.g.* :

> *ni skuld ist* = οὐκ ἔξεστιν, xxvii. 6 ;
> *uskunþ was* = ἐφάνη, ix. 33 ;
> *hrain warþ* = ἐκαθαρίσθητι, viii. 3.

NOTE. — This does not hold true of imperative clauses, *e.g.*, *wairþ hrains* = καθαρίσθητι, viii. 3.

The verb may stand at the end of the clause.

1) Independent of the Greek, *e.g.* :

> *sumaiþ þan lofam slohun* = οἱ δὲ ἐρράπισαν, xxvi. 67.

2) In disagreement with Greek order.

> *ik in watin izwis daupja* = Ἐγὼ μὲν βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι, iii. 11.

The favorite position of the object pronoun, then, seems to be after the verb.   It must be noted, however, that the pronouns occurring are mostly reflexives, and further that in none of the instances cited above does the pronoun have a direct reference to the preceding clause.   Consequently in none of these instances was there any special motive for giving the pronoun a position early in the clause, and the instances may not represent the general tendency.

The possessive adjectives follow the substantive, and since they are all pronominal, perhaps there is some connection between this position and that of the object pronoun.   The fact that the Greek post-positive particle is frequently represented in Gothic by a particle at the beginning of the clause

indicates that the initial place in the Gothic clause is not as
much as in Greek a place of emphasis.

But the most noticeable fact is the evident fondness for
the synthetic order (governed preceding governing word).
This construction is favored in the position of the demon-
strative adjective before its substantive, in the position of the
dependent genitive before its governing noun, and in the
position of the finite verb in relation to objects, to participles,
and to predicate nouns.

The evidence, then, afforded by Wulfila is not comprehen-
sive enough. The value of the Skeireins for determining the
word-order is diminished by the consideration that this work
also may be a translation.

That it is not a translation, at least not a slavish translation,
from the Greek seems probable from the order of words.
One feature of the Skeireins is the citation of biblical pas-
sages upon which the comments are made. These [1] passages
are probably taken from Wulfila, and the word-order is, of
course, that of Wulfila. The statistics for the word-order in
these passages cited agrees essentially with those gathered
by Friedrichs from Wulfila direct, if we make allowance for
the fact that Friedrichs considers only clauses with pronomi-
nal subject. Friedrichs's statistics are as follows:

	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
Principal Clauses	115	25	55
Subordinate Clauses	60	15	30

The statistics that I have gathered for the citations in the
Skeireins are:

	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
Principal	19	3	10
Subordinate	24	0	5

Each of these sets of statistics represents Greek order.
Note now the difference in the statistics for the independent
part of the Skeireins:

	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
Principal	12	11	39
Subordinate	16	16	23

[1] Marold, *Die Schriftcitate der Skeireins*, Progr. *Königsberg*, 1892.

The order of words, then, in the Skeireins proper, effectually dispels any idea that the Skeireins is a slavish translation, from the Greek at least.

That the Skeireins is not a translation from the Latin is by no means certain. In certain peculiar features the word-order resembles that of Latin. For instance note the frequent separation of adjective and substantive by verb, *e.g.* :

> *þo ahmeinon anafilhands daupeins,* III. b ; *þana laist skeiris brukjands waurdis,* V. b ; *þosei ustauhana habaida wairþan fram fraujin garehsn,* I. b.

But in other respects the work shows idioms which seem to be peculiar to itself. For a list, *vid.* Bernhardt, *Wulfila,* p. 612. On the whole, in default of any further evidence to the contrary, we will assume that word-order in the Skeireins proper represents the Gothic word-order of that time (probably the fifth century).

A. Principal Clauses.

I. Affirmative Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

It is a difficult matter to determine with any degree of accuracy the frequency of inversion or the laws governing its occurrence, owing to the fact that in 47 instances out of 76, the total number of principal affirmative clauses, the grammatical subject is unexpressed. The favored order, however, seems to be the 'direct.' In the 29 clauses with grammatical subject expressed, the order is 'direct' in 20, *e.g.:*

> *þatuh wesi wiþra þata gadob,* I. c ; *þo nu insakana wesun fram Iohanne,* IV. d.

Furthermore, in many of the clauses with long transposition, the order could hardly have been inverted if the subject had been expressed, *e.g.:*

> *at allamma waurstwe ainaizos anabusnais beidiþ,* V. a ; *jah swa managai ganohjands . . . ni þatainei ganauhan þaurftais im fragaf, ak filaus maizo,* VII. b.

Even in clauses with introductory adverbial phrases, the order is not always inverted. Three instances of 'irregular-direct'[1] order occur:

Inuh þis . . . nasjands . . . anastodjands, ustaiknada þana . . ., II. a ;
þatuh þan qiþands aiwaggelista ataugida ei . . ., III. a ; *þata nu gasaihvands, Johannes þosei . . ., miþ sunjai qaþ,* I. b.

In this same category are to be placed other clauses with introductory phrases, in which the subject is not expressed but in which the order corresponds to the 'direct' order, *e.g.:*

> *inuh þis nu jah leik mans andnam,* I. d ;
> *inuh þis bairhtaba uns laiseiþ qiþands,* III. d.

Usually, however, in clauses with introductory phrases, when the subject is expressed, the order is inverted; when the subject is not expressed, the verb stands next to the introductory phrase, as it would stand in an inverted clause, *e.g.:*

inuh þis qam gamains allaize nasjands, I. a ; *swaei sijai daupeins Johannes,* III. d ; *gadob nu was mais þans . . .,* I. c ; *þatuh þan insok kunnands,* V. a.

In all, there occur 9 instances of inversion, some in clauses with introductory phrases, like those quoted above, others with the verb at the beginning of the clause. Two instances of the latter occur:

> *skulum nu allai weis,* V. c ;
> *wasuh þan jah frauja . . .,* III. b.

There are not enough instances of clauses in the apodosis, to enable one to determine what is the regular order in such clauses. There is one instance of inversion:

> *bigitan was þize hlaibe ib. tainjons fullos,* VII. c.

We conclude, then, that the usual order is the direct, but that the inverted order also occurs, especially after introductory phrases. The following table will show the frequency of the different arrangements:

SUBJECT NOT EXPRESSED.	DIRECT.		INVERTED.	
	With Introd.	Without Introd.	With Introd.	Without Introd.
47	3	17	7	2

[1] Direct order after an introd. word or phrase other than subject or verb.

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to Dependencies.*

There is a marked tendency to place the verb, if not last in the clause, at least after one or more of the adverbial dependencies. An instance of partial transposition is:

jah swa managai ganohjands . . . ni þatainei ganauhan þaurftais im fragaf, ak filaus maizo, VII. b.

An instance of especially long transposition is:

unte þata qiþano ei . . ., ni ibnon ak galeika sweriþa usgiban uns laiseiþ, V. d.

But though the tendency is to place the verb after other members of the clause, there is everywhere evident a great freedom of arrangement. This freedom was noticed in the position of the verb with relation to the subject; it is also manifest in the verb's position with relation to its dependencies. For instance, in the same page, in Balg's edition, in expressing similar ideas the writer employs different arrangements of words, *e.g.:*

> *inuh þis bairhtaba uns laiseiþ qiþands,* III. d ;
> *inuh þis laiseiþ uns qiþands,* IV. a.

Words to be emphasized are free to stand first in the clause, *e.g.:*

> *mahtedi sweþauh jah im . . .* I. b;
> *gadob nu was mais þans . . .* I. c ;
> *naudiþaurfts auk was jah gadob wistai,* II. d.

The following table will show the relative frequency of the different positions of the verb with relation to its dependencies:

NEUTRAL.	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
5	12	11	39

II. Imperative and Interrogative Clauses.

There are no instances of independent imperative clauses, and only two of direct questions. In one of these latter the

verb stands first, although with no subject expressed. In the other the transposed order occurs:

nei auk þuhtedi þau in garaihteins gaagwein ufargaggan þo faura ju us anastodeinai garaidon garehsn, I. c; *hvaiwa stojan jah ni stojan sa sama mahtedi,* V. b.

B. SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Verb.*

The regular order in subordinate clauses is the direct. Only four instances of inversion occur.

Afar þatei matida so managei, VII. c (Temporal) ;
in þizei ju jah leikis hraineino inmaidiþs was sidus jah . . . III. b (Causal) ; ·
hardizo þize ungalaubjandane warþ hairto, VI. c (Causal) ;
swaei sijai daupeins Johannes, III. d (Result).

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

There is to be noted in subordinate clauses the same tendency as in principal clauses to place the verb after its dependencies.

For subordinate clauses the statistics are:

a. PURPOSE CLAUSES.

NEUTRAL.	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
1	6	5	7

e.g.:

jah ni missaqiþaina, V. a (Neutral).
ei galaisjaina sik bi þamma twa, V. a (Normal) ;
ei, . . . *þizos manasedais gawaurhtedi uslunein,* I. a (Part. Transp.) ;
ei fraujins mikilein gakannidedi, IV. d (Transp.).

b. SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES.

NEUTRAL.	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
0	3	5	7

e.g.:

þatei is was sa sama, VII. d (Normal) ;
ataugida ei so garehsns bi ina nehva andja was þairh Herodes birunain, III. a (Part. Transp.) ;
þatei swaleikamma waldufnja mahtais nauþs ustaiknida wesi, I. b (Transp.).

c. Indirect Questions.

Neutral.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.
0	1	0	0

ni kunnandins ƕaþar skuldedi maiza, III. a.

d. Clauses of Manner.

Neutral.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.
1	2	0	0

e.g.:
swe silba is qiþiþ, VI. a (Neutral) ;
analeiko swe Fillippus gasakada . . ., VII. a (Normal).

e. Causal Clauses.

Neutral.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.
0	1	3	2

e.g.:
in þizei ni attauhun ina, VIII. b (Normal) ;
in þis ei miþþan frumist hausida fram laisarja, II. b (Part. Transp.) ;
in þizei wistai manna was, IV. c (Transp.).

f. Result Clauses.

Neutral.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.
0	0	1	2

e.g.:
eiþan garaihtein warþ bi swiknein sokeins gawagida, III. b (Part. Transp.) ;
eiþan waila ins maudeiþ, VI. a (Transp.).

g. Relative Clauses.

Neutral.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.
2	3	1	3

e.g.:
þatei aflifnoda, VII. c (Neutral) ;
swe wilda andniman ize, VII. c (Normal) ;
saei in auþida ·m· jere attans ize fodida, VII. d (Transp.).

h. Concessive Clauses.

Neutral.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.
0	0	0	1

þauhjabai us himina ana airþai in manne garehsnais qam, IV. d.

i. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.

NEUTRAL.	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
o	o	1	1

iþ nu ains jah sama wesi bi Sabaillaus insahtai, V. b (Part. Transp.) ;
jabai in leikai wisan puhta, IV. c (Transp.).

j. TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

Only one temporal clause occurs; that one is inverted.

afar patei matida so managei, VII. c.

Summing up, we have for subordinate clauses the following statistics: ·

NEUTRAL.	NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
4	16	16	23

It will be noted that the order, as in Wulfila, is substantially the same in principal and in subordinate clauses. In both kinds of clauses the favorite order is the transposed. A particularly striking instance of transposition is the following :

ei, swesamma wiljin jah swesai mahtai galeikonds þamma faurþis gaqiujandin daupans, (silba, gaqiujan daupans) gahaitands þize ungalaubjandane þrasabalþein andbeitands gasoki, V. b.

C. PARTICIPIAL AND INFINITIVE PHRASES.

In participial and infinitive phrases there is manifest the same tendency as in principal and subordinate clauses, to place the verbal form at the end, or at least after one or more of the other members of the clause. Classifying these phrases according to the position of the verbal element, we obtain for the Skeireins proper the following statistics:

1. *Participles stand.*

NEUTRAL.	FIRST.	MIDDLE.	LAST.
12	27	15	44

2. *Infinitives stand.*

Neutral.	First.	Middle.	Last.
6	8	4	15

Under 'First' are included those clauses in which the participle (or infinitive) precedes all its dependencies, *e.g.:*

> *gasaljands sik faur uns hunsl jas sauþ guþa,* I. a.
> *du afargaggan anabusn guþs,* I. c.

Under 'Middle' are included those clauses in which the verbal element follows some of its grammatical dependencies, but precedes others, *e.g.:*

> *anduh þana laist skeiris brukjands waurdis,* V. b ;
> *skulum . . . weis . . . andsatjan bauranana,* V. c.

Under 'Last' are included those phrases in which the verbal element stands at the end, after all its dependencies, *e.g.:*

ni ibna nih galeiks unsarai garaihtein ak silba garaihtei wisands, I. a ;
nu du leitilai hveilai galaubjan, VI. a.

Under 'Neutral' are included those phrases consisting of verbal element (participle or infinitive) alone, *e.g.:*

> *ei frauja qimands mahtai,* I. c ;
> *þana anawairþan dom,* II. c.

For the sake of convenience the present and past participles have been considered together. But among the instances considered, the present participle occurs most frequently (ninety-three out of ninety-eight). In fact, the frequent use of the present participle, which is used but sparingly in the other dialects, is a very noticeable feature of the Skeireins. A still more remarkable feature is the use of the present participle for the present indicative, *e.g.:*

afaruh þan þo in wato wairpandans hrain jah hyssopon jah wullai raudai ufartrausnjandans, III. c.

The past participles that occur are usually combined with auxiliaries to make compound verbs. In Wulfila it was noted that in compound verbs the participle preceded the finite verb. The same is true in the Skeireins. In the Skeireins proper, among eleven compound verbs there is but one instance in which the participle follows the auxiliary, and in that instance the reason is self-evident.

eiþan garaihtaba warþ bi swiknein sokeins gawagida, II. b.

In the same way a predicate noun or adjective precedes the copula, *e.g.:*

silba garaihtei wisands, I. a ;
in þizei wistai manna was, IV. c ;
ains jah sa sama wesi, V. b ;
guþ wisandin, V. d.

Exceptions occur, but only three out of twenty, *e.g.:*

at ni wisandein aljai waihtai, VII. b.

The personal pronoun object in the Skeireins is an unstressed word, and like the particles, is free in its position, with the exception that it usually stands next to the verb. That is to say, it may follow or precede the verb. It was noted that in Wulfila the object pronoun preferred the position after the verb. This preference may be discerned also in the Skeireins. But usually the position of the pronoun object is determined by the context; it is used, like the Greek particle, to separate two successive words which are to be emphasized, *e.g.:*

ei laisareis uns wairþai þizos . . ., I. d ;
inuh þis bairhtaba uns laiseiþ qiþands . . ., III. d ;
eiþan waila ins maudeiþ qiþands, VI. a.

When the clause is transposed, the unstressed pronoun never follows, but precedes, thus adding to the emphasis of the verb in the final position, *e.g.:*

unte þata qiþano . . . uns laiseiþ, V. d ;
ganohjands ins wailawiznai . . . im fragaf, VII. b ;
swa filu auk gamanwida ins wairþan, VII. c.

Reflexives, also, are usually unstressed, and are put immediately after the verb, *e.g.*:

> *gasaljands sik,* I. a; *afwandida sik,* II. a.

Only in case of inversion or of transposition, when the position after the verb is one of too great emphasis, does the reflexive precede the verb, *e.g.*:

> *miþ sis misso sik andrunnun sumai,* III. a.
> *faur mel sik gahaban,* VIII. a.

First place in the sentence does not seem to have been a position of as great emphasis in Gothic as in Greek. In fact, the author of the Skeireins frequently places an unstressed particle in this position. With the Gothic the final position seems to have been the position of emphasis. In fact, the most noticeable feature of word-order in the Skeireins is the tendency to place the governing word after the word or words governed, 'Ascending Construction' or synthetic order. This construction is illustrated by the following striking examples:

þizos du guþa garaihteins, I. d;
þana iupa briggandin in þiudangardjai guþs wig, II. a.
þo leikeinon us wambai munands gabaurþ, II. b.
leikis hraineino inmaidiþs was sidus jah so bi guþ hrainei, III. b.
þosei ustauhana habaida wairþan fram fraujin garehsn, I. b;
þo faura ju us anastodeinai garaidon garehsn, I. c.

Instances of the opposite or 'Descending Construction' also occur, *e.g.*:

> *afleta frawaurhte jah fragift weihis ahmins,* III. c.

Another striking feature is the rhetorical separation of words, *e.g.*:

> *ak himinakunda anafilhands fulhsnja,* IV. d;
> *missaleikaim bandwiþs namnam,* V. b;
> *anduh þana laist skeiris brukjands waurdis,* V. a.

On the whole we must conclude that the Gothic order of words was by no means rigidly fixed. This fact is proved

for the Skeireins by the number of exceptions to any law
that we may formulate, and by the rhetorical arrangements
for emphasis; for the Bible translation by the license which
permitted Wulfila to follow the Greek order so exactly, and
yet to produce a work which is not only intelligible, but seem-
ingly not unnatural. On the other hand, in both works there
is manifest a fondness for the synthetic order. The govern-
ing word, noun or verb, usually comes after the governed
word, thus binding the parts of the expression into a closely
united whole.

III.

OLD HIGH GERMAN WORD-ORDER.

The subject of word-order has been examined more care-
fully in OHG. than in any of the other Teutonic dialects. I
shall content myself, therefore, with the results of the investi-
gations of others, and shall only attempt to bring these results
into a form convenient for reference and for comparison with
the results of my own investigation in Gothic and in Old
English. I shall take up the prose monuments in their
chronological order, considering: first, the translations of the
eighth and ninth centuries, including the Monsee-Wiener
fragments of a translation of Matthew, the translation of
Isidor's 'Contra Judæos' and that of Tatian's Gospel Har-
mony; second, Notker's translation of Boethius; third,
Middle High German prose. Otfrid, since his work cannot
illustrate the development of prose order, will be considered
separately.

A. OHG. Translators of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries.

I. Principal Clauses.

Rannow, in his work on Isidor, says: "Was also erstens
die Hauptsätze angeht, so sucht er [Isidor] den in der Ent-

wicklung des Deutschen immer mehr zur Geltung gelangen-
den Grundsatz zu befolgen, das finite Verb möglichst voran
zu stellen." In the use of this order Isidor follows the Latin
order in 71 instances, departs from the Latin order in 43
instances. Opposed to these are only 28 instances in which
the translator, 23 times in agreement with the Latin, 5 times
in disagreement, puts the verb at the end.

Tomanetz, who has examined the order in all three of the
principal translations of the eighth and ninth centuries,
reaches substantially the same conclusion. He asserts: " Für
die ahd. selbständigen Hauptsätze, lässt sich wol als allge-
meine Regel hinstellen, dass das Prädicat von dem betonten
Wort angezogen wird, also zweite Stelle einnimmt, ausser es
ist selbst betont, in welchen Fall es den Satz eröffnet." The
following table [1] will show the relative frequency of the differ-
ent arrangements, *s.v. . . .* and *s. . . . v.*

s.v. noun.	In disagreement with Latin	116	Independent of Latin	3
s.v. pron.	"	"	61	"	"	232
s.v. adv.	"	"	30	"	"	50
	Total (s.v. . . .)	207	+	285 = 492

On the other hand:

s. noun v.	In disagreement with Latin	3	Independent of Latin	1
s. pron. v.	"	"	6	"	"	23
s. part. adv. v.	"	"	2	"	"	9
	Total (s. . . . v.)	11	+	33 = 44

Further evidence to the same effect is supplied by clauses
consisting of predicate word and copula. The order is:

copula, pred. word. In disagreement with Latin 68 times.
pred. word, copula. Independent of Latin   6 times.
pred. word, copula. In disagreement with Latin 0 times.

The order of words, then, in principal clauses, when inde-
pendent of the Latin, and even when in disagreement with
the Latin, is most frequently the same as in modern High
German principal clauses.

---

[1] This table is borrowed from Hermann. K.Z., 33.

II. Subordinate Clauses.

In Isidor Rannow notes the tendency of the finite verb in subordinate clauses, more and more to seek the end position. This it does,

> In agreement with the Latin original   41 times
> In disagreement with the Latin original   34 times

This phenomenon is made more striking by the small number of instances in which the finite verb was moved to the initial position.

> In agreement with the Latin original   6 times
> In disagreement with the Latin original   8 times

Counter to this tendency to place the verb last, Rannow notices a tendency to put last the word or phrase to be emphasized. For example, the translator reserves the last place for prepositional phrases:

> In agreement with the Latin original   70 times
> In disagreement with the Latin original   32 times

This counter-tendency in part explains the number of clauses not completely transposed.

In the relative clauses of the three works under consideration, Tomanetz has made the following observations:

The order of words is,

	LIKE THE LATIN.	WITHOUT LATIN ORIGINAL.	IN DISAGREEMENT WITH THE LATIN.	IN SPITE OF OTHER CHANGE FROM LATIN ORDER.
s.v. . . .	251	59	21	21
s. . . . v.	430	438	235	165

Total s.v. . . . 352.   Total s. . . . v. 1268.

Tomanetz further shows by statistics that among the words preceding the verb, the number of pronouns is relatively greater than of any other kind of word. He infers that from the order _s.v._ . . . which, he believes, was original, the distinctive order of the subordinate clause has been developed through the influence of subordinate clauses with pronominal

objects.   Further, from the fact that the order, *s. . . . v.*, is much less frequent in the second of two co-ordinate relative clauses, than in the first, in which this order is needed as a mark of distinction from principal clauses, he infers that the transposed order had its ultimate origin in the desire to differentiate subordinate from principal clauses.

We have no general statistics for inversion in these monuments of OHG.   We have, however, the assertion of Gering regarding causal adverbs in the apodosis: "Von diesen Wörtern müssen diejenigen, welche am Satzanfange stehen, nach den Gesetzen der Germanischen Wortstellung, Inversion bewirken, d. h. das Prädicatsverbum unmittelbar an sich heranziehen."   Starker makes the same assumption and upon it bases his explanation of the origin of inversion in the apodosis.

The other features of word-order in these works, it is hard to describe.   Rannow has noted in Isidor the position of the genitive before its governing substantive.   The genitive precedes in all instances except in that of two nouns both of which have the article.   The arrangement occurs so often as to be characteristic of this work.   It is further to be noted that in the translation of Tatian, which usually follows the original very closely, the adjectives and possessive genitives precede their substantives, even when in disagreement with the order in the original.

B. NOTKER'S BOETHIUS [end of 10th, begin. of 11th cent.].

Lohner believes that in Notker we have the pure expression of German speech feeling, and that from this work we may derive the laws of German Syntax.   He bases this belief on the fact that the German of the translation in the main is like the Latin original only where the syntax in the two languages is the same, and especially on the fact that parenthetical expressions, independent of the Latin, agree in syntax with the translated parts, thus proving the independence of the latter.   This freedom, as compared with the slavishness of the earlier translations, seems to show that the form of the High German language had at length become fixed,

and that the translator in consequence was not at liberty to follow his original slavishly.

The results of Lohner's investigations in Notker are as follows:

1. Relative and *conjunctional* clauses have the same construction as regards the order of words.

2. This work has a developed order of words in the dependent clauses, which expresses itself especially by the separation of the finite verb from the introductory word and by the final position of the verb wherever possible. The verb occupies the final position in about two-thirds of all *conjunctional*, and in about three-fourths of all relative clauses.

3. Where the verb has a medial position, and therefore other elements stand at the end, there may be perceived some special motive, rhetorical or euphonic, which occasions the older order.

4. From this freedom to stand at the end are excluded all simple pronouns and most pronominal phrases, also other words and phrases with weak stress, such as adverbs. In relative clauses, the frequency with which the various elements follow the verb is shown by the following statistics. There follow the verb:

1) Of prepositional phrases	30 %
2) Of the different noun objects	23 %
3) Of infinitives	20 %
4) Of *predicative* nouns	12 %
5) Of *nominale predicate* (incl. past part.)	9 %
6) Of noun subjects	2 %

5. Pronouns and particles usually take second or third place.

6. Even in the other classes of words there is recognizable a regular grammatical arrangement, which, however, may be specially modified for the emphasis of an element or in the interest of a smoother, more rhythmical flow.

In the period, then, between Notker and the earlier translators, a great development has taken place in the direction of uniformity in language. Traces, however, of the older

order of words appear here and there. In the apodosis, the modern German rule that the verb shall stand first is not regarded; and the earlier freedom to place the verb last, even in principal clauses, appears here and there.

C. MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN.

In the Middle High German period the norms of word-order which we note in their incipiency in the translators of the eighth and ninth centuries, and in their middle stage in Notker, have become fixed, so that the order of words in the prose of the period is essentially that of modern German prose. Only in poetry do we see traces of the original freer arrangement. This freedom manifests itself in various ways.

1. Transposition may occur in principal clauses.[1]

2. The direct order may occur after an introductory adverbial phrase.

3. Transposition may occur after an introductory adverbial phrase.

4. Several adverbial modifiers may stand first.

5. The attributive adjective may follow the noun.

6. The genitive may stand between the article and the substantive.

7. The substantive may be followed by the article with the dependent genitive.

8. The dependencies of an infinitive do not precede as often as in modern German. This holds true even of the Middle High German prose.

D. OTFRID.

In poetry grammatical rules are not so rigidly observed as in prose, and in consequence poetry is not as valuable as prose in the historic study of word-order. For this reason, in the sequence followed thus far, all poetry has been unregarded. On the other hand, in poetry the expression,

---

[1] Paul, *Mhd. Grammatik.*

less hampered by grammatical restraints, is more natural, and, therefore, perhaps reflects the speech feeling better than prose does.

Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*, written about 800 A.D., is one of the most considerable monuments of OHG. literature. The word-order in this poem has been investigated by Ohly; from the mass of statistics that he presents I have selected the following:

I. Independent Affirmative Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

Side by side seem to stand two normal arrangements of words, the direct and the indirect. Leaving the apodosis out of consideration, the order is as follows:

	WITHOUT INTRODUCTORY WORD.	WITH INTRODUCTORY WORD.
Direct	1342 (neg. 86)	161
Indirect	714 (neg. 222)	1295

In the apodosis the direct order is the more frequent, though the indirect order occurs very frequently, both with and without introductory word or phrase.

2. *Position of Verb in Relation to its Dependencies.*

In clauses with *direct* order the statistics are as follows:

		NORMAL.	PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
1)	Without introductory word	1051 (neg. 39)	60	221 (neg. 40)
2)	With introductory word	9	8	62
3)	In apodosis	11	0	34
4)	Introd. by particles, *ioh*, etc.	17	3	18
	Total,	1088	71	335

In *inverted* clauses the order is as follows:

TOTAL.	V. AND S. TOGETHER.	V. AND S. SEPARATED.
495	348	147

The predicate noun follows the copula	320:8
The infinitive follows the auxiliary	86:7
The infinitive follows the dependencies	39:49

II. Subordinate Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

All instances of inversion are to be regarded as exceptions to the rule, and due to metre.

DIRECT.	INDIRECT.
2539	100 (approx.)

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

The total number of subordinate clauses containing elements besides subject and verb is 2539.

NORMAL AND PART. TRANSP.	TRANSP.
774	1765

The subject is preceded by some other member of the clause in 127 of the above instances.

III. Clauses of Command.

When the subjunctive is used, the rules of word-order are the same as for affirmative clauses.

	DIRECT.	INDIRECT.
1) With introductory word	9	69
2) Without introductory word	4	31

When the imperative is used, the subject is usually left unexpressed (579 instances). When the subject is expressed the order is,

	DIRECT.	INDIRECT.
1) With introductory word	0	32
2) Without introductory word	5	11

IV. Independent Questions.

In interrogative clauses *a*) without interrogative word and *b*) with interrogative word serving as object, the order is, nearly without exception, inverted. When *c*) the interrogative pronoun is subject of the clause, the order is direct. The instances occurring are *a*) 27, *b*) 45, *c*) 29.

V. General Remarks.

1. The attributive adjective may be placed after its sub-stantive. When two adjectives qualify the same noun, three different arrangements are possible : 1) both before, 2) both after, 3) one after, the other before.

2. The genitive, if it has no article, may be placed between the article or adjective and the substantive.

3. The dependencies of the infinitive are not placed before as regularly as in modern German.

From the above statistics we see that the difference between principal and subordinate clauses was much more marked in Otfrid than in the prose translations of the eighth and ninth centuries. In Otfrid the modern German rule of order is observed in four-fifths of all instances in both kinds of clause, principal and subordinate. Another noticeable feat-ure is the frequent use of inversion. This, as Ohly shows, cannot be attributed wholly to the demands of metre, but must, in many instances, be explained as 'pathetic order.'

E. General Conclusions.

From the evidence of the statistics quoted from the differ-ent OHG. monuments, we must infer that at the time when the earliest works that have descended to us, were composed, there already existed a feeling for the difference between principal and subordinate clauses, which expressed itself by a difference in word-order. In this belief we are confirmed after a hasty consideration of the *Hildebrandslied.* In this, the oldest monument of OHG. literature, the regular order in subordinate clauses is the transposed. The statistics, hastily gathered, are as follows :

	INVERTED.		DIRECT.	
	Verb First.	Verb not First.	Normal.	Transp.
Principal clauses	3	12	18[1]	2
Subordinate clauses	0	2	1	24[2]

[1] Six consisting of subject and verb alone.
[2] In one instance the verb has the medial position (Part. Transp.).

The infinitive, used in connection with a finite verb, follows its dependencies in ten instances, preceding only once, and that due to the chiastic arrangement. As in Otfrid, examples of inversion are numerous, probably owing to the livelier emotions of poetry, which demand for their expression the 'pathetic order.'

OHG., then, does not afford us much direct evidence as to the order of words in primitive Teutonic. We notice only that just as the phonology and inflections of OHG. have differentiated themselves from those of the cognate dialects, so the word-order has already adopted that peculiar differentiation, which, rigidly carried out, is characteristic of modern German.

IV.

OLD NORSE WORD-ORDER.

The subject of Old Norse word-order has, unfortunately, received but little attention. The only available treatment of the subject is that contained in Lund's *Oldnordisk Ordföjningslære*, Kjøbenhavn, 1862, and this is very indefinite and unsatisfactory. Consequently, since the scope of the present work will not permit of a separate, detailed investigation in this dialect, the treatment in this chapter will necessarily be inadequate.

The materials for study are not entirely satisfactory. There are, first, the monuments of Old Icelandic and Old Norwegian literature, which, at the earliest, date back only to the end of the eleventh century, and which, therefore, cannot fairly be compared with the monuments in OHG., in Goth., and in OE.; second, the oldest Runic inscriptions, which are of too fragmentary a character to be of great value for the study of word-order.

I. Old Icelandic.

The earliest Icelandic literary monuments, as we said above, date back only to the end of the eleventh century; and the *Younger Edda*, which is the most available work for

our purpose, appears in a manuscript of about 1300 A.D. The results, then, of an investigation of word-order in these monuments cannot be taken as representative of primitive word-order in Old Norse.   On the contrary, the aptness of the idiom and the directness of the style in the *Younger Edda* are such as characterize only languages in an advanced stage of development.   We are interested, then, in the word-order of Old Icelandic only because it shows one of the different developments from the primitive Teutonic.

Lund affirms that the simplest order is: 1) subject (with its qualifiers); 2) predicate (with its qualifiers); 3) indirect object (*hensynet*); 4) direct object.   There seems to be no fixed position for the other elements except that qualifications usually follow the main conception.

There are, however, nearly as many exceptions as there are instances falling under the rule.

1. The sentence often begins with a verb, not only when the verb is conceived as prominent, but in general in past narrative, and even in present, if the sentence is closely connected with the preceding and the subject is the same, so that the grammatical predicate has the greater weight.

2. The verb stands first in the apodosis, often with *þa* at the beginning.

3. If the sentence begins with an adverb or conjunction, or with a phrase, the verb precedes the subject.

4. In clauses of command, entreaty, and exclamation, the verb is placed first, also in interrogative clauses not beginning with a pronoun.

5. Phrases like "said he," etc., as in English, are inverted.

6. An interrogative clause begins with the interrogative particle, if it has one; a relative clause with the nearest word, even if this is governed by a preposition, which then preferably follows.   Conjunctional subordinate clauses also usually begin with the conjunction.   But each of these kinds of sentence may have a conjunction or connecting adverb first.

7. There are also certain exceptions for the sake of euphony.   If a noun has two adjectives, one is put before

the verb, the other after. The auxiliary is often separated from the participle, the verb from the dependent infinitive.

There are also many instances of departure from the regular order for the sake of emphasis. A word which would otherwise follow, for the sake of emphasis is placed before. If by reason of contrast, or for any other reason, a word is the most important one for the meaning of the whole sentence, it is put at the beginning without regard to the kind of word or its regular position. This great freedom promotes a shorter, more vigorous mode of expression. Circumlocutions are avoided.

The attributive adjective usually precedes its noun. The genitive case dependent on a substantive usually follows, but may precede if one wishes to make prominent the idea contained in the dependent word. But in case of two adjectives, one may precede the noun, the other follow with *ok* (and). In case of two nouns, each with an adjective, the order is, *adjective, noun, noun, adjective.* When used with the definite article, the adjective may be placed either before or after the noun.

Prepositional adverbs modifying verbs, instead of being fused with the verb as in modern German, remain separate and follow the verb.

Another feature, so striking as to deserve special attention, is the separation of words for the sake of emphasis; *e.g.:*

> *Harald's saga hins hárfagra*
> Harold's sagas   the fair-haired
> *Hann hafði hjálm á höfði gullroðum* . . .
> He had a helmet on his head, gold red and . . .
> *Svá var hann kappsar . . . at . . .*
> So   was   he   impetuous . . . that . . .

Poetic order differs from prose order in greater freedom. Words are arranged not only with reference to meaning and to emphasis, but also with reference to rhythm. Furthermore, words belonging together may be separated. Even a word may be divided, and the parts separated; *e.g.:*

> *Ha- reið á bak baru borð herti -kon vestan* (Hakon).

Lund's remarks, quoted above, in the main hold true. If, however, one look at the Younger Edda, he will notice some striking features not mentioned by Lund. Perhaps the most noticeable is the frequency of inversion; this is so frequent, both in principal and subordinate clauses, that it may be called the regular order. It is further a noticeable fact that there are no instances of long transposition. The order in principal and in subordinate clauses is the same, either inverted or 'normal.' Nearly the only instances of synthetic order in any form are due to the past participle or the dependent infinitive, which occasionally stand at the end of the clause, preceded by their dependencies. A striking illustration of the favored analytic order is afforded by the definite article, which regularly follows its noun.

In general, it may be said that the order of words in the Younger Edda is much like that in modern English, except for the frequent inversion, the occasional transposition of the infinitive or past participle to the end of the clause, and the irregular position of some particular word which for emphasis is put at the beginning or at the end of the clause. The order is remarkably free, and consequently the language is very flexible, more so than modern English. The important word is free to stand in the natural position of emphasis, and that, too, without unnatural inversion or awkward circumlocution.

II. Old Runic Inscriptions.

More significant in its bearing on primitive Teutonic word-order is the evidence afforded by the old Runic inscriptions. Among these are included the oldest[1] monuments in any Teutonic dialect. Unfortunately they are very fragmentary.

Hermann makes the assertion that in the Runic inscriptions of Old Norse the order of words in principal clauses is *s. . . . v.* 7(?) or 6 times, *s.v. . . . .* 4 times; that two instances of subordinate clause are found, and that in both of these the verb is at the end. This assertion is somewhat sweeping. A more accurate notion may be formed by examining some

---

[1] Unless we consider the Finnic loan words.

of the principal inscriptions. These I shall arrange in the order of age, at the same time using Noreen's numbering.

Third century:

39. *owlþuþewaʀ in wane mariʀ* = Ollther in Vang (?) renowned.

Fourth century:

48. *talino ʒisaion wiliʀ . . . tiþis hleuno* = . . . see will . . . (?)
13. *ek hlewaʒastiʀ holtinar horna tawiðo* = I, Hlegestr, (from) wood the horn made.
20. *ek erilar ansuʒisalas muha haiteʒa ⁚aʒaʒinu ʒahelpu, sali jah haʒala wiʒju bi ʒ* = I, earl Asgisl, Moe am called, help, fortune, and prosperity consecrate . . .
8. *ðaʒar þar runo faihiðo* = Thagr these runes scratched.

Fifth century:

33. *iʒinon halaʀ* = Iginga's stone.

Sixth century:

19. *uƀaʀ hite haraƀanaʀ wit iah ek erilar runoʀ waritu* = Over Hitr, Hrafu, we two, and I, earl, runes writ.
38. *þrawinan haitinaʀ was* = Thraenge's called was.
24. *ana hahaisla iniʀ frawaraðaʀ* = over Haisl, Inr, Frarathr.
22. *ek erilar sa wilaʒar hateka . . .* = I, earl, who Wilagr am called.
6. *hrawðas hlaiwa* = Hrauth's grave.
25. *. . ? . swestar minu liuƀu meʀ waʒe* = sister mine dear (to) me, Wagr.
35. *haðulaikaʀ ek haʒustalðar hlaaiwiðo maʒu minino* = Hothlaikr (lies here). I, Hǫgstaldr, buried son mine.
42. *ek wiwaʀ after woðuriðe witaðahalaiƀan worahto runoʀ . . ? . .* = I, Yr, after Othrithr, wrought (the) runes . . ? . .
44. *ek haʒustalðar þewaʀ ʒoðaʒas* = I, Hǫgstaldr, servant of Gothag.

Seventh century:

26. *iuþinʒaʀ ik wakraʀ unnam wraita* = Ythengr (rests here). I, Wacker, undertook the writing.
5. *eirilar hroʀaʀ hroʀeʀ orte þat aʀða . . .* = Earl Hror (of) Hror, made this . . .

Seventh–eighth century:

16. *afątr hariwuląfą hąþuwuląfʀ haeruwuląfiʀ — wąrait runaʀ*
þaiaʀ = After Herewulf, Hathewulf (of) Holf cut runes
these.

34. *niuha ƀorumʀ niuhą ʒestumʀ hąþuwolafʀ ʒaf hariwolafʀ*
maʒiu snuheka heðera ʒinoronoʀ . . ? . = New (monu-
ment) (to the) sons, new (to the) guests, Holfr gave,
Herolfr (to the) son. Turn (I) here with runes.

3. *saʀ þat ƀarutʀ uti aʀ welaðauðe haeramalausʀ ʒinarunaʀ*
araʒeu falahak haðeraʒ haiðʀruno ronu = He (who) this
breaks, before (him) is baleful death. Harmless (I) big
runes of witchcraft conceal here (of) honor runes sow.

I have quoted above, all the intelligible primitive Norse
inscriptions that are long enough to be significant for word-
order. It will at once be noted that there is a difference
between inscriptions of different periods. In the six inscrip-
tions of the third, fourth, and fifth centuries (39, 48, 13, 20,
8, 33) the order is, without exception, synthetic. The same
is true of the first four (19, 38, 22, 6) of the sixth century.
The last four (25, 35, 42, 44) of the sixth century have the
analytic order. The two (26, 5) of the seventh and the first
two (16, 34) of the eighth also have analytic order; and the
last one of the eighth century has an arrangement of words
quite like that characteristic of the classic Old Icelandic prose.

There is discernible, then, a gradual development from the
synthetic to the analytic order. This is illustrated by the
position of the demonstrative adjective. It occurs in but
three of the above inscriptions. In the fourth century (8)
and in the seventh (5) it precedes its noun; in the eighth
century (16) it follows.

The verb stands at the end in each of the three subordi-
nate clauses (22, 20, 3), though at least two of these are
paratactic.

Inversion does not occur in the inscriptions until the
eighth century, when it occurs (34, 3) as in Old Icelandic
literature.

The evidence, then, of the old Runic inscriptions, though
slender, is very valuable, because so early and because it

shows that the synthetic order was the earliest and that the order of words characteristic of literary Icelandic does not belong to primitive Teutonic, but is the result of a gradual special development.

V.

OLD SAXON WORD-ORDER.

For the facts of OS. word-order, we are indebted to Ries, who has made an exhaustive study of the word-order in the *Heliand*. From this work of Ries, a model in its kind, I have taken the most general statistics.

A. PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

I. Affirmative Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

The fundamental type of word-order is the direct. The indirect (inverted) order is to be regarded, not as an exception to the rule, but as a means of expressing certain shades of meaning.

a. INDIRECT ORDER IN FREE USE.

1. *From Logical Relation to the Context.*

Ries assumes that the first place in the sentence is the position of emphasis, and says that at times the verb bears the principal accent, and accordingly stands first.

2. *Stylistic-Rhetorical-Syntactical Motives.*

For animation of style the chiastic order may be used.

3. *Rhythmical-Metrical Motives.*

The indirect order regularly occurs when some later member of the clause is placed first. Exceptions to this rule are to be explained mainly on rhythmical grounds.

Indirect order	with initial position of object	88
	" " adverbial expression	749
	" " predicate noun	6

Direct order	with initial position of object	11
	" " adverbial expression	96
	" " predicate noun	1

This use of indirect order may be known as 'regular-indirect' order, as distinguished from 'indirect order in free use,' when inversion occurs without introductory word. The use of direct order after an introductory word or phrase is known as 'irregular-direct,' as distinguished from 'regular-direct,' without such introduction. It is to be noticed that the 'regular-indirect' order is relatively more frequent with predicate nouns; the 'irregular-direct,' with object at the beginning.

The general statistics for inversion in principal-affirmative clauses are as follows:

In the first three thousand lines of the *Heliand*	Total	1023
	'Regular-direct'	330
	'Irregular-direct'	59
	'Indirect in free use'	188
	'Regular-indirect'	446

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

For *Heliand* (1–3000) the statistics are as follows:

a. 'Regular-direct'	Total	330
	Neutral (only subj. and verb)	34
	Transposed (*s. . . . v.*)	69
b. 'Irregular-direct'	Total	59
	Neutral	5
	Transposed	42

In about 32% of all clauses consisting of more than mere subject and verb, the order is transposed.

II. Clauses of Command.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

a. IMPERATIVE, WITH PRONOUN SUBJECT.

	INDIRECT.	DIRECT.
With introductory particle	20	7
Without introductory particle	32	3
Total	52	10

b. Subjunctive.

	Indirect.	Direct.
With introductory particle	5	2
Without introductory particle	10	5
Total	15	7

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

Of the 7 imperative clauses with 'irregular-direct' order, all are transposed (*s. . . . v.*).

III. Interrogative Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

	Indirect.	Direct.
With introductory word	39	11
Without introductory word	7	0

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

Of the 8 interrogative clauses with 'irregular-direct' order, 7 are transposed (or partially transposed).

B. Subordinate Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

In principal clauses the indirect order, as we have seen, is nearly as frequent as the direct. In subordinate clauses the indirect order occurs but rarely, 158 : 1957 (7–8%).

Clauses with pronoun subjects, for metrical and logical reasons, employ the direct order exclusively.

In clauses with noun subjects, 158 out of 528 have indirect order.

	Direct.	Indirect.
With auxiliary verbs	105 (28%)	104 (65%)
Negative clauses	49 (13%)	30 (19%)
With negative-auxiliary verbs	20 (5%)	27 (17%)

When a later member of the clause is put first, as in principal clauses, the verb is attracted forward on account of a

feeling for the unity of the verb and the later members of
the clause.   It may be noted also, that, as in principal clauses,
the attracting power is different with different words, the
predicate word having the greatest, the object having the
least ; that is to say, the feeling for the unity of verb and
predicate is stronger than for that of verb and object.   In
the instances of 'regular-indirect' order the word at the
beginning was : object (14%), adverbial expression (40%),
predicate noun (45%).   In the instances of 'irregular-direct'
order, the word at the beginning was : object (40%), adverbial
expression (53%), predicate word (6%).

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

For *Heliand* (1–3000) the statistics are as follows :

Total (subordinate clauses)	350
Neutral	33
Verb at end	145
Verb in middle position	78

In subordinate clauses consisting of more than mere sub-
ject and verb, the verb is separated from the subject in
70% of all instances, as against 32% in principal clauses.

VI.

OLD ENGLISH WORD-ORDER.

The subject of Old English word-order has already received
some attention.   The word-order of *Beowulf* has been exam-
ined by Ries and Todt, that of the *AS. Chronicle* by Kube,
that of Alfred's *Orosius* and Ælfric's *Homilies* by Smith.   I
shall first summarize the results of these investigations, and
then in succeeding chapters give more in detail the results of
my study of the word-order in the AS. laws.

A. BEOWULF.

From Ries's work I have derived the following table:

I. Independent Affirmative Clauses. (*Beowulf*, 1–1000.)

1. 'Regular-direct,' Total   152
                 Neutral   33
                 S. and V. separated   76 (Transp. 36, Part. Transp. 40)

2. 'Irregular-direct,' Total   91
                 Neutral   9
                 S. and V. separated 66

Ind. Affirm. Clauses (direct order)   Total   243
                                         Neutral   42
                                                201
               S. and V. separated, Total   142 (70%)

II. Subordinate Clauses. (*Beowulf*, 1–500.)

Total   125
Neutral   23
Verb at end (transposed)   51 (50%)

NOTE. — In 67% of the instances in which the verb is not at the end, it occupies a medial position, so that in subordinate clauses the verb is separated from the subject in about 83% of all instances, as opposed to 70% in principal clauses.

The arbitrary system that Todt has adopted makes it difficult for us to utilize the results of his investigation in *Beowulf*. The verb, according to his scheme, may stand, *a*) at the beginning, *b*) after the first word, *c*) after several members, *d*) at the end. Todt renders this scheme still more complicated by making the following qualifications: When there is no object, the position *d*) is not conceivable, for whether or not an unimportant expression follows a verb already preceded by several independent members is unessential, the clause is to be classed as *c*). If, on the other hand, both subject and object precede the verb, the clause is classed *d*), no matter if a modifier follows. For purposes of comparison, the only way of utilizing Todt's results is by grouping classes *c*) and *d*) into one class in which are included all clauses with direct order which have words interposed between subject and predicate.

I. Independent Affirmative Clauses.

1. *Simple Verbs.*

a) 98   *b)* 204   *c)* 213   *d)* 355

2. *Auxiliary. Verbs.*

a) 17   *b)* 45   *c)* 15   *d)* 4

3. *The Copula.*

a) 81   *b)* 166   *c)* 29   *d)* 7

4. *Modal Verbs.*

a) 31   *b)* 36   *c)* 54   *d)* 19

5. *Verbs with the Infinitive.*

a) 29   *b)* 30   *c)* 43   *d)* 8

TOTAL.

a) 256   *b)* 481   *c)* 354   *d)* 393

From these statistics it is impossible to determine anything concerning the relative position of subject and finite verb. But the frequency with which the verb is separated from the subject is very noticeable. This separation (transposition or partial transposition) occurs in 50% of all clauses. The discrepancy between this percentage and that obtained by Ries is to be explained by the fact that while Ries excepts all 'neutral' clauses (only subject and predicate), Todt counts all such clauses as untransposed.

It is further to be noted that the simple verb is separated from the subject much more frequently than are the other verbs, auxiliary, etc.

II. Subordinate Clauses

1. *Simple Verb.*

b) 9   *c)* 297   *d)* 332

In the clauses with fully stressed subject the verb stands at the end 47 times, not at the end 27 times. The corresponding ratio in principal clauses is 86 : 73.

2. *Auxiliary Verbs.*

b) 2   *c*) 14   *d*) 8

The inclination to stand at the end is very strong, as is shown by the position of the participle, which precedes 18 times, follows 6 times. The corresponding ratio for principal clauses is 8 : 73.

3. *Copula.*

b) 8   *c*) 43   *d*) 47

4. *Modal Verb.*

b) 5   *c*) 74   *d*) 59

The infinitive precedes 92 times, follows 46 times. The corresponding ratio for principal clauses is 37 : 103.

Total.

b) 26   *c*) 428   *d*) 346

The verb is separated from the subject in 96% of all instances.

We notice, then, both in principal and in subordinate clauses a marked tendency to place the verb at the end, or at least after several of its dependencies. This tendency is stronger in subordinate than in principal clauses, and in the case of simple verbs than in that of auxiliaries, etc.

B. AS. Chronicle.

The results of Kube's examination of word-order in the *Chronicle* are somewhat indefinite. In but few instances has he given any exact statistics.

His principal conclusions are as follows:

I. Principal Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

a. Direct Order.

1) Interrogative clauses	Not at all.
2) Imperative clauses	Rarely.
3) Affirmative clauses	Under most diverse circumstances.

b. Indirect Order (Inversion).

After introductory adverbs and adverbial phrases the order is:

Direct	220
Indirect	310

After *her* the order is:

Direct	175
Indirect	106

After *þa* the order in the apodosis is always indirect; in affirmative clauses:

Direct	6
Indirect	99

After adverbial expressions of time:

Direct	39
Indirect	81

In case of two clauses connected by *ond*, the first of which has indirect order, the order in the second is direct.

2. *Position of Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

A substantive in the accusative case usually follows the verb, but may precede. The personal pronoun in the accusative invariably precedes the verb. In case of indirect order, the arrangement may be either *v. s. o.* or *v. o. s.* In case of compound verbs, the object is usually one of the separating elements. Except in the case of pronouns, which sometimes precede the verb, the dative object comes third, whatever may be the relative position of subject and verb. The predicate noun follows the verb. Phrases of time and place not very frequently stand between subject and verb.

II. Subordinate Clauses.

1. *Relative Clauses.*

The verb usually stands at the end except in the case of an object in the form of a clause. The second of two place-expressions sometimes follows the verb. Inversion is infrequent.

2. *Temporal Clauses.*

Verb usually last.   Inversion only three times.

3. *Causal Clauses.*

Proportion of verbs at end, 1 : 1.   Inversion only twice.

4. *Conditional Clauses.*

Only two instances.   Both direct, transposed.   The infinitive precedes the finite form.

5. *Concessive Clauses.*

Direct; transposed.

6. *Indirect Questions.*

Direct; verb stands at the end more often than within the clause.

7. *Object Clauses.*

Direct; usually transposed.

8. *Final Clauses.*

Direct; verb equally often at end and in medial position.

9. *Consecutive Clauses.*

Usually direct; verb more frequently in the medial position.

10. *Comparative Clauses.*

The few clauses that occur have direct order and the verb at the end.

III. Position of Elements in Word-Groups.

The genitive, subjective and objective, nearly always precedes.

The attributive adjective, with rare exceptions, precedes its substantive.

Numerals usually precede.

Possessives and indefinite pronouns (*eall, ilca,* etc.) precede.

C.[1] ALFRED'S OROSIUS AND ÆLFRIC'S HOMILIES.

I. Independent Clauses.

The usual order is the 'normal.' In case of a compound verb, the auxiliary follows the subject immediately, medially, or finally. When modifiers are few, the final position is more usual. The pronoun in the dative regularly precedes the verb. There are only 9 exceptions in the *Orosius*. In a portion of the *Homilies* equal to the *Orosius*, 64 precede, 22 follow (3 : 1). The pronominal direct object also precedes. There are in *Orosius* 4 exceptions to this rule. In Ælfric, 88 precede, 20 follow. This preference of the pronoun for the initial position is due to the tendency to follow the antecedent as closely as possible.

Transposition also occurs occasionally in independent clauses. Smith gives us no statistics concerning the frequency.

When a word, phrase, or clause, other than the subject, or a co-ordinating conjunction begins the clause, the verb *may* be drawn forward and the subject made to follow.

There are two different aspects of inversion : 1) as a means of more closely uniting the inverted clause with the preceding (by *þa*, *þonne*, etc.); 2) as a means of indicating relative stress (*e.g.* when direct object begins). Orosius uses inversion for the first purpose more often, Ælfric more often for the second.

Inversion caused by an initial dependent clause is not frequent in OE., unless the apodosis is begun by a word like *þonne*.

II. Dependent Clauses.

There are no instances in *Orosius* of inversion used to express condition, concession, or interrogation ; only two of inversion to express command or persuasion. The *Homilies*, however, use inversion for all these purposes.

The order in dependent clauses is much varied.

---

[1] Smith, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, 1893.

1. *Orosius.*

a. SIMPLE TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
328	46	259	23

b. COMPOUND TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
188	47	111	28

NOTE. — Usually some form of the verb stands at the end. Either principal or auxiliary stands at the end in 162 instances.

2. *Homilies.*

a. SIMPLE TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
314	139	155	20

b. COMPOUND TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
186	69	53	64

NOTE. — Either principal or auxiliary verb stands at the end in 126 instances.

The order of words in Oratio Obliqua is more like that in independent clauses, than is the order in subordinate clauses.

1. *Orosius.*

a. SIMPLE TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
46	23	21	2

b. COMPOUND TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
44	28	10	6

NOTE. — Either principal or auxiliary verb stands at the end in 40 instances.

2. *Ælfric.*

a. SIMPLE TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
50	30	13	7

b. COMPOUND TENSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.
46	15	9	22

The comparative study by Smith of the word-order in these two works seems, then, to show that the difference between principal and subordinate clauses was being levelled, that the normal order in modern English is the product of a gradual development, not, as asserted by Fiedler and Sachs, due to French influence. Further evidence will be brought to bear in the two following chapters.

VII.

WORD-ORDER IN ALFRED'S LAWS.

Old English word-order has been investigated in *Beowulf*, in the *Chronicle*, in Alfred's *Orosius*, and in Ælfric's *Homilies*. The results of these investigations, given in the preceding chapter, are most important; but there are not yet available a sufficient array of facts, for any absolutely satisfactory generalization. *Beowulf* does not truly represent OE. word-order, on account of the restraints of metre; the *Orosius* is open to suspicion, though slight, on the ground that it is a translation; Ælfric's *Homilies* represent the language at a later stage of its development; and the results of Kube's investigation of the *Chronicle* are unfortunately not in statistical form, and are hence not to any great extent available for our purpose.

For further investigation the Anglo-Saxon laws seem to be peculiarly fitted. They are evidently independent and are written in prose. They may, therefore, be taken as representative of the OE. speech feeling. They were also formulated at different times, some very early and continuing through the whole OE. period, and, therefore, afford an opportunity for study of the development of the language. As representatives of different periods, I have selected the code of Alfred and the code of Cnut. I have made a study of each, and have arranged the results in statistical form so as to exhibit the word-order current in each period, and by comparison to mark the lines of development.

LAWS OF ALFRED.

A. INDEPENDENT CLAUSES.

I. Affirmative Clauses.

As explained in the introduction, in the matter of word-order, our subject for study is the relative position of the essential elements of a clause; the grammatical subject, grammatical predicate (finite verb), and grammatical object. The relative position of qualifier and qualified is included here, because such combinations of words are, at bottom, subordinate clauses; the qualifier being the predicate, the thing qualified being the subject. The relative position of the various co-ordinate dependencies is usually arbitrary, and is determined by the consideration of emphasis or of connection.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

In Alfred's laws there occur 154 independent affirmative clauses.

TOTAL.	DIRECT.	INDIRECT (INVERTED).
154	119	35

NOTE. — The direct order is that in which the subject precedes the verb; the indirect (inverted), that in which the object precedes the subject.

Under 'direct' are included clauses in which the subject is not expressed. Under 'indirect' are included only the instances in which the subject (expressed) is preceded by the verb. Consequently the relative number of instances of inversion is not as small as might at first sight appear.

Inversion does not seem to follow any invariable rules, except that after the introductory particles, ðonne, ða, ðær, the order is always inverted. The High German rule according to which a later member of the clause (object or adverb), when standing at the beginning, attracts the verb forward, thus causing inversion, does not hold good in OE.

To be sure, of the thirty-five inverted clauses that occur, twenty-three have an introductory word. But it will be

noticed that this is merely a formal sign, and instead of being the cause of inversion, is perhaps the result.

The· introductory words occurring are: (*þonne* 16 times), *þa* (3), *ʒeo* (1), *nu* (1), *eac* (1), *ðær* (1); *e.g.*:

þonne sceal he be, .LX. *hida . . .,*[1] 124, 2 ; *þa sendon hie ærend-ʒewrit to him*, 78, 26 ; *ða ʒesomnodon we us ymb ðæt*, 80, 7 ; *ʒeo wæs ʒoldðeofe . . . maran ðonne oðru*, 88, 15 ; *Nu sint ealʒelic . . .*, 88, 16 ; *eac is ciepe monnum ʒereht*, 96, 11.

That inversion requires a particle as formal sign, is seemingly proved by the fact that inversion occurs without such sign only in negative clauses in which the negative particle stands first (12 times), *e.g.*:

Nelle ic from minum hlaforde . . ., 70, 4 ; *ne bið he ealles swa scyldiʒ*, 72, 5 ; *ne bið se að na ðy mara*, 124, 5 ; *ne mot hine mon tieman . . .*, 124, 8.

That is to say, the verb never stands directly at the beginning.

When, however, the object or a prepositional phrase, or an adverbial expression more definite than *ðonne*, etc., stands first, the order is, without exception, direct; twenty-seven instances of such 'irregular-direct' order occur. In these clauses the introductory word or phrase is: the object (12 times), a prepositional phrase (9), *eac* (3), *swa* (1), *ærest* (1), .X., *wintra* (1); *e.g.*:

7 eaðmodnesse he lærde, 78, 20 ; *mid him we sendon iudam . . .*, 80, 11 ; *Of ðissum anum dome mon mæg ʒeðencean . . .*, 80, 19 ; *Eâc we settað . . .*, 86, 1 ; *þæt he mot*, 92, 8 ; *Ærest we bebeodað þætte . . .*, 110, 5 ; .X., *wintra cniht mæʒ bion ðiefðe ʒewita* 112, 13.

It must be noted that in many instances the subject is not formally expressed, so that there is no distinction between direct and inverted order. For the clauses in which the subject is formally expressed, and which are begun by some word or phrase other than the subject, the statistics are:

INVERTED.	DIRECT.
23 (such words as *ðonne*, etc.)	27 (objects, prep. phrases, etc.)

[1] The references are to page and line in "The Legal Code of Alfred the Great." Ed. by M. H. Turk, Halle, 1893.

Manifestly, then, the HG. rule is not valid in OE.

The occurrence of inversion in independent clauses is confined almost exclusively to the apodosis, perhaps owing to the fact that in the laws most of the principal clauses are in the apodosis. Out of 35 instances of inversion 29 are in the apodosis, *e.g.*:

ʒif he ne wille his wæpenu sellan, þonne mot he feohtan on hine, 102, 7 ; *ʒif he hit ðonne dierneð, ðonne rymeð he ðam deadan . . .,* 116, 2 ; *ne þearf he hiora mâ ʒeldan, wære hiora swa fela swa hiora wære,* 122, 17.

But clauses in the apodosis are by no means always inverted. As against the 29 instances of inversion in the apodosis, there are 24 instances of direct order ; *e.g.*:

ʒif ʒe þonne elles doð, hie cleopiað to me ꞇ ic ʒehiere hie ꞇ ic eow þonne slea mid minum sweorde, ꞇ ic ʒedô þret . . ., 76, 11 ; *ʒif he hine triewan wille . . ., þæt be mot,* 92, 7 ; *Gif feorcund mon oððe fremde buton weʒe ʒeond wudu ʒonʒe . . ., for þeof he bið to profianne . . .,* 114, 19.

To sum up, then, inversion occurs :

In Apodosis.		Not in Apodosis.	
With Formal Introd.	Without Introd.	With Introd.	Without Introd.
19	10 (all neg.)	4	2 (both neg.)

The direct order occurs :

In Apodosis.	With Object or Adverb First in Clause.
24	27

2. *Position of the Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

In independent affirmative clauses the position of the verb with relation to its modifiers is in the main the same as in modern English. This order we will call the 'normal,' defining normal order more exactly as the order in which the finite verb follows immediately the grammatical subject. But this order, though general, is not universal. If we call 'transposed' those clauses in which the finite verb stands at the end after all its dependencies, and 'partially transposed' (Part.

Transp.) those clauses in which the finite verb has a medial position after part of its dependencies, and 'neutral' those clauses consisting of verb alone, or of subject and verb alone, then the statistics for independent affirmative clauses are:

Total.	Normal.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Neutral.	Inverted.
154	84	17	15	3	35

Examples of clauses with normal order need hardly be cited, *e.g.* :

Ic êom dryhten ðin ʒod., 68, 2 ; *þis syndan ða domas þe se ælmih-teʒa* . . ., 78, 14 ; *ælc mon mot onsacan frymðe* 7 . . ., 124, 6.

Examples of transposed clauses are :

7 *þus cwæð*, 68, 2 ; 7 *ic hine ʒehiere*, 76, 20 ; *Ic ða ælfred westseaxna cyning eallum minum witum þas ʒeeowde*, 82, 20.

Examples of partially transposed (Part. Transp.) clauses are :

7 *on moneʒa senoð bec hie writan hwær anne dom hwær oðerne*, 82, 7 ; 7 *on oðrum wisan bebead to healdanne*, 82, 12.

Examples of neutral clauses are :

7 *hie þa cwædon þæt* . . ., 82, 21 ; *Eac we bebeodað*, 100, 19.

It will at once be seen that the normal order predominates. Many of the clauses classed as transposed or partially transposed have an order that would be quite possible in modern English. As in modern English, an object or adverbial modifier may, for rhetorical purpose, be placed first. Such clauses ('irregular-direct'), whether the subject is expressed or not, are here classed as transposed or as partially transposed, according as the verb stands at the end or not.

The pronoun-object does not occur frequently enough to materially affect the result, but the pronoun-object precedes the verb relatively more often than other dependencies do.

PRONOUN-OBJECT.

Alone before Verb.	Before Verb, not Alone.	After Verb.
4	4	12 (Inv. 8)

E.g.:

7 *ic hine ʒehiere*, 76, 20 ; 7 *we éow cýðað.* 7 *þa eldran bróðor hǽlo
eow wyscað,* 80, 2 ; *ne mot hine mon tieman to ðeowum men,*
124, 8 ; *þonne betyhð hine mon eft oðre siðe,* 128, 24.

PARTICIPLE.

The past participle as part of a compound verb occurs only
17 times in principal clauses (including clauses of command).
It stands at the end of the clause 13 times, the other 4 times
following the finite verb directly, or separated only by the
subject, *e.g.:*

sie he mid stanum ofworpod, 72, 17 ; *ne sie his flæsc eten,* 72, 17 ;
Eallum frioum monnum ðas daʒas sien forʒifene . . ., 102, 22.

The present participle occurs only twice. In these two
instances it follows the finite verb immediately.

Dryhten wæs specende ðas word to Moyse, 68, 1 ; 7 *éac micelre
ʒesomnunge ʒodes ðeowa wæs smeaʒende be ðære hǽlo urra
sawla,* 108, 30.

INFINITIVE.

The infinitive occurs 50 times in principal clauses. It
stands at the end of the clause 28 times; followed only by
finite verb *once.* It follows the finite verb directly 27 times,
e.g.:

Naʒe he hie ût on elðeodiʒ folc to bebycʒʒanne, 70, 10 ; *se sceal deaðe
sweltan,* 70, 25 ; *.X. wintra cniht mæʒ bion ðiefðe ʒewita,* 112, 13 ;
Mon sceal simle to hereʒafole aʒifan æt anum wyrhtan, .VI., wæʒa,
128, 11.

II. Clauses of Command.

The regular position of the verb is first in the clause (intro-
ductory particles being left out of consideration). When the
subject is expressed, the order is regularly inverted. All
exceptions may be explained on some special ground, rhetori-
cal or other.

NOTE. — It is so often impossible to distinguish between optative and
imperative that no discrimination has been made in the treatment. But
from observations made, I feel justified in saying that the order is the
same in the two kinds of clause.

Narrowing our attention to inversion, we obtain the follow-ing results:

In Apodosis (105).		Not in Apodosis (38).	
With Introd.	Without Introd.	With Introd.	Without Introd.
12	95 (7 neg.)	18	18 (12 neg.)

e.g.:

ʒif hwa ʒebycʒʒe cristene þeow, .VI. ʒear ðeowiʒe he, ðy siofoðan beo he frioh ôrceapunʒa, 68, 19, 20; *Mid swelce hræʒle he ineode, mid swelce ʒanʒe he ût,* 70, 1; *Ne minne noman ne ciʒ ðu on idelnesse,* 68, 5; *Utancumene 7 elðeodiʒe ne ʒeswenc ðu no,* 76, 8; *Dem ðu swiðe emne,* 78, 3.

Those clauses of command in which the order is not inverted, and in which the verb does not stand first, demand special consideration. Such exceptions to the rule are usually due to the desire to emphasize some word or phrase, which accordingly is given the initial position, *e.g.:*

ærcebiscepes borʒes bryce oððe his mund byrd ʒebete mid ðrim pundum, 84, 20; *Gif hund mon toslite oððe abite, æt forman misdæde ʒeselle .VI. scill,* 92, 23; *ʒif syxhundum þissa hwæðer ʒelimpe, ðriefealdlice arise be ðære cleriscan bote,* 100, 1.

Another consideration, which perhaps more often than the consideration of emphasis determines what shall stand first in the clause, is that of connection. There is a tendency to place first the word or phrase which links with the idea expressed in the preceding sentence, *e.g.:*

wyrceað eow .VI. daʒas 7 on þam siofoðan restað eow, 68, 8; *ʒif hie sien bu ʒelic, ord 7 hindeweard sceaft, þæt sie butan pleo,* 98, 7.

The instances of transposition and partial transposition, and also of normal order, occur most frequently in a last clause of a series. In some instances this is due to one of the motives mentioned above; in others it seems to be for rhetorical effect — *chiasmus, e.g.:*

ʒif ðeowmon wyrce on sunnandæʒ be his hlafordes hæse, sie he frioh 7 se hlaford ʒeselle .XXX. scill. to wite, 110, 11; *ʒif he medren mæʒas naʒe, ʒielden þa ʒeʒildan healfne, for healfne he*

fleo, 94, 24; *ʒif hire bearn mon ofslea, ʒielde cyninʒe þara medren mæʒa dǽl, fædren mæʒum hiora dæl mon aʒife*, 88, 7.

For clauses of command, the general statistics are:

Subject Expressed (183).				Subject not Expressed (203).		
Inv.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.	First.	Not First.	Neutr.
143	16	7	17	158	43	2

B. Subordinate Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

In subordinate clauses the finite verb regularly follows the subject. Inversion occurs only in isolated instances. In 429 conditional clauses there are only 9 instances of inversion: 8 times in clauses with *ʒif*, once where the inversion serves to indicate the conditional nature of the clause, *e.g.*:

Gif in feaxe bið wund, 104, 4; *wære hiora swa fela swa hiora wære*, 122, 18.

There is one inverted relative clause, . . . *þæt mæʒe .XXX. swina understandan*, 122, 20; one substantive clause (really an instance of parataxis), *ðara ʒehwelc we willað, sy twy bote . . .*, 86, 18; one temporal clause, *ðonne hæfð he þæt wite afylled mid þy aðe . . .*, 126, 9; one purpose clause, *þæt hine moton his mæʒas unsynʒian*, 116, 3.

2. *Position of the Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

a. Relative Clauses.

Total.	Normal.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Inverted.	Neutral.
158	20	103	17	1	18

e.g.:

se ðe stalað on sunnan niht oððe on ʒehhol, 86, 16; *se ðæs wæpnes onlah*, 92, 6; *þe ærest fulluhte onfenʒ on anʒelcynne*, 82, 18.

With relative clauses are included clauses of manner introduced by *swa, e.g.*:

swa he ǽr sceolde, 84, 4.

b. SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
82	18	50	12	1	3

e.g.:

ʒemyne þæt ðu ʒehalʒiʒe þone ræste dæʒ, 68, 7 ; þæt he æʒhwelcne
onryht ʒedemeð, 80, 20 ; þæt he him nan oðer ne sealde buton þæt
ilce, 132, 24.

c. CLAUSES OF COMPARISON.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
4	0	2	1	0	1

e.g.:

. . . ðonne hie mon be þam were ʒeeahtiʒe, 96, 6 ; þonne him mon
aceorfe þa tunʒon ôf, 96, 4.

d. TEMPORAL CLAUSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
29	6	16	4	1	2

e.g.:

siððan se áncenneda dryhtnes sunu . . . on middanʒeard cwom, 78,
15 ; oð ðæt anʒylde arise to .XXX. scill., 88, 13 ; 7 þonne him
ðearf sie ma manna ûp mid him to habbanne on hiora fore, 96, 15.

Under this head are included quite different kinds of
clauses, introduced by the conjunctions *þonne, siððan,* and *oð.*

e. PURPOSE CLAUSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
9	2	4	2	1	0

e.g.:

þæt ðu sie þy lenʒ libbende on eorþan, 68, 13 ; þæt he mon mid
ofslea, 92, 3 ; þætte næniʒ ealdormonna . . . æfter þam wære
awendende ðas ure domas, 110, 2.

f. INDIRECT QUESTION.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
5	0	5	0	0	0

e.g.:

hwæt þæs ðam lician wolde . . ., 82, 15.

g. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
429	112	228	53	9	27

Of the 9 instances of inversion, 4 are included under other heads (130, 1 ; 106, 24 ; 104, 4 ; 78, 2), *e.g.* :

Gif hit ðonne bið wilisc onstal, 124, 5 ; *ʒif hio dead sie,* 72, 9 ; *Gif mon forstolene man befo æt oðrum,* 126, 4.

h. RESULT CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
	12	8	3	0	0	1

e.g. :

þæt hie beoð forode, 104, 18 ; *þæt hie dead sien,* 72, 16.

i. CAUSAL CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
	16	9	3	4	0	0

e.g. :

forþon þe hit wæs his aʒen fioh, 72, 6 ; *forþam ðe ʒod ælmihtiʒ þam nane ne ʒedemde,* 82, 3 ; *forþam on .VI. daʒum crist ʒeworhte hiofonas 7 eorðan . . .,* 68, 9.

j. CONCESSIVE CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
	6	4	1	1	0	0

e.g. :

Deah hwa ʒebycʒʒe his dohtor on þeowenne, 70, 8 ; *ðeah he scyldiʒ sie,* 112, 25 ; *þeah hine mon befo ymb niht,* 132, 5.

Position of the Pronoun-Object in Subordinate Clauses.

The pronoun-object occurs with such great frequency in subordinate clauses that it must be taken into special account in the consideration of word-order. In principal clauses the pronoun-object occurs only in 20 instances, and is not of much importance in the consideration of word-order. In subordinate clauses it occurs in 183 instances, and, since it nearly always precedes the verb, accounts in part for the frequency of transposition in subordinate clauses. Perhaps the feeling that the transposed order is the natural one for the subordinate clause is in part due to the frequent occurrence of the pronoun before the verb. In the following statistics, the 91 instances in which the pronoun-object stands

alone before the verb are to be classed as transposed or partially transposed, and this transposition is due in these instances entirely to the position of the pronoun.

PRONOUN.

ALONE BEFORE VERB.	BEFORE VERB, NOT ALONE.	AFTER VERB.
91	88	4

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES. SUMMARY.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
752	179	415	95	13	52

PARTICIPLE.

The past participle as part of a compound verb occurs 64 times in subordinate clauses. Here, as in principal clauses, there is manifest a tendency to place the participle at the end of the clause. It stands at the end of the clause 39 times. It must be noted, however, that in 18 of these instances the clause consists only of subject, finite verb, and participle. The tendency to place the participle last is even stronger than that to put the finite verb last, for the order, ... *v.* participle, occurs 21 times, as against ... participle *v.*, 15 times. The exact statistics for the position of the participle are as follows:

a.	. . . part.	18 (v. s. part. once)
b	. . . v. part.	21 (s. v. part. 19 times)
c.	. . . part. v.	15 (s. part. v. 6 times)
d.	part. . . . v.	0
e.	v. part. . . .	5
f.	part. v. . . .	1
g.	. . . part. . . .	2
h.	. . . part. v. . . .	1

The verb, it will be seen, directly precedes the participle 27 times. The participle directly precedes the verb 16 times. Examples of the different arrangements are:

a. ꝺ *he weorðe þær ofslegen,* 74, 12.
b. *Gif mid him cwicum sie funden þæt,* . . . 74, 16.
c. ꝺ *hit onbestæled sie.*
e. *Gif fyr sie ontended ryt to bærnanne,* 74, 19.

f. ær þam þe his apostolas tofarene wæron, . . . 78, 21.
g. ðe wære to æwum wife forgifen his fæder, 102, 20.
h. se ðe oft betyȝen wære ðiefðe, 120, 12.

The present participle with finite verb occurs in subordinate clauses only twice :

þætte næniȝ ealdormonna ne us underȝeðeodedra æfter þam wære awendende ðas ure domas, 110, 4 ; þe . . . ȝod self sprecende wæs to moyse, 78, 14.

The past participle, then, seems to have a claim on last place even stronger than that of the finite verb.

INFINITIVE.

The infinitive occurs 82 times in subordinate clauses. Its position is :

a.	. . . infin.	26		*e.*	v. infin. . . .	1
b.	. . . v. infin.	11		*f.*	infin. v. . . .	1
c.	. . . infin. v.	39		*g.*	. . . infin. . . .	4
d.	infin. . . . v.	0				

It will be seen from the above table that the infinitive usually stands either last, or next to the last, followed by the finite verb. It may also be noted that the finite verb follows the infinitive (40 : 11) more often than the past participle does (16 : 27). The infinitive is evidently more dependent on the finite verb than the participle is.

Examples of the different arrangements are :

a. Gif he ðonne alefe his suna mid to hæmanne, 70, 13.
b. ⁊ him bebead to healdanne, 78, 15.
c. þæt he hine bereccean ne mæȝe, 70, 26.
e. Da fæmnan þe ȝewuniað onfon ȝealdor cræftiȝan ⁊ . . . 76, 5.
f. ⁊ he þeah utȝonȝan mæȝe bi stafe, 72, 1.
g. ⁊ þonne him ðearf sie ma manna up mid him habanne on hiora fore, 96, 16.

Similar to the tendency to place the participle and infinitive at the end of the clause is the tendency to place the predicate adjective after its dependencies, last in the clause. As in the

case of the infinitive and participle, this is only a tendency, by no means an invariable rule.   Examples are:

Ne sie he na manslezes scyldiz, 74, 12 ; *oxan eaze bið .V. pæninza weorð,* 128, 10.

The favorite position above referred to, of the participle, infinitive, and predicate adjective, may be taken as an illustration of a more general tendency, — that to place the governing word after the word governed, or, otherwise expressed, to place the most important word last, thus producing what has been variously called 'ascending construction' and 'synthetic order.'   As further illustration of this general tendency may be cited the following passages:

þæt he sie æfre siððan þeow, 70, 8 ; *⁊ he ne sie idæzes dead,* 72, 4 ; *hæbbe hi siððan him to wife,* 76, 2 ; *his ðone nehstan,* 70, 28 ; *us underzeðeodedra,* 110, 3 ; *eac we cweðað þæt mon mote mid his hlaforde feohtan orwize,* 102, 12 ; *siððan hit to ðam ârise þæt anzylde,* 88, 14.

As further illustration of this same general tendency may be cited the usual position of the dependent genitive before its governing word.   This position, though by no means the invariable one, occurs in a great majority of instances, *e.g.* :

ezipta londe, 68, 3 ; *hiora ðeowdome,* 68, 3 ; *þines nehstan ierfes,* 68, 16 ; *butan ðæs muneces hlafordes lefnesse,* 92, 14 ; *ðæs zewintredan monnes bot,* 94, 20 ; *ðas ure domas,* 110, 4 ; *ðæs deadan mæzas,* 120, 2.

A remarkable illustration of the freedom in the arrangement and of the peculiar value of the first and last places for emphasis is seen in the following passage:

ðeofas we hatað oð .VII. men, from .VII. hloð to .XXXV. siððan bið here, 114, 2, 3.

It is to be noted that there are no long transpositions, clause within clause, like those in modern German.   The only instances of clause included within clause are subject clauses like the following:

zielde se ðæs wæpnes onlah þæs weres ðriddan dæl, 92, 5 ; *þonne sceal se ðe hine ah weorpan hine to honda hlaforde,* 132, 11, etc.

The object clause follows the verb upon which it depends, without exception, whether the governing clause be independent or subordinate.

In the later manuscripts of Alfred's laws are to be found many variations in order from that in the oldest manuscript, E, which we have followed. But the variations are so heterogeneous that it is difficult to make any generalization concerning them. If in the later manuscripts there seems to be no greater fondness for the synthetic order, on the other hand, it may be said with certainty that writers of later manuscripts show no greater fondness for the analytic order. There occur variations in both directions. The tendency, if any, seems to be toward greater regularity. In principal clauses of the later manuscripts the order is 'normal' more often than in Ms. E. On the other hand, in subordinate clauses the transposed order occurs in later manuscripts where Ms. E has the normal order. In commands, likewise, the changes in the later manuscripts are usually in the direction of greater regularity, *e.g.*:

78, 23 { *monega hæðena ðeoda hie to ʒode ʒecerdon.*   E.
        { *moneʒa hæðena ðeoda hie ʒecerdon to gode.*   H.

98, 8 { *Gif mon wille of bold ʒetæl.*   E., B.
       { *Gif mon of bold ʒetæle wille.*   H.

100, 9 { *hit sie twybote.*   E.
        { *si hit twybote.*   From margin of B.

104, 18 { *Gif monnes ceacan mon forslihð.*   E.
         { *Gif man monnes ceacan forslea.*   B.

112, 1 { *Gif hwa on ealdormonnes huse ʒefeohto oððe on oðres*
        { *ʒeðunʒenes witan.*   E., B.
        { *Gif hwa on . . . huse oððe on . . . ʒeþunʒenan ʒefeohte.*   H.

124, 27 { *Gif ʒesiðcund mon landaʒende forsitte fierd.*   E.
         { *Gif se siðcunde man landaʒende fyrde forsitte.*   B.

In the laws of Alfred, then, the rule seems to be that the verb stands first in imperative clauses, second in principal-affirmative clauses, and last in subordinate clauses. Furthermore, there is manifest a tendency toward the synthetic order; that is, for governing word, whether finite verb, participle, infinitive, noun, or adjective, to follow the governed

word. This tendency is not manifest in every instance because of the operation of counter tendencies.   In principal-affirmative clauses, for example, the favorite position of the verb is second.   But even in such clauses, traces of the more general tendency are manifest in some instances ; and we must assume that its operation originally was more general, and that in course of time, in special instances, for example in affirmative clauses, imperative clauses, etc., its influence was overcome by stronger special tendencies.

VIII.

WORD-ORDER IN THE LAWS OF CNUT.

A. PRINCIPAL CLAUSES.

I. Affirmative Clauses.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

In Cnut's code there occur 115 principal clauses.

TOTAL.	DIRECT.	NEUTRAL.
115	88	27

NOTE. — In two clauses included under 'direct,' the subject is unexpressed.

It will be seen from the above statistics that the direct order predominates.   If one studies the instances further, he will find that, as in Alfred's code, inversion follows no invariable rules.   The tendencies seem to be the same in the two codes.   Inversion occurs after an introductory word or phrase, 20 times, in clauses without such introduction, 7 times, so that evidently an introductory word or phrase is not a necessary condition for inversion.   But that such an introduction favors inversion is shown by the greater relative frequency of inversion in clauses thus introduced.   In the clauses with direct order the subject is preceded by words other than a conjunction only 18 times, about 20% of all instances.   The inverted clauses have such introduction in 20 instances out of 27, more than 80% of all instances.

But, as in Alfred's code, it is to be noted that the introductory words are of different nature in the two kinds of clauses. In the inverted clauses the introductory words are as follows: *þonne* (1), predicate adjective and adverb (4), prepositional phrase (2), *eac* (1), *swa* (1), *nu* (1), *e.g.*:

Ðonne is swiðe rihtlic þ . . ., 2, 7;[1] *Micel is 7 mære þ sacerd áh to dónne, 4, 4 ; To ciric-bote sceal eall folc fylstan mid ryhte, LXVI., 5; 7 eac áh hlaforda ʒehwylc, 20, 6 ; swa sceal he . . ., XXXVIII., 4 ; Nu bidde ic ʒeorne . . ., LXXXV., 1.*

In the clauses with 'irregular-direct' order the introductory words are: object direct or indirect (including dative of interest), 9; pred. noun or adject., 4 ; adverb, 5 ; prep. phrases, 2; *e.g.*:

Eallum Cristenum mannum ʒebyrað swiðe rihte, 4, 1 ; þ syndan bisceopas 7 mæsse-preostas, 26, 9; 7 swa hi dóð symle, 4, 11 ; And on Myrcean he ah . . ., XIV., 1.

It will be seen from the above that the introductory words in inverted clauses are in a majority of instances words serving merely a formal purpose, *þonne*, *swa*, etc., pred. words and prep. phrases occurring only 6 times. Quite the reverse is true of clauses with 'irregular-direct' order in which, in 9 instances, the object stands first.

As in Alfred's code it is to be noted that, without exception, the inverted clauses without introductory words are negative. It is further to be noted that in Cnut's code there is but one instance of a negative clause with direct order.

It cannot with certainty be asserted that in the apodosis inversion is the rule. There are only 8 instances of inversion in the apodosis as against 19 instances in independent clauses. On the other hand, it is to be noted that in Cnut's code there is but one instance of direct order in the apodosis, and that in a relative apodosis.

---

[1] The references are to Cnut's Laws in Thorpe's *Ancient Laws of England*, Vol. I. Arabic numerals refer to the ecclesiastical division, Roman to secular division.

The general statistics, then, for inversion are:

Apodosis.		Independent Clause.	
Introd.	Not Introd.	Introd.	Not introd.
7	1 (neg.)	13	6 (neg.)

2. *Position of the Verb with the Relation to its Dependencies.*

Here again the order of words in Cnut's code agrees in the main with that in Alfred's. Leaving out of consideration the inverted clauses, the statistics are as follows:

Noun.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Neutral.
50	11	12	15

Instances of 'irregular-direct' order are classed as transposed or partially transposed, according as the verb stands at the end or not. But particles like, *þeah, þi,* etc., are not counted as producing this transposition.

Seven doubtful instances of *þæt is . . .,* are classed as normal.

Examples are:

Đis is seo ʒerædnys þe Cnut . . . Introd. 1. 1 (Normal) ; 7 *haliʒe enʒlas þærabutan hwearfiað 7 þa dǽda beweárdiað 7 þurh Godes mihta þam sacerdan fylstað,* 4, 9, 10 (Transposed) ; *Eallum Cristenum mannum ʒebyrað swiðe rihte . . .,* 4, 1 (Part. transp.) ; *And we lærað 7 biddað þ . . .,* 7, 1 (Neutral).

An examination of the passages cited above will show that with but few exceptions (8), in the clauses classed as transposed or part. transp., the order is the 'irregular-direct,' in which the subject immediately precedes the verb, but is itself preceded by some later member of the clause. The other instances are either crystallized phrases, *e.g.: And us ne þincð,* XXIV., 10; or are instances such as might occur in modern English, *e.g.: Husbryce 7 bǽrnet 7 . . . æfter woruld-laʒe is botleas,* LXV., 2. That is to say, the normal order in principal clauses has become nearly as rigidly fixed as in modern English, or in any of the modern analytic languages.

The pronoun-object does not occur in principal clauses frequently enough to appreciably affect the above result. It may be noted, however, that the object pronoun precedes the verb relatively more frequently than the other dependencies do.

Before Verb, Alone.	Before Verb, Not Alone.	After Verb.
3	o	3

þonne wurðe us eallum Godes miltse þe ʒearuwre, 19, 8 ; *Ac ic hit forbeode heonon-forð*, LXXVII., 11 ; *And us ne þincð nan ryht þ . . .*, XXIV., 10 ; *he dereð him sylfum . . .*, XXXV., 6 ; *þonne sceal him cyninʒc beon*, XL., 2.

It is to be noted that the simple pronoun stands as near the beginning as it can without interfering with the general rules of order ; also that the more natural position for it seems to be that after the verb.

PARTICIPLES AND INFINITIVES.

The favorite position of the past participle in all principal clauses, including clauses of command, is at the end. In 10 out of 11 instances, the total number occurring, the participle occupies this position, *e.g.:*

Ā si Godes nama écelice ʒebletsod, 26, 14.

The only instance of other order is,

þonne sȳ he áworpen of ʒehádodra ʒemanan, 5, 25.

The present participle occurs only once ; in that instance it has the position at the end.

Donne móton þa hyrdas beon swiðe wacore ⁊ ʒeornlice clȳpiʒende, 26, 8.

The favorite position of the infinitive also is at the end. It stands at the end in 21 out of 36 instances, *e.g.:*

⁊ ne þearf æniʒ mynster-munuc ahwær mid rihte fæhð-bóte biddan, 5, 21 ; *⁊ þi man sceal for Godes éʒe mæðe on háde ʒecnáwan mid ʒesceade*, 4, 14.

PARTICIPLES.

TOTAL.	LAST.	NOT LAST.
12	11	1

INFINITIVES.

TOTAL.	LAST.	NOT LAST.
36	21	15

II. Clauses of Command.

1. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

As in Alfred's code, if we leave adverbs and particles out of consideration, the regular position of the verb is first in the clause; when the subject is expressed, the order is inverted.

SUBJECT EXPRESSED.		SUBJECT NOT EXPRESSED.		
Inverted.	Not Inverted.	First.	Not First.	Neutral.
133	40	110	13	4

e.g.: *þonne siʒ þ bótleás,* 2, 12 ; *hæbbe he Godes miltse,* 6, 11.

Of the 133 instances of inversion it is to be noted that a relatively greater number is without introductory word, and a relatively smaller number is in the apodosis, than in principal affirmative clauses.

	IN APODOSIS.		NOT IN APODOSIS.	
TOTAL.	With Introd.	Without Introd.	With Introd.	Without Introd.
134	20	60 (7 neg.)	15	39 (5 neg.)

e.g.:

And ʒif æfre æniʒ mann heonon-forð Godes ciric-ʒrið swa ábreceþ . . ., þonne siʒ þæt bótleás, 2, 12 ; *⁊ ehte his ælc þára þe Godes freond siʒ,* 2, 12 ; *And ʒá ælc cyric-sceat into þam ealdan mynstre,* 11, 5 ; *And ealle Godes ʒerihta fyrðriʒe man ʒeorne,* 14, 1.

Instances in which the order is other than 'First' (verb first, subj. unexpr.) or inverted may usually be explained on some special ground. The most frequent causes of order other than the regular are:

1) Chiasmus. The second, third, etc., clauses in a series frequently reverse the order of the first clause, apparently for euphony or for some other rhetorical effect, *e.g.:*

þonne béte man þ ciric-ʒrið intó þare cirican be cyninc̄es fullan nund-bryce ⁊ þa mynster-clænsunʒe beʒite swa þærto ʒebyriʒe, 2, 18.

2) Special transposed clauses introduced by *þæt, e.g.*:

> *And þ man ælc beboden fæsten healde,* 16, 1.

3) Special emphasis to be thrown on the subject, which is accordingly placed first, or on the verb, which is accordingly put last, *e.g.*:

> *Ac æʒhwilc cristen man dó swa him þearf is,* 19, 1 ; *And æʒhwylc cristen mann eác for his Drihtnes eʒe unriht hǽmed ʒeorne forbuʒe* 6, 14.

4) The object or an adverbial phrase is thrown first for emphasis or for connection, and the subject is not expressed, where, if it were expressed, we should expect inversion, *e.g.*:

> ⁊ *heónan-forð lǽte manna ʒehwylcne . . . folc-sihtes wyrðe,* I., 5.

5) Influence of preceding clauses, *e.g.*:

> *Ac úton swiðe ʒeorne fram synnum ʒecyrran . . .,* ⁊ *æfre ʒeswícan* ⁊ *ʒeornlice bětan* ⁊ *úre ælc oðrum beóde þ . . .,* 18, 10.

6) A relative clause serves as subject, and the order is equivalent to 'First,' *e.g.*:

> ⁊ *seþe ofer þære dæʒ hit healde, áʒife þam bisceope þære peniʒ,* 9, 2.

2. *Position of the Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

From the statistics given above, it is evident that the clauses having order other than 'First' or inverted, are the exceptions. Some of the causes of these exceptions have been enumerated above. It remains only to give the statistics for transposition, partial transposition, and normal order.

CLAUSES, NOT 'FIRST,' NOT INVERTED.

	SUBJECT EXPRESSED.			SUBJECT NOT EXPRESSED.	
TOTAL.	Normal.	Part. Transp.	Transp.	Not 'First.'	Neutral.
67	17	8	25	13	4

e.g.:

Ac æʒhwilc cristen man dó swa him þearf is, 19, 1 ; ⁊ *weorc freonda ʒehwylc fadiʒe mid rihte,* 19, 5 ; ⁊ *æʒðer ʒe mæʒ-bote ʒe mæʒ-bóte fullice ʒebete,* 2, 20 ; ⁊ *þær þonne æt ʒefáre þ þ Gode wylle,* 5, 14.

It must be noted that, with one or two exceptions, all the commands are in the third person.   In consequence the verb is nearly always subjunctive.

III. Interrogative Clauses.

There is but one instance of direct question in Cnut's code ; in that one, as is to be expected, the order is inverted.

Ac hu mæȝ þonne æfre ǽniȝ mann hine inweardlice tó Gode ȝebiddan, **22, 10.**

B. Subordinate Clauses.

I. *Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.*

Inversion in subordinate clauses is rare.   There are eighteen instances occurring in conditional clauses, but these consist of the repetition of one fixed formula, *sy hit,* or *sy he, e.g. :*

sy hit þurh reaflác, sy hit þurh feohtlác . . ., **3, 3, 4.**

There is one instance in a substantive clause,

þonne ȝefadiȝe man þa steore . . ., **II., 2.**

four in causal clauses, *e.g. :*

forþam þam byð witodlice God hold, **20, 5.**

and one in a relative clause,

swa is deofol sylf, **26, 6.**

With the exception of the instances mentioned, all of which, it will be noted, occur either in conditional, in substantive, in relative, or in causal clauses, which partake largely of the nature of principal clauses, the order in subordinate clauses is invariably direct.

2. *Position of the Finite Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.*

a. Relative Clauses.

Total.	Normal.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Inverted.	Neutral.
219	20	129	23	1	46

With relative clauses are included *swa* clauses of manner and of comparison, also *þær* clauses of place, *e.g.*:

7 *wið þone weallendan brýne þe weallað on helle*, 6, 9 ; 7 *se þe þæs ȝeswican wille*, 6, 11 ; *swa oft swa hiȝ ȝeornlice inweardre heortan clýpiað tó criste*, 4, 11.

b. SUBSTANTIVE CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
e.g.:	116	24	66	23	1	2

7 *secȝe þ he wǽre dǽd-bana oþþe rǽd-bana*, 5, 16 ; *And þ is þonne ǽrest, þ he his áȝenne wér Criste 7 þam cyninȝce ȝesylle 7 mid þam hine sylfne inlaȝie to bóte*, 2, 15, 16.

c. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
e.g.:	213	10	135	22	18	28

buton he ne mote beon nanes rihtes wyrðe innan his hundrede, XVII., 2 ; *ȝyf hine hwa afylle ofer .XII. wintre*, XX., 3 ; *Gif he æt þam þriddan cyrre nan ryht næbbe*, XIX., 4 ; *ȝif hit swa ȝeweorðeð on Enȝlalaȝe*, XV., 15.

d. CONCESSIVE CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
e.g.:	7	0	4	2	0	1

þeah hit nǽfre metes ne abite, LXXVII., 10 ; *þeah hwa his aȝen spere sette to oðres monnes huses dura 7 he þiðer-inn ærende hæbbe*, LXXVI., 1, 2.

e. RESULT CLAUSES.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
e.g.:	8	3	3	2	0	0

þ he huru cunne rihtne ȝeleáfan áriht understandan, 22, 2 ; *þ he binnon ciric-wáȝune mann-slaȝa weorðe*, 2, 11 ; *þ se cyninȝc him þurh þ feores ȝeunne wið fulne bóte*, 2, 14.

f. INDIRECT QUESTIONS.

	TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSP.	PART. TRANSP.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
e.g.:	7	1(?)	1	3	0	2

swa hwæðer swa man mæȝe swa cucne swa deadne, XXV., 5 ; *hú he on manna sáulum mǽst ȝesceaðian mæȝe*, 26, 7 ; *hu man fyrmest mæȝe rǽd arédian þeode to þearfe*, XI., 2.

g. Temporal Clauses.

Total.	Normal.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Inverted.	Neutral.
16	6	6	3	0	1

Under the head of temporal clauses are included several quite different kinds of clause, introduced respectively by the conjunctions; *þonne, syþþan, æfter, ær,* and *oð.* In all these clauses the tendency is toward transposition, but in no instance does more than a single one of the adverbial dependencies (usually a pronoun or an adverb) precede the verb, *e.g.:*

þonne God demeð manna ʒehwilcum be ærran ʒewyrhtan, LXXXV., 7 ; *þonne he þus cweðe,* II., 5 ; *þonne us wære leófre,* 18, 3.

h. Causal Clauses.

Total.	Normal.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Inverted.	Neutral.
15	5	3	3	4	0

e.g.:

rþof am hi sceolan us lædan forð æt þam dome, LXXXV., 6 ; *þe he for neode dyde þ þ he dyde,* LXIX., 13 ; *forþam eall þ we æfre for riht hláford-helde dóð, eall we hit dóð us sylfum tó micelre þearfe,* 20, 4.

i. Purpose Clauses.

Total.	Normal.	Transp.	Part. Transp.	Inverted.	Neutral.
6	2	1	4	0	0

e.g.:

þ he mote hentan æfter his aʒenan, XIX., 7 ; *þ se wód-fréca were-wulf tó swyðe ne slite,* 26, 12 ; *ne tó fela ne ábíte of ʒodcundre heorde,* 26, 12.

Position of Pronominal Objects.

The pronominal object occurs in subordinate clauses much more frequently than in principal clauses. Consequently the pronoun-object becomes an important object of consideration in subordinate clauses. It occurs as follows:

Total.	Alone before Verb.	Before Verb, not Alone.	After Verb.
115	54	52	9

It will be noted, then, that 54 of the instances of transposition and partial transposition in subordinate clauses are due entirely to the position of the pronoun, which, because it

refers back to the preceding sentence, always prefers a position at the beginning of the clause. Since the pronoun occurs with greater frequency in subordinate clauses, the greater frequency of transposition in subordinate clauses is in part to be attributed to the pronouns.

The position of the pronoun-object in the various kinds of clause is shown in the following tables.

CONDITIONAL.

a. 16   *b.* 18   *c.* 2

CAUSAL.

a. 2   *b.* 1   *c.* 2

RELATIVE.

a. 15   *b.* 20   *c.* 1

SUBSTANTIVE.

a. 6   *b.* 11   *c.* 3

CONCESSIVE.

a. 0   *b.* 1   *c.* 0

TEMPORAL.

a. 2   *b.* 0   *c.* 0

RESULT.

a. 0   *b.* 1   *c.* 1

PURPOSE.

a. 0   *b.* 1   *c.* 0

INDIRECT QUESTION.

a. 3   *b.* 0   *c.* 0

NOTE. — *a.* = alone before verb; *b.* = before verb, not alone; *c.* = after verb.

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES.

TOTAL.	NORMAL.	TRANSF.	PART. TRANSF.	INVERTED.	NEUTRAL.
607	71	347	85	24	80

PARTICIPLE.

The statistics for the position of the past participle in subordinate clauses are as follows:

a.	. . . part.	3
b.	. . . v. part.	1
c.	. . . part. v.	19
d.	part. . . . v.	0
e.	v. part. . . .	1
f.	part. v. . . .	0
g.	. . . part. . . .	0
h.	. . . v. part. . . .	2
	Total	26

A study of these figures reveals some interesting facts. In the first place, as in Alfred's code, there is a tendency to put the participle at the end of the clause. It stands either last or next to the last, followed only by the finite verb, in 23 instances out of a total of 26.

This tendency to place the participle last is counteracted by the tendency to throw the verb last in subordinate clauses. As a consequence, in 18 instances the participle precedes the finite verb (order *c*), whereas the finite verb precedes the final participle in only 4 instances, directly precedes (order *b*) only once. In principal clauses, where this tendency to transpose does not exist, the participle follows the finite verb in every instance.

Further, comparison with the corresponding figures for Alfred's code shows that the differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses has increased markedly in the period between Alfred and Cnut. In Alfred's code there is the same tendency to throw the participle to the end. In principal clauses the participle follows the finite verb in 18 instances out of 19. In subordinate clauses even the tendency to transpose is not strong enough to effectually oppose the tendency to put the participle at the end, so that in only 17 instances does the verb follow the participle as against the 48 instances in which the participle follows the verb. This shows that the claim of the finite verb on last place in sub-

ordinate clauses was not nearly so strong in Alfred's code as in Cnut's.

Examples of past participle in Cnut's code are:

a. þ ælc freoman beo on hundrede ꝺon teoðunꝫe ꝫebroht, XX., 2 ;
b. ꝫif wiccan oþþe . . . ahwar on lande wurðan agytene, IV.. 4 ;
c. And ꝫif elles be cwicum mannum ciricꝫrið abrocen sý, 3, 1 ;
e. forþam wác bið se byrðe funden to beorde, 26, 3.

INFINITIVE.

The infinitive occurs 83 times in subordinate clauses.

a.	. . . infin.	24
b.	. . . v. infin.	10
c.	. . . infin. v.	31
d.	infin. . . . . v.	0
e.	v. infin. . . .	3
f.	infin. v.	2
g.	. . . infin.	13

It will be noted that the tendency is to place the infinitive at the end of the clause. In subordinate clauses there exists also a counter tendency to place the finite verb last. Owing to this latter tendency the infinitive is obliged in many instances to stand next to the last (order *c*, 41 times). In this feature Cnut's code agrees almost exactly with that of Alfred. But the infinitive is not displaced by the finite verb nearly so uniformly as the past participle was. We must infer from this that the claim of the infinitive on the final position was much stronger than that of the past participle, *e.g.*:

a. Ac hu mæꝫ þonne æfre æniꝫ mann hine inweardlice tó Gode
    ꝫebiddan, 22, 11.
b. ænne God æfre woldan lúfian �7 wurðian, 1, 2.
c. buton he on husle ꝫeladian wylle, 5, 15.
e. ac þonne we sceolan habban ánweald leán . . ., 18, 5.
f. þ man freólsian sceal ofer eall Enꝫlalond on .XV. kl. April., 17, 6.
g. �7 Cnut cinꝫc lúfian mid rihtan ꝫetrýwðan, 1, 3.

IV. General Features.

This tendency to put the participle and infinitive at the end of the clause seems to be but one phase of a more general

tendency to put the governing word after the word governed. Further illustration of this synthetic order is supplied by predicate words, which, like the participle and the infinitive, both in subordinate and in principal clauses, seem to have a claim on last place in the clause, *e.g.* :

Ne sind ealle cyricean na ȝelicre mæðe weoruldlice wurðscipes wyrðe,
3, 6 ; *beo se wið þone cyninȝc hundtwelftiȝ scyldiȝ,* XV., 6 ; *And ne beo æniȝ man æniȝes teames wyrðe,* XXIII., 1 ; *uton beon á urum hlaforde holde 7 ȝetriewe,* 20, 2.

Still further illustration of the synthetic order is supplied by the relative position of noun and dependent genitive. With but few exceptions the governing noun follows the governed genitive. A striking instance is the phrase, *oðres mannes huses dura,* LXXV., 2.

Further instances of synthetic order are phrases like the following :

sáwlum to hǽle 7 us sylfum to þearfe, 2, 2 ; *Gode tó lófe 7 him sylfum to cynescipe,* Introd. 3, 4 ; *þam cyninȝe to handa,* LXXVIII., 6.

Further note the position of the governing preposition.

þe leȝer-stop on siȝ, 11, 3 ; *þe he þ fals mid worhte,* VIII., 6 ; *nime him fíf ȝestryne men to,* XXX., 31 ; *7 tǽcan him tó þam niȝoðan dǽle,* 8, 9.

Interesting, because indicating the original order of words, are stereotyped forms of expression like *him þincð.*

It will be noted that in the two centuries between Alfred and Cnut there has been no breaking down of the old rules of word-order. On the contrary, the differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses is more marked in Cnut's code than in Alfred's. The tendency also to put the past participle at the end is more marked in Cnut's code.

It will be noted further that the sentence structure has become more complex. The relative clause frequently serves as subject of another clause, especially of clauses of command, *e.g.* :

And seþe on ȝemote mid wiðer-tihtlan hine sylfne oþþe his man weriȝe, hæbbe þ eall forwrecen, XXVII., 2.

Such constructions occur, though rarely, in Alfred's code.

Further, there are numerous instances in which a whole clause is introduced parenthetically within another clause, *e.g.*:

And ʒelǽste ǽlc wuduwe þa hereʒeata binnan twelf-monðum buton hire ǽr to onhaʒiʒe, witeleas, LXXIV., 12.

Frequently a clause is interposed after the finite verb and before the dependent past participle, *e.g.*:

þe nele þa heorde þe he healdan sceal mid hreáme bewerian, 26, 4.

In one instance a subordinate clause is interposed within a subordinate clause between the finite verb and the past participle.

And ʒif se bonda ǽr he dead wǽrè beclypod wǽre, LXXIII., 3.

In conclusion we must remark that the results of the investigation both in Cnut's code and in Alfred's are in a measure vitiated by the frequent recurrence of stereotyped phrases which must be counted, but which, as indicative of the speech feeling, cannot compare in value with independent forms of expression.

IX.

CONCLUSION.

From what has been said in the preceding pages, it may be seen that at the time of the earliest written monuments of the Teutonic group of languages, the dialectal differences were already well established. Each dialect differed from the others, not only in phonology and inflections, but also in word-order. In early Old English, in *Beowulf*, the differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses was not strongly marked, and in the later (prose) works is barely holding its own. In Old High German, on the other hand, even in the *Hildebrandslied*, principal clauses are distinguished from subordinate. In Old Norse a peculiar tendency to invert is discernible even in the primitive inscriptions of the eighth century, and is firmly established by the time of the Icelandic prose works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

A. Relative Position of Subject and Finite Verb.

The original order of words in affirmative clauses of primitive Teutonic seems to have been the *direct* as distinguished from the *inverted*. That the indirect (*inverted*) order was not the original, seems probable from the following considerations : 1) Questions and commands employ indirect order, while affirmative clauses employ most frequently the direct, and employ the indirect order only for the sake of the peculiar emphasis to be obtained by a departure from the rule. The difference in the nature of the clauses seems to have demanded a difference in the order of words. 2) With the possible exception of Celtic, all IE. languages in their oldest known form employ the direct order in affirmative clauses.

The phenomenon of inversion is difficult of explanation. The explanation is complicated in the first place by the circumstance that the accent of the first place in the clause varies with the context, so that it cannot be said with certainty that the first place in the clause is the position of emphasis. Again, clauses differ in nature. What is true of an affirmative clause does not hold true of an interrogative or an imperative clause. Again, the verb varies in importance. At one time it expresses the principal thought-element ; at another time it accomplishes a purely formal function as auxiliary or as copula. Consequently, since the verb is at one time an important element, at another, unimportant, and since the initial place is at one time emphatic, at another time, unemphatic, obviously it is impossible to lay down any definite rule determining when inversion shall occur.

All that we can assert about inversion is that it is an order of words occurring side by side with the direct order in all the early Teutonic dialects. Except under certain circumstances, however, in affirmative clauses inversion is the exception rather than the rule. We must conclude that in all these early dialects, especially in the poetic monuments, the order is less rigidly fixed than in the corresponding modern lan-

guages. The old laws are breaking down, and new speech-feeling is developing. In many instances probably the word-order is determined by the nature of the clause, or by considerations of emphasis or of connection entirely independent of the restraints of a fixed arrangement of the syntactical elements.

When, after a later member of the clause in the initial position, the verb precedes the subject, the inversion is due to the principle of connection. The verb is closely connected in thought with the initial word or phrase, and is accordingly placed next to it. That such connection is the determining principle is proved by the statistics which Ries has gathered, showing that inversion is relatively more frequent after an initial predicate word than after an object. This is true because the verb is more closely connected in thought with the predicate word than with the object, and consequently is attracted to the former more frequently.

The consideration of emphasis causes the inversion in clauses of command. Such clauses are usually isolated, and consequently the first place is the position of emphasis. In commands the verbal element is the most important one. Hence the verb stands at the beginning. In questions answered by yes or no, the verb is usually not the principal element, but occupies the first place, which — owing to the ascending accentuation peculiar to the question — is not the position of emphasis. In the same way are to be explained clauses of wishing. In the enclitic expressions, such as 'said he,' '*quad er*,' which in all the old Teutonic dialects are inverted, the verbal element is the least important one, and therefore stands first, *i.e.* in the least emphatic position, next after the word bearing the principal stress. In like manner is to be explained the greater frequency of inversion in the case of negative verbs and of auxiliaries, and the less frequent occurrence in clauses with pronoun-object.

The origin of the use of inversion in the apodosis is the subject of dispute. Ries, supported by Ohly, believes that the inversion is explained by the nature of the clause, — that inversion is used to indicate *hypotaxis*. Starker, on the

other hand, asserts that the apodosis was originally para-
tactic, and that hypotaxis gradually developed from para-
taxis.   In apodosis-clauses independent of the Latin, the
proportion of paratactic clauses to hypotactic was: 1) in
the OHG. Matthew translation, 8:0 (7:2?); 2) in Isidor,
13:4; 3) in Tatian, 26:25.   Starker attributes the inver-
sion to the anaphoric particle, which was more and more
frequently inserted to indicate hypotaxis, and which, when
not the subject of the clause, caused inversion on account
of its initial position.   Unfortunately we have not data
enough at hand to decide the question.

We have not enough statistics to trace the development
of inversion.   But we can see that the development was
different in the different dialects.   In High German the rules
for inversion were fixed even in Middle High German, except
for apodosis clauses, and in Middle High German inversion
has become under certain conditions the regular order.   In
the AS. laws we may detect a slight decay of the feeling for
inversion.   In Cnut's code inversion occurs somewhat more
frequently than in Alfred's code, but in the apodosis it is less
frequent and the total number of instances is smaller.   In
English, inversion has become almost extinct.   In Norse, on
the other hand, it has become *almost the rule*.

B. Position of the Verb with Relation to its Dependencies.

From the statistics in the preceding chapter it may be
seen that in all the Teutonic dialects the verb may be sepa-
rated from the subject, not only in subordinate but in prin-
cipal clauses.   Further, in principal clauses we find the verb
separated from the subject more frequently the farther back
we go in time; for example, in *Beowulf*, in the Gothic Skei-
reins, and in the primitive Norse inscriptions.   Further, in
all the dialects there is manifest a fondness for the synthetic
order.   This is illustrated by the position of the genitive
before its substantive and of the infinitive and participle
after the words governed.   Behaghel infers, from the evi-

dence of verbs with inseparable prefixes, that in primitive
Teutonic the verb was at the end, and the evidence that we
have cited above leads us to adopt his conclusion.

In this belief we are confirmed by the evidence afforded
by the cognate IE. languages, in most of which the primitive
position of the verb seems to have been at the end. This
evidence of the cognate IE. languages also controverts
Tomanetz's theory, that in primitive Teutonic the verb fol-
lowed the subject immediately. For it is hardly probable
that Teutonic had an order of words peculiar to itself.
Wackernagel's hypothesis, that the differentiation in word-
order between principal and subordinate clauses was original,
is controverted by the same evidence. Further reason for
disbelieving Wackernagel's hypothesis is the extreme proba-
bility (established by Hermann) that in primitive IE. there
was no subordinate clause. It seems probable that hypotaxis
is a development from parataxis.

It remains to establish motives which might have caused
the gradual adoption of the analytic order. This is not a
difficult matter. The gradual development of any language
from its primitive form is attended by the tendency to crowd
more and more into a single sentence, more and more to
qualify the main assertion by the mention of accompanying
details. The sentence, beginning as a very simple element
in language, grows to a great complexity. With this increase
in complexity, in many instances it becomes impossible for
the primitive man, unskilled in handling complex sentences,
to grasp at one time all the details. Accordingly, to the
apparently finished sentence are added a number of explana-
tory details, afterthoughts; or some element, by reason of
close connection with the following clause, may be put after
the verb. To motives like these the analytic order probably
owes its origin. Moreover, the verb, which in primitive lan-
guage usually contained the new idea to be affirmed, and
which, therefore, belonged at the end of the clause, in the
course of development lost more and more of its original
fulness of meaning. Verbal nouns and adjectives became
the bearers of the principal thought, and the verb became

more and more colorless, in many instances becoming a mere formal auxiliary or copula. For example, note the evolution of the verb *have* in all languages, and especially in French. With this loss of fulness of meaning, the verb also lost its natural claim to its position of emphasis at the end of the clause. The sentence gradually took the form of a judgment, and the verb came to be regarded as a merely formal syntactical element used to connect the terms of this judgment.

This theory may be substantiated by facts cited by Ries from *Beowulf* and the *Heliand*. In *Beowulf*, in clauses with 'regular-direct' order, 63 to 64% of the verbs do not immediately follow the subject, as against 23 to 24% in the *Heliand*. In 'irregular-direct' order the proportion is about the same; the instances in which the verb does not immediately follow the subject are about $4\frac{1}{2}$ times as frequent in *Beowulf*. The transposed order occurs in *Beowulf* in 50% of all subordinate clauses; 45 to 46% in the *Heliand*. In the case of the clauses not completely transposed, partial transposition occurs; in *Beowulf*, 67%; in the *Heliand*, 53 to 54%. That is to say, the movement of the verb from the end of the clause is farther advanced in the *Heliand* than in *Beowulf*.

But this progress is less in the case of subordinate clauses. Hence we infer that the differentiation between the two kinds of clause, which is little felt in *Beowulf*, is already established in the *Heliand*. There are many exceptions, but nevertheless a feeling that the difference in the nature of the clauses should be indicated by a difference in the structure. Further, the use of the transposed order in subordinate clauses was favored by the enclitic pronominal objects, which preceded the verb by preference, and which occurred more frequently in subordinate clauses. The year 800, according to Ries, marks approximately the time at which the differentiation was established. From the beginning of the ninth century the development of subordinate clauses is in the opposite direction toward transposition.

In Anglo-Saxon, Smith's statistics go to show that in the period between Alfred and Ælfric there had been some levelling of the difference between principal and subordi-

nate clauses, the order in both instances approaching toward the normal.   A comparative study of the laws of Alfred and the laws of Cnut shows that in Cnut's code the difference was even more marked than in Alfred's.   The cause of the development of the analytical order in subordinate clauses of modern English can be finally determined only by a study of Middle English prose with regard to French influence.

My general conclusions are as follows: In none of the existing early Teutonic languages does the order of words represent that of the primitive Teutonic.   They have differentiated from the parent speech as much in word-order as in phonology.   But from the evidence of the cognate IE. languages, from the general direction of the development within Teutonic, and from the tendencies common to all the early Teutonic languages; 1) the position of elements in compounds, especially the position of the inseparable prefix, 2) the frequent end-position of the verb even in principal clauses, more frequent the farther back we go, and 3) the fondness for synthetic order; — from all this evidence I conclude that in primitive Teutonic, in affirmative clauses, which were probably of the very simplest nature, the normal position of the verb was after its dependencies.

<div align="right">GEORGE H. McKNIGHT.</div>

DER NAME DER GOTEN BEI GRIECHEN UND RÖMERN.

MAN hat neuerdings angenommen, der sogenannte *a*-Umlaut des *u* zu *o* stamme aus gemeingermanischer Zeit, und hat eine Stütze dieser Ansicht in dem Namen der Goten (griech. Γότθοι, lat. *Gothi*), zu finden geglaubt.[1] Da die gotischen Sprachdenkmäler an Stelle des westgermanischen *o* stets *u* aufweisen (mit der Einschränkung, dass vor *r* und *h* die "Brechung" *au* eintritt), so wäre es ja von hohem Interesse, wenn sich die ehemalige Existenz des *o* für das Gotische aus jenen Namensformen erweisen liesse. Aber eben weil die gotischen Sprachdenkmäler jene Ansicht von dem hohen Alter des *a*-Umlautes im Germanischen nicht begünstigen, wird man die aus dem Namen der Goten gezogene Folgerung nur nach sorgfältiger Prüfung annehmen dürfen. Ich beabsichtige daher im Folgenden die Herkunft des *o* in dem Namen der Goten näher zu untersuchen. Ich werde dabei zunächst meine eigene Ansicht darlegen, dann die Auffassung, dass das *o* in Γότθοι und *Gothi* auf *a*-Umlaut beruhe, einer Kritik unterziehen.

I.

In der Benennung der Goten bei Griechen und Römern lassen sich, wie in der ältesten Geschichte der Goten, deutlich zwei Abschnitte unterscheiden. Der erste umfasst die Zeit, in welcher die Goten noch in ihren alten Wohnsitzen am unteren Laufe der Weichsel sassen, also etwa bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. Der Stamm der Goten hatte zu dieser Zeit für Griechen und Römer wenig Interesse, und

---

[1] Osthoff bei Streitberg in den *Indogerm. Forschungen*, 4, 308 f.; Streitberg, *Urgerm. Grammatik*, § 71, und *Got. Elementarbuch*, § 5.

man besass von ihm offenbar nur dürftige Kunde. Daher
darf es uns nicht wundern, wenn in der gesammten griechisch-
römischen Literatur bis zum Ende des 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. (soweit
sie uns erhalten ist), der Name der Goten nur an 5 oder 6
Stellen erwähnt wird. Es darf uns weiter nicht wundern,
wenn in der Schreibung des Gotennamens bis zu dieser Zeit,
die Unsicherheit noch so gross ist, dass der Name fast in
jedem einzelnen Falle in verschiedener Schreibung vorliegt.
Es kommen folgende Stellen in Betracht:[1]

1) Strabo, *Geogr.* VII. 3 (Müllenhoff, *Germ. ant.* p. 66):

... (ὁ Μαράβοδος) ... ἐδυνάστευσε καὶ κατεκτήσατο πρὸς οἷς εἶπον
Λουγίους (λουίους d. Hss.) τε, μέγα ἔδνος, καὶ ζούμους (?)[2] καὶ Γούτω-
νας (so die übliche Lesart an Stelle des βούτωνας oder βούτονας der
Handschriften) καὶ μουγίλωνας (?) καὶ Σιβίνους καὶ τῶν Σοήβων αὐτῶν
μέγα ἔθνος, Σέμνωνας.

Strabo veröffentlichte seine Geographie um das Jahr 18
n. Chr. Die Eroberung Böhmens durch Marobod, an die
sich die Unterwerfung der Lugier u.s.w. anschliesst, fällt in
das Jahr 8 v. Chr. (Vgl. Wietersheim, *Gesch. d. Völkerwan-
derung*, I.[2] S. 114 u. 551 f.).

2) Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* IV. 99 (Müllenh. *GA.* p. 93):

Germanorum genera quinque. Vandili quorum pars Burgundiones
uarinne(?) Charini Gutones, alterum genus Ingvaeones, etc.

3) ebd. XXXVII. 35 (Müllenh. *GA.* p. 110);

Sotacus credidit (electrum) in Britannia petris effluere quas electri-
das vocavit; Pytheas Gutonibus Germaniae genti accoli aestuarium
Oceani Metuonidis[3] nomine, spatio stadiorum sex milium; ab hoc
diei navigatione abesse insulam Abalum : illo per ver fluctibus advehi
et esse concreti maris purgamentum; incolas pro ligno ad ignem uti
eo proximisque Teutonis vendere. huic et Timaeus credidit, sed
insulam Basiliam vocavit.

---

[1] Sie sind sämmtlich, mit Ausnahme der Stelle aus den Annalen des Tacitus, in
Müllenhoff's ‘ *Germania antiqua* ’ (Berlin, 1873) mitgeteilt, wo man auch die
Lesung der massgebenden Handschriften im Einzelnen angegeben findet.

[2] Müllenhoff (vgl. *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 9 S. 248) liest Αἰλουαίους, Zeuss (*D. Deut-
schen u. d. Nachbarstämme*, S. 126) Βούρους für d. handschriftl. ζούμους.

[3] So, nicht *Mentonomon*, wie man früher las, ist die bessere Ueberlieferung. Vgl.
Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, I.[2] S. 509.

Plinius überreichte seine Naturgeschichte dem Kaiser Titus im J. 77 n. Chr., fügte aber noch bis zu seinem Tode im J. 79 Nachträge hinzu.

4) Tacitus, *Germania*, c. 43 (Müllenh. *GA.* p. 41):

Trans Lygios Gothones[1] regnantur paulo iam adductius quam ceterae Germanorum gentes, nondum tamen supra libertatem.

Die Germania des Tacitus ist im J. 98 n. Chr. verfasst.

5) Tacitus, *Annales*, II. c. 62:

Erat inter Gotones nobilis iuvenis nomine Catualda, profugus olim vi Marobodui et tunc dubiis rebus eius ultionem ausus.

Tacitus hat seine Annalen im J. 116 herausgegeben. Catualda's Angriff auf Marbod fällt in (oder kurz vor) das Jahr 19 n. Chr.

6) Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geogr.* III. c. 5, 20 (Müllenh. *GA.* p. 136):

Ἐλάττονα δὲ ἔθνη νέμεται τὴν Σαρματίαν παρὰ μὲν τὸν Οὐιστούλαν ποταμὸν ὑπὸ τοὺς Οὐενέδας Γύθωνες, εἶτα Φίννοι, εἶτα Σούλονες.

Ptolemaeus lebte im 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. zu Alexandria. Seine γεωγραφικὴ ὑφήγησις ist jedoch nur eine neue Redaction des von Marinus von Tyrus zu Ende des 1. Jahrh. und zu Anfang des 2. Jahrh. n. Chr. bearbeiteten Kartenwerkes. Zu dem Material, welches er von Marinus übernahm, gehören die Angaben über die Anwohner der Weichsel. (Vgl. Müllenhoff, *Dt. Alt.-kunde*, I.[2] 362 f., II. 16 ff., III. 91 ff.)

Man pflegte aus den Angaben des Plinius zu entnehmen, dass die Kunde von den Gutonen bis auf Pytheas, also bis in die zweite Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. zurückreiche. Eine abweichende Auffassung hat Müllenhoff im ersten Bande seiner Deutschen Altertumskunde (vgl. bes. S. 479 ff.) begründet. Nach ihm ist der Bericht des Plinius in sich widerspruchsvoll: Pytheas ist überhaupt nicht bis an die Küste der Ostsee gekommen, und die Römer haben den samländischen Bernstein (vgl. Müllenh. *DA.* I. 215 f. u. III. 91) erst

---

[1] Haupt und Müllenhoff (vgl. *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 9, 244) ändern *Gothones* in *Gotones*.

in der zweiten Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts nach Chr. kennen gelernt. Müllenhoff nimmt demgemäss an, Pytheas habe nicht von Gutonen, sondern (wie weiterhin in demselben Zusammenhange) von Teutonen gesprochen, und Plinius habe vermutlich die Τεύτονες des Pytheas als Γύτονες oder Γούτονες verlesen. Damit würde dann die Kunde der Alten von den Gutonen um etwa drei Jahrhunderte herabgerückt, und die Stelle des Plinius dürfte nur noch als Zeugnis dafür gelten, dass ihm selbst (nicht aber dem Pytheas) die *Gutones* unter diesem Namen bekannt waren. Ich muss nun freilich gestehen, dass es mir schwer wird, an einen blossen Lese-fehler des Plinius zu glauben; aber man wird Müllenhoff wol darin Recht geben müssen, dass die Erwähnung der Gutonen nicht mit Sicherheit auf Pytheas zurückgeführt werden kann.

Ganz auszuscheiden sind meiner Ansicht nach unter den vermeintlichen Zeugnissen für die Gutonen die Βούτωνες oder Βούτονες des Strabo. Zwar nimmt man seit Cluverius allge-mein an, dass die Handschriften des Strabo hier irrtümlich Β statt Γ geben. Die Verbesserung liegt ja auch nahe, zumal die Erwähnung der Γούτωνες in Verbindung mit dem Reiche des Marbod gut zu der oben unter 5) mitgeteilten Stelle aus den Annalen des Tacitus stimmen würde. Andrerseits aber ist zu beachten, dass bei Ptolemaeus II. 11, 18 (Müllenhoff, *GA.*, p. 128) als Nachbarn der Semnonen und Lugier die 'Βου-γοῦντες' angesetzt werden;[1] nach Ptol. II. 11, 15 bewohnen letztere τὰ ἐφεξῆς (d. h. das Gebiet zu Osten der vorher erwähn-ten Σοήβων τῶν Σεμνόνων) καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Οὐιστούλα : also die Gegend, in welche man nach dem Zusammenhange der Auf-zählung bei Strabo die 'Βούτωνας' am ehesten setzen würde. Da die Verwechselung von γ und τ in griechischen Hand-schriften, insbesondere bei fremden Eigennamen, sich sehr häufig findet, so wird man vielleicht die 'Βούτωνες' als 'Βού-γωνες' lesen und sie den 'Βουγοῦντες' (d. i. Burgunden) des Ptolemaeus gleichsetzen müssen. Freilich legt der Umstand, dass 'βούτωνας' unmittelbar zwischen zwei ganz rätselhaften

---

[1] Πάλιν ὑπὸ μὲν τοὺς Σέμνονας οἰκοῦσι Σιλίγγαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς Βουγοῦντας Λούγιοι Ὁμανοί · εἶτα Λούγιοι Διδοῦνοι μέχρι τοῦ Ἀσκιβουργίου ὄρους.

Namen (' ζούμους ' und ' μουγίλωνας ') steht, die Frage nahe,
ob nicht der Versuch, die Reihe der Namen an jener Stelle
wiederherzustellen, überhaupt aussichtslos ist. Auf jeden
Fall steht die herkömmliche Änderung in Γούτωνας nicht so
sicher, dass sie den Wert eines vollgültigen geschichtlichen
Zeugnisses beanspruchen könnte.

Es ist die Meinung geäussert, die *Gutones* des Plinius und
die Γύθωνες des Ptolemaeus seien vielleicht ein ganz andres
Volk als die *Gothones* des Tacitus,[1] ja selbst die Identität der
Gothones mit den Goten sei zweifelhaft.[2] Die *Gutones* der
Alten seien vielmehr identisch mit den 'Guddones' oder
'Gudden' des Mittelalters, dem volkstümlichen Namen der
Bewohner des alten Preussens sowie der Russen oder Esthen.
Zu Gunsten dieser Ansicht macht man namentlich geltend.

1) dass die "erwiesene Unkenntnis der Länder jenseits der
Elbe jede genauere Angabe der römischen Schriftsteller über
deren Bewohner und ihre Abstammung verdächtig machen
muss,"

2) dass die Gegend, in welche die Gutonen gesetzt werden,
ursprünglich von slavischen Völkern bewohnt gewesen sei.

Es mag genügen, diese Ansicht hier erwähnt zu haben.
Sie zu kritisieren wird nicht erforderlich sein, da sie, so viel
ich weiss, gegenwärtig aufgegeben ist. Aber sie bildet ein
lehrreiches Gegenstück zu dem Standpunkte, der — nach der
entgegengesetzten Seite hin ins Extrem gehend — in der
Schreibung des Gutonen-Namens in unsren Tacitus-Hand-
schriften ein zuverlässiges Mittel entdeckt zu haben glaubt,
um eine der grundlegenden Fragen der germanischen Laut-
geschichte zu entscheiden.

Halten wir fest, dass bei den drei nahezu gleichzeitigen[3]

---

[1] F. D. Gerlach, *Tacitus Germania übersetzt u. erläutert.* Basel, 1837,
S. 221 f. Gerlach verweist für den Namen "Gudden" auf zwei Schriften, die mir
hier unzugänglich sind, nämlich J. F. Biester, *Waren die ersten Bewohner der
brandenburg-preussischen Länder an der Ostsee Slaven oder Deutsche?* (in den
Abhandlungen der Berliner Akademie d. Wissensch. aus den Jahren 1804–11,
Berlin, 1815, S. 100 ff.), und Prætorius, *Acta Borussica*, II. 900.

[2] Ad. Holtzmann, *German. Alterthümer*, Leipzig, 1873, S. 260 f.

[3] Es wird erlaubt sein, statt des Ptolemaeus hier unmittelbar den Marinus von
Tyrus einzusetzen. Denn es liegt kein Grund vor, anzunehmen, dass Ptolemaeus
gerade in diesem Worte die Angaben des Marinus geändert habe.

Schriftstellern, die uns von den Gutonen Kunde geben, ihr Name in drei verschiedenen Formen erscheint, nämlich als

1) *Gutones* (Plin.)
2) *Gotones* oder *Gothones* (Tac.)
3) Γύθωνες, d.i. *Gythones* (Marinus bei Ptol.)

Man hat längst beobachtet,[1] dass ein ganz ähnliches Schwanken bei dem Namen der Lugier wiederkehrt: 1) Λούγιοι, 2) Λογίωνες, 3) Λύγιοι, *Lygii* (bezw. *Ligii*). Dazu bemerkt Müllenhoff, *Zs. f. dt. Alt.* 9 (1853), S. 253 : " Niemals kann ein Grieche oder Römer aus deutschem Munde *Lygi-us* vernommen haben. Wenn Dio 67, 5, Λύγιοι schreibt und Zosimus 1, 67, Λογίωνες, so versuchen beide nur eine möglichst genaue Bezeichnung des kurzen deutschen *u*. Für die Römer aber lag bei der ersten Auffassung des Namens kein Grund vor diesen Laut nach griechischer Weise zu bezeichnen, wenn auch oft kurzes *u* wie *ü* bei ihnen gesprochen wurde. Aus dieser Aussprache erkläre ich mir die Schreibung *Lygius*. . . . *Ligius* ist unbedingt zu verwerfen, aber auch statt *Lygius* bei Tacitus *Lugius* herzustellen, denn so schrieben und sprachen die Römer wirklich."

Wenden wir dies auf den Namen der Gutonen an, so werden wir sagen müssen, dass die bei Plinius vorliegende Schreibung die echt römische Form des Namens zum Ausdrucke bringt. Das *o* in *Gothones* und das *v* (d. i. *ü*) in Γύθωνες sind Versuche, den Lautwert des deutschen *u* in einer Sprache, der dieser Laut fehlte, annähernd genau darzustellen. Man wird also annehmen müssen, dass *Gothones* eine uns verlorene griechische Form Γόθωνες[2] voraussetzt. Ob die Umsetzung der griechischen in die römische Lautform auf Rechnung des Tacitus kommt oder ob sie älteren Datums ist, wird dahin gestellt bleiben müssen.

Man wird hier fragen : wie kommt Tacitus dazu, eine unvollkommene Umschreibung des Namens anzuwenden, während er bei Plinius eine correcte Wiedergabe finden konnte ? Hierauf ist zunächst zu erwiedern, dass Tacitus vermutlich

---

[1] Zeuss, *D. Deutschen u. d. Nachbarstämme*, S. 135 u. 124.
[2] Vgl. über griech. *o* als Umschreibung des *u*-Vocales unten S. 230.

nicht in der Lage war, zu wissen, dass der Plinianischen
Form der Vorzug gebührt. Ferner übersehe man nicht, dass
auch wir uns heutzutage bei fremden Namen oft mit unvoll-
kommenen Schriftbildern behelfen, die uns durch Vermitte-
lung einer andern Sprache zugekommen sind. Wir schreiben
heute "China" und "Chinesisch," und sprechen das *ch* wie
in "ich." Der Name geht zurück auf englisch *China* und
Chinese, deren *ch* aber im Deutschen, wenn wir phonetisch
schreiben wollten, durch *tsch* wiederzugeben wäre.[1] Das eng-
lische *China,* dessen *i* jetzt wie *ai* gesprochen wird,[2] ist eine
halb phonetische, halb graphische Umsetzung[3] der indischen
Form *cīna* (*m.,* gesprochen *tschīna*). Noch zu Lessing's Zeit[4]
und, wenn ich nicht irre, bis in den Anfang dieses Jahrhun-
derts hinein waren daneben die Formen "Sina," "Sineser"
und "Sinesisch" im Gebrauche, die sich wol zunächst an
neulateinisches *Sinæ* (*pl.*), *Sinicus* anschliessen, und wie
dieses aus dem arabischen *Ssin* stammen, das wiederum dem
indischen *cīna* oder mit diesem einer gemeinschaftlichen
Quelle entstammt. Wenn wir uns heute dergleichen bei
lebhaftem internationalen Verkehr und trotz allen phoneti-
schen und Rechtschreibungs-Systemen gestatten, so werden
wir bei einem römischen Autor an der ungenügenden phoneti-
schen Bezeichnung fremder Eigennamen (oder mit anderem
Worten: an der teilweisen Beibehaltung der griechischen
Lautbezeichnung in fremden Eigennamen) keinen Anstoss
nehmen dürfen.

Ich habe hierbei vorausgesetzt, dass Tacitus den Namen
der Gutonen so geschrieben hat, wie er in den Handschriften
überliefert ist, nämlich *Gothones* oder *Gotones.* Die Über-
lieferung aber ist offenbar nicht ganz in Ordnung; denn man

---

[1] Bereits J. L. Frisch bemerkt in seinem *Teutsch-Lateinischen Wörterbuch*
(Berlin, 1741) s. v. *China :* "ein Asiatisches grosses Reich, wird eigentlich
Tschina geschrieben."

[2] Engl. *china* in der Bedeutung *china-ware* (Porzellan) wurde früher *tschēnä*
ausgesprochen : eine Aussprache, die man gelegentlich auch jetzt noch hört.
Vgl. Flügel's *Allgem. Engl.-dt. Wörterb.* I[4] (1891) s. v. *China* 3).

[3] Die phonetische Umschreibung des indischen Wortes wäre engl. *Cheena.*

[4] Z. B. *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur. Aus den Schätzen der Herzogl. Bibli-
othek zu Wolfenbüttel.* 4. *Beytrag,* von G. E. Lessing. Braunschweig, 1777
(Neue Aufl., Berlin, 1793), S. 327.

wird schwerlich annehmen wollen, Tacitus habe den Namen
an der einen Stelle mit *t*, an der andern mit *th* geschrieben.
Die Herausgeber pflegen die Schreibung dadurch auszuglei-
chen, dass sie das *th* (*Germ.* 43) in *t* ändern ; und man kann
dieser Änderung beistimmen, obwohl angesichts des Ptole-
maeischen Γύθωνες die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen ist,
dass Tacitus den Namen an beiden Stellen mit *th* geschrieben
hat.   Aber sind wir denn sicher, dass das *o* auf Tacitus zu-
rückgeht ?   Es ist lehrreich, hier die verschiedenen Formen
zu vergleichen, unter denen in den Handschriften des Plinius
(*Nat. Hist.* IV. 100 = Müllenh. *GA.* p. 93) der germanische
Name des Flusses erscheint, der jetzt den baltischen (preuss-
sischen) Namen "Pregel"[1] führt.   Die meisten Handschriften
geben den Namen — in Übereinstimmung mit der Überliefe-
rung bei Solinus — als *Guthalus* (vereinzelt *Guttalus* im cod.
Paris 6797).   Aber der im 9. Jahrh. geschriebene cod. Lei-
densis Voss. nr. IV. hat *Gythalus*, der cod. Vindobonensis nr.
CCXXXIV. (sæc. XII.) *Gothalus*.   Also *Guthalus* oder *Gutta-
lus*, *Gothalus* und *Gythalus* neben einander als variae lec-
tiones, und zwar in einem Namen, der vielleicht mit demjenigen
des Volksstammes der *Gutones* oder *Gothones* (bezw. *Gotones*)
oder Γύθωνες verwant ist.   Die Überlieferung spricht zu Gun-
sten der Annahme, dass Plinius *Guthalus* geschrieben hat.
Wenn dies von einem Schreiber (oder Leser) in *Gothalus*
geändert ist, so werden wir mit der Möglichkeit rechnen
müssen, dass auch das *o* der Lesungen *Gothones* und *Gotones*
bei Tacitus auf späterer Correctur beruht.   Der Umstand,
dass die Goten im Mittelalter *Gothi* heissen, konnte leicht
dazu führen, in der Form *Gutones* nicht nur *t* in *th*, sondern
auch *u* in *o* zu ändern.   Wenn man also jetzt für *Gothones*
bei Tacitus *Gotones* einsetzt, so fragt sich, ob wir nicht weiter
gehen und die bei Plinius erhaltene Form *Gutones* herstellen
dürfen.

   Zu beachten ist dabei, dass sämmtliche Handschriften der
Germania von einer einzigen Handschrift abstammen, die

---

[1] "Pregel" nach Nesselmann's *Thesaurus linguæ Prussicæ* (Berlin, 1873) aus
pregora. — Über den Namen *Guthalus* vgl. Zeuss a. a. O., 16; Müllenhoff *DA.*
II. 209; Much in Paul u. Braune's *Beitr.* 17, 182.

kurz vor 1460 aus Deutschland nach Italien kam, und dass
die 6 ersten Bücher der Annalen nur in *einer* Handschrift
(*Laur.* 68, 1) auf uns gekommen sind, die dem Kloster Corvey
in Westfalen gehörte, aber im J. 1508 nach Rom und von
dort nach Florenz gebracht wurde.[1] Wir können also streng
genommen nur sagen, dass im 15. Jahrh. der Name der
Gutonen in *einer* Handschrift der Germania *Gothones* und in
einer Handschrift der Annalen *Gotones* gelesen wurde. Dass
eine dieser beiden Lesungen die Schreibung des Tacitus
genau wiedergibt, ist möglich, aber keineswegs zweifellos.

II.

Ein zweiter Abschnitt in der Benennung der Goten bei
Griechen und Römern datiert von der Zeit ab, als die Goten
von der Mündung der Weichsel nach Südosten an die untere
Donau gezogen waren. Während bis dahin der Name der
Goten (Gutonen) in der alten Literatur nur vereinzelt begeg-
nete und in so schwankender Schreibung, dass er nahezu an
jeder Stelle in verschiedener Form vorliegt, werden von jetzt
ab die Belege immer häufiger und es bildet sich zugleich eine
feste Schreibung heraus. Die Goten heissen fortan bei den
Griechen Γότθοι, bei den Römern *Gothi.* Abweichende
Schreibungen (*Goti, Gothi, Gotthi,* dann auch *Guti, Gutti*)
kommen zwar vor, aber so vereinzelt, dass sie als Ausnah-
men gelten müssen.[2]

Die Goten nannten sich in ihrer eigenen Sprache allem
Anscheine nach *Gutōs* (Nom. pl. des *a*-Stammes *Guta-*).
Auf diese Form weisen einerseits der Name *Gut-þiuda* (*ana
Gut-þiudai* 'im Gotenvolke'), der zweimal in dem Fragmente
des gotischen Kalenders begegnet, sowie die gotische Runen-
inschrift *gutanio* des Goldringes von Pietroassa,[3] andrerseits
die altnordische Form *Gotar* (Nom. pl., mit *o* statt *u*, gemäss

---

[1] Vgl. Teuffel-Schwabe, *Röm. Lit.*[5] II. § 334, 4 u. 338, 4.
[2] Vgl. Zeuss, *D. Deutschen u. d. Nachbarst.* S. 401 f. und besonders die reich-
haltige Sammlung der Zeugnisse für den Namen der Ostgoten bei Wrede, *Üb.
die Sprache der Ostgoten* (= *Quellen u. Forschungen*, LXVIII.), Strassburg, 1891,
S. 19 ff.
[3] Vgl. Henning, *D. dt. Runendenkmäler*, Strassburg, 1889, S. 32.

der nordisch-westgermanischen "Vocalbrechung"). Als Beleg
dafür, dass die Goten ihren Namen mit *u* und *t* sprachen und
schrieben, kann bis zu einem gewissen Grade auch die römi-
sche Schreibung *Guti* (selten *Gutti*) gelten.   Diese nämlich
gehört vorzugsweise dem 6. Jahrh. an und findet sich beson-
ders (neben der Schreibung *Gothi*) in dem *Liber pontificalis*,
dessen erster Teil noch zur Zeit der Gotenherschaft in Italien
redigiert wurde.[1]   Man wird annehmen müssen, dass das *u*
und *t* dieser Schreibung (im Unterschiede von der traditio-
nellen und von den Geschichtschreibern fast regelmässig
festgehaltenen Schreibung mit *o* und *th*) sich unmittelbar an
die Aussprache der Ostgoten anschliesst.

Wenn die Römer zu der Zeit, als die Goten unter ihnen in
Italien lebten (oder wenn man will: als sie unter den Goten
in Italien lebten) das gotische *u* und *t* des Gotennamens mit
u und *t* wiedergaben, so wird anzunehmen sein, dass die
traditionelle Schreibung *Gothi* sich nicht unmittelbar auf die
gotische Aussprache stützt, sondern den Römern durch Ver-
mittelung einer fremden Sprache zugekommen ist.   Diese
Annahme wäre selbst dann kaum zu umgehen, wenn sich die
römische Schreibung von vornherein der gotischen Ausspra-
che genau anschlösse.   Denn die Goten wohnten ja nicht in
unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft Italiens.   Der Weg zu ihnen
führte durch die Balkanhalbinsel oder durch Südgermanien,
Pannonien und Dacien.   Sie lagen in jedem Falle den Grie-
chen näher als den Römern, und es drängt sich uns daher
von vornherein die Vermutung auf, dass die Form *Gothi*
zunächst auf hellenistische Aussprache und Schreibung
zurückgeht.   Entscheidende Gründe für diese Annahme
werden sich unten (S. 234) ergeben.

Die griechische Sprache besitzt keinen kurzen Vocal, der
dem germanischen oder dem lateinischen *u* genau entspräche.
Um ein kurzes *u* annähernd wiederzugeben, standen den Grie-
chen vorwiegend 3 Laute zur Verfügung:[2]

---

[1] S. die Auszüge bei Wrede a. a. O., S. 27.
[2] Vgl. W. Dittenberger, *Römische Namen in griechischen Inschriften u. Litera-
turwerken.* II. [*Das kurze u.*] *Hermes,* 6 (1872), S. 281–313; Th. Eckinger,
Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften. (Züricher
Diss.), München (O.J.), S. 58–77.

1) *v*, d. h. *ü*. Der Laut *v* entspricht im Griechischen aller-
dings etymologisch einem ursprünglichen *u* und ferner steht
v im Alphabete an der Stelle des lateinischen *u*; das *v* mag
daher auf den ersten Blick als die angemessenste Umschrei-
bung eines *u* andrer arischer Sprachen erscheinen. Phone-
tisch indessen liegt *ü*, als ein mit Lippenrundung gesprochenes
i, dem *i* so nahe als dem *u*. Damit steht es in Einklang,
dass *v* zur Umschrift des lateinischen *u* nur in beschränk-
tem Masse zur Anwendung kommt, insbesondere in der
Endung -ύλλος = lat. *-ullus* (z. B. Κάτυλλος = *Catullus*) und
nach Analogie der Namen mit der Ableitungssilbe *-ullus* in
Σύλλας = *Sulla* (s. Dittenberger, a. a. O., S. 293). In Stamm-
silben begegnet *v* als Umschrift eines fremden *u* auf
Inschriften immer nur vereinzelt.

2) *ov*, d. h. langes *u*. In älterer Zeit, d. h. vor dem Beginne
unsrer Zeitrechnung, wird römisches *u* auf griechischen In-
schriften nur ganz vereinzelt durch *ov* wiedergegeben. Dit-
tenberger (a. a. O., 282) stellt geradezu den Satz auf: "Alle
griechischen Inschriften, die nachweisbar vor dem Beginne
unsrer Zeitrechnung abgefasst sind, drücken *u* in allen römi-
schen Namen und Wörtern nicht durch *ov*, sondern durch
Omikron aus." Eckinger (a. a. O., 64) hat 5 Beispiele für *ov*
= lat. *u* aus der Zeit vor Chr. gefunden (Καλπούρνιος 3 mal,
Φούλβιος und ‘Ρούβριος) und möchte daher die Aufstellung
Dittenberger's nicht in ihrer ganzen Schärfe aufrecht erhal-
ten. Aber auch er gibt zu, dass *ov* vor dem Beginne unsrer
Aera nur "sehr vereinzelt" nachzuweisen ist. In der Kaiser-
zeit ist *ov* allerdings im Zunehmen begriffen, und seit der
Zeit des Trajan und Hadrian darf es als die herschende
Schreibweise gelten (Dittenberger, 284 f.).

3) *o*. Während die Schreibung mit *ov* das lateinische *u* mit
einem griechischen Laute identificiert, der ihm qualitativ
gleichstand (oder wenigstens sehr nahe stand), aber quanti-
tativ von ihm verschieden war, trägt die Schreibung mit *o* in
erster Linie dem Umstande Rechnung, dass das lateinische
u seiner Quantität nach zu den kurzen Vocalen gehört.
Unter den griechischen kurzen Vocalen steht das *o* dem
Laute des *u* am nächsten. Dass Omikron bis zum Ende

der römischen Republik als regelrechte Umschreibung des lateinischen *u* diente, wurde bereits bemerkt. Vom Beginne der Kaiserzeit ab tritt das *o* seine Rolle mehr und mehr dem ου ab. Jedoch hält sich daneben noch bis in die späteste Zeit ab und zu die frühere Umschreibung, wie man aus den bei Eckinger S. 64 f. angeführten Beispielen entnehmen kann.[1]

Man wird nun allerdings festhalten müssen, dass für die Aufnahme eines fremden Eigennamens in die griechische Sprache die Behandlung fremder Namen auf griechischen Inschriften nicht als absolut bindende Norm gelten kann. Die Wiedergabe auf Inschriften wird in der Regel als Übertragung eines fremden Schriftbildes gelten müssen. Für diese Übertragung haben sich conventionelle Regeln, hat sich eine bestimmte Schreibgewohnheit festgesetzt, von welcher der Schreiber nur ausnahmsweise abweicht. Wo, wie in unserem Falle, eine Änderung der Schreibweise eintritt, vollzieht sie sich langsam, aber doch mit einer gewissen Regelmässigkeit. Die Sprache verfährt in dieser Beziehung freier. Sie konnte z. B. ein fremdes *u* noch als *o* aufnehmen zu einer Zeit, wo die Schreiber (wenigstens bei der Umschreibung aus dem Lateinischen) schon das ου vorzogen.

Immerhin aber empfiehlt es sich, bei einer Frage, wie sie uns hier beschäftigt, die Ergebnisse der Epigraphik möglichst in Rechnung zu ziehen, und dabei auch Ausnahmen, die auf den ersten Blick geringfügig erscheinen mögen, nicht ausser Acht zu lassen. Eckinger, a. a. O., S. 64, bemerkt: "Μοκιανός für *Mūcianus* (Arch.-ep. Mitt. X., pg. 104 n. 3 u. pg. 238 n. 2, beide aus dem heutigen Bulgarien) und Λόππος für *Lupus* (Arch.-ep. Mitt. X., pg. 49 n. 2, ebenfalls aus Bulgarien) deuten auf eine örtliche Eigentümlichkeit der Aussprache, umsomehr als diese Beobachtung auch durch andere Beispiele wie κεντορία (vd. pg. 59)[2] und andre gestützt wird."

---

[1] Alle drei Umschreibungen sind mehrfach bei ein und demselben Worte belegt., z. B. Καλπύρνις, Καλπούρνιος, Καλπόρνιος (Eckinger, S. 60); Κλυτομείνα, Κλουστουμείνα, Κροστομείνα (Name der römischen Tribus *Crustumina* oder *Clustumina*, ebd. 60, 65); Λυτάτιος, Λουτάτιος, Λοτάτιος (ebd. 61); Συλπίκιος, Σουλπίκιος, Σολπίκιος (ebd. S. 63).

[2] Dort heisst es: "κεντορία steht Arch.-ep. Mitt. XI., p. 33 n. 32, κεντορείνα (=*centuria*) Arch.-ep. Mitt. I., pg. 66, κεντορίων C. J. G. 4931 (25 v. Ch.), dagegen κεντυρίων C. J. G. 4963 (16 n. Ch.)."

In Bulgarien also war zu einer Zeit, wo sonst lateinisches *u*
in der Regel durch *ov* umschrieben wird, die Schreibung *o*
(für latein. *u* und *ū*) beliebt.   Dieser Umstand ist für uns
deshalb besonders wichtig, weil die Bulgaren zu der Zeit, als
die Goten am unteren Laufe der Donau sassen, die nächsten
Nachbarn des Gotenreiches waren.   Der Weg von den Goten
zu den Griechen führte durch Bulgarien : wahrscheinlich also
kam der Name der Goten auf diesem Wege zu den Griechen.

Angesichts des Schwankens zwischen *o, υ, ov* in der Be-
zeichnung des *u*-Lautes, wie es sich auf griechischen Inschrif-
ten bis in die späteste Zeit hinein findet, ist das griechisch-
römische *o* in Γότθοι = *Gothi* an Stelle von gotischem *u* keines-
wegs auffälliger, als das griechische τθ und das lateinische
th an Stelle von gotischem *t*.   Es ist zunächst zu bemerken,
dass der Name der Goten zu den Römern nicht notwendig
in der Form Γότθοι[1] gekommen zu sein braucht, da das τθ
der letzteren Form erst ein graphischer Ersatz des römischen
th sein kann.[2]   Die ältesten Nachrichten der römischen
Schriftsteller über die *Gothi* (oder *Goti*) sind aus dem Werke
des Griechen Dexippos über den skythischen Krieg geschöpft;[3]
aber wir wissen leider nicht, wie Dexippos den Namen der
Goten geschrieben hat.   Bei den römischen Autoren finden
wir von Anfang an *Goti* und *Gothi* neben einander, abēr so,
dass *Gothi* von vornherein überwiegt und später (ausser in
der besonders im *Liber pontificalis* häufigen Variante *Guti*)
fast ausschliesslich herscht.[4]   Man wird mit der Möglichkeit

---

[1] Diese Form zuerst belegt bei Zosimus und bei Malchus aus Philadelphia (in
Syrien), die beide in der 2. Hälfte des 5. Jahrh. schrieben. Vgl. Wrede a. a. O.,
S. 20 f.

[2] Wrede a. a. O., S. 45 Anm.

[3] Vgl. unten S. 234.

[4] Die älteste römische Quelle für den Namen der Goten (in unsrer zweiten
Periode) sind die Scriptores historiæ Augustæ, insbesondere Julius Capitolinus
und Trebellius Pollio.   Ersterer (wahrscheinlich um 300) schreibt — wenn auf
unsre Handschriften Verlass ist — *Gothi, Gothia*, letzterer (Vita Claudii, zwischen
302 und 306 verfasst), einmal (c. 300) *Austorgoti*, sonst *Gothi*.   Letztere Form
ausschliesslich bei dem Fortsetzer des Trebellius, Flavius Vopiscus, in der Vita
Probi und bei Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 333-400), sowie bei Claudianus (um
400), nur dass bei letzterem an der in Betracht kommenden Stelle *Ostrogoti* als
Variante zu *Ostrogothi* bezeugt ist.   *Gothi* dann weiter im 5. Jahrh. bei Idatius
und Apollinaris Sidonius.   Im 6. Jahrh. *Goti* (" so in der Regel die ältesten Codd.
statt der *Gothi* der jüngeren ") bei Ennodius, aber *Gothi* bei Eugippius; *Gotos*

rechnen müssen, dass die Römer den Namen zunächst in der Form *Goti* kennen lernten und erst allmählich das *t* durch *th* ersetzten. Die Unsicherheit, welche in römischen Quellen in der Wahl zwischen *t* und *th* zur Umschreibung germanischer *t* auch sonst herscht,[1] würde dann den Schreibgebrauch auch hier bald ins Schwanken gebracht und allmählich dazu geführt haben, dass das *th* in der conventionellen Schreibung dem *t* den Rang abließ.[2] Denkbar freilich wäre auch, dass das römische *th* ein griechisches θ umschreiben soll und letzteres sich zu germanischen *t* verhält, wie das χ in $\Theta\epsilon\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota\chi o\varsigma$ zu dem *k* des germanischen *þiuda-reiks*. Endlich ist auch die Möglichkeit nicht ausgeschlossen, dass das $\tau\theta$ in $\Gamma\acute{o}\tau\theta o\iota$ sich an das *tþ* des gotischen *gut-þiuda* anschliesst.[3]

Ich glaube wir müssen gestehen, dass mit den uns zu Gebote stehenden Hülfsmitteln eine bestimmte Entscheidung über die Herkunft des römischen *th* und des griechischen $\tau\theta$ in dem Namen der Goten sich nicht treffen lässt.

Hinsichtlich des *o* liegt die Sache insofern einfacher, als das *o* hier in der griechischen Schreibung fest ist und in der römischen Schreibung nur vorübergehend, zur Zeit der Herschaft der Goten in Italien, dem *u* weicht. Wir wären berechtigt, schon aus diesem Tatbestande zu schliessen, dass das römische *o* griechischer Aussprache oder griechischer Schreibung entstammt. Der Schluss, auf welchen die Lautverhältnisse führen, wird nun aber weiter durch einen Umstand bestätigt, auf welchen Müllenhoff schon vor mehr als 40 Jahren hingewiesen hat.

---

in der fränkischen Völkertafel (um 520), *Ostrogotus* bei Avitus, aber dann wieder *Gothi* bei Marcellinus Comes, bei Cassiodor, bei Jordanes u. s. w. Ich entnehme diese Angaben zumeist aus Wrede's Quellenverzeichnis (a. a. O., S. 19 ff.).

[1] Vgl. Zeuss a. a. O., S. 312 Anm., 407 Anm. u. s.; Wrede a. a. O., S. 170. Ein ähnliches Schwanken zwischen *t* und *th* begegnet z. B. in dem alten Namen der Ostgoten: *Grutungi* Treb. Pollio, *Grauthungi* Flav. Vopiscus, *Greuthungi* (*Grutungi*, *Greutungi*) Amm. Marcell., *Gruthungi* (*Grutungi*) Claudian., *Greothingi* Idatius, $\Gamma\rho\acute{o}\theta\iota\gamma\gamma o\iota$ Zos., $\Gamma\rho o\acute{\upsilon}\theta\iota\gamma\gamma o\iota$ Suid. Auch hier liegt dem *t* oder *th* wahrscheinlich germanisches *t* zu Grunde.

[2] Es könnte dabei auch der Anklang an den Namen der Skythen, unter dem anfangs die Goten mit einbegriffen wurden, mitgewirkt haben.

[3] Wrede (a. a. O., S. 46 Anm.) geht wol zu weit, wenn er meint, es bleibe bei dieser Annahme "die Beschränkung dieser Form auf die gr. Quellen rätselhaft, man müsste denn alle lat. *Gothi* zu *Gotthi* bessern wollen."

Trebellius Pollio, *Vita Claudii,* c. 6 (= Müllenhoff, *GA.*
p. 150) berichtet: "denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peuci,
Grutungi (Trutungi *d. Hss.*), Austorgoti, Tervingi Visi, Gipe-
des, Celtae etiam et Eruli praedae cupiditate in Romanum
solum venerunt." Dazu bemerkte Müllenhoff, *Zs. f. dt. Alt.*
9, S. 135: "Da diese Völker unter dem alten Namen Scythen
zusammengefasst werden, so entsteht sogleich die Vermutung,
dass Trebellius hier aus einer griechischen Quelle geschöpft
habe, ohne Zweifel aus dem Dexippus, dem gleichzeitigen
Geschichtschreiber des scythischen Krieges, den Trebellius
auch sonst anführt, Claud. 12, vergl. Gordian. 2, Gallien. 23,
Trig. tyr. 32. Denn der Name war in dieser neuen Anwen-
dung nur bei den Griechen gebräuchlich, so auch namentlich
bei Priscus, der Hunen und Gothen darunter begreift. . . .
Die ausgesprochene Vermutung wird endlich bestätigt durch
den zweiten Namen Trutungi, was offenbar verlesen ist für
Γρούτουγγοι oder Γρούθιγγοι." [1]

Das Ergebnis dieser Erörterungen kann ich dahin zusam-
menfassen, dass das *o* in der Form *Gothi* (oder *Goti*) auf
griechischem *o* beruht, und letzteres zu annähernder Wieder-
gabe des gotischen *u*-Lautes dient, für welchen es der grie-
chischen Sprache an einem genau entsprechenden Vocale
fehlte. Was das *o* in *Gotones* oder *Gothones* anlangt, so lässt
sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit ausmachen, ob auch hier das *o*
sich an ein griechisches Vorbild anschliesst, oder ob wir es
lediglich mit einer irrtümlichen (vielleicht auf späterer Cor-
rectur — auf Grund der Form *Gothi* — beruhenden) Lesart
einzelner Handschriften statt *Gutones* zu tun haben.

III.

Ich komme nunmehr auf die im Eingange erwähnte
Hypothese von Streitberg und Osthoff zurück, wonach das
o in den Formen *Gotones* oder *Gothones* und *Gothi* eine Spur
des *a*-Umlautes von *u* zu *o* bei den Goten sein soll. Streit-
berg begründet sie (*Indog. Forsch.* 4, 308 f.) folgendermassen:

---

[1] Vgl. über Dexippus auch Wietersheim, *Gesch. d. Völkerwanderung,* I.[2] S.
150 f.

" Das *o* des Gotennamens ist zweifellos — worauf mich
Hr. Prof. Osthoff aufmerksam macht — ein Beweis dafür,
dass auch im Gotischen einmal der *a*-Umlaut vorausgehndes
u zu *o* gewandelt hat. Wir müssen in *Gothi, Gothae* eine
traditionelle Form erblicken, die in der Schriftsprache der
lateinisch und griechisch schreibenden Historiker fortgelebt
hat, auch nachdem die lebendige Sprache jedes *o* wieder zu
u gewandelt hatte. Man vergleiche die *Gutones* des Plinius,
Gutþiuda des gotischen Kalenders und *gutanio* des Goldringes
von Pietroassa (Henning, Runendenkmäler, S. 32). Mit der
bequemen Aushilfe Wredes a. O., S. 44, das *o* verdanke seine
Existenz einer 'Nostrifizierung,' ist nichts erklärt. Wahr-
scheinlich ist, dass die *Gotones* in den Annalen, die *Gothones*
in der Germania des Tacitus das Muster für die traditionelle
Schreibung mit *o* abgegeben haben."

Gesetzt die letztere Annahme (dass das *o* der Form *Gothi*
auf die Schreibung *Gotones* oder *Gothones* des Tacitus zurück-
gehe), sei richtig, so würde daraus noch keineswegs folgen,
dass die Goten ihren Namen zur Zeit des Tacitus mit *o*
gesprochen hätten. Denn dass Tacitus selbst sich zu den
Goten begeben habe, um ihren Namen correct aufzuzeichnen,
wird auch Streitberg wol nicht annehmen wollen. Es ist
nicht einmal wahrscheinlich, dass er den Namen aus dem
Munde eines Goten in Rom vernommen hat. Denn wenn
auch Goten in Rom einige Jahrhunderte später keine Selten-
heit waren, so standen sie doch dort schwerlich zu Tacitus
Zeit einem Geschichtschreiber zu Gebote. Falls Tacitus
seine Nachrichten über die Goten aus mündlichen Mitteilun-
gen geschöpft hat, würde sich eher denken lassen, dass er —
oder sein Gewährsmann — seine Nachrichten von Angehöri-
gen eines der germanischen Stämme bezog, die damals unter
der Botmässigkeit des römischen Reiches standen. Diese
letzteren Germanen aber waren grösstenteils Westgerma-
nen, d. h. sie gehörten demjenigen Teile des germanischen
Sprachgebietes an, auf welchem wir — später wenigstens —
den *a*-Umlaut des *u* zu *o* finden. Datiert man mit Streitberg
dieses *o* bis in die Zeit vor Wulfila zurück, so würde dann die
Form *Gotones* vielleicht dafür sprechen, dass das *o* bei den

Westgermanen noch weiter, bis in die römische Zeit zurück-
reicht: aber es würden sich daraus keine Schlüsse auf die
gotische Sprache ziehen lassen.[1]

Werden wir denn aber Streitberg zugeben dürfen, dass
Tacitus dafür verantwortlich ist, wenn spätere griechische
und römische Historiker den Namen der Goten mit *o* schrei-
ben? Ein so tiefgreifender Einfluss der Taciteischen Ortho-
graphie, zumal in einem Namen, den er nur zweimal nebenher
erwähnt, wäre an sich sehr auffällig; im vorliegenden Falle
um so mehr, als die später übliche Form des Gotennamens
von der Taciteischen Form abweicht. Tacitus nennt die
Goten *Gotones* oder *Gothones,* während sie später *Gothi*
heissen. Tatsache also ist, dass die späteren Historiker sich
um das bei Tacitus vorliegende *n*-Suffix des Gotennamens
und um die Flexion des Wortes nach der 3. Declination nicht
kümmern. Das von ihnen gebrauchte *Gothi* steht in Stamm-
bildung und Flexion dem germanischen Namen der Goten
näher, als der bei Tacitus überlieferten Form. Sollen wir
ihnen etwa die Überlegung zutrauen, dass Tacitus in dem
Stammvocale des Wortes vielleicht einen wertvollen Beitrag
zur Theorie des gotischen Vocalismus conservire, vor wel-
chem die Reform der Rechtschreibung Halt machen müsse?
Wenn es nur feststände, dass die römischen Historiker des
4. Jahrhunderts bei ihren deutlich auf griechische Quellen[2]
zurückweisenden Berichten sich darüber klar gewesen wären,
dass die an der Donau hausenden *Gothi* oder *Scythae* iden-
tisch seien mit dem nach Tacitus am unteren Laufe der
Weichsel angesessenen Stamme der *Gotones!*

Zum Schlusse will ich auf eine chronologische Schwierig-
keit aufmerksam machen, die sich bei Streitberg's Auffassung
ergibt. Streitberg schliesst, wie gesagt, aus den Formen
Gotones und *Gothi* "dass auch im Gotischen einmal der
a-Umlaut vorausgehndes *u* in *o* gewandelt hat." Später

---

[1] Ich will ausdrücklich bemerken, dass mir das westgermanische *o* nicht für so
alt gilt und dass ich es nicht für nötig halte, für die spärlichen Nachrichten des
Tacitus über die *Gotones* eine mündliche Quelle vorauszusetzen. Ich wünschte
jedoch zu zeigen, dass selbst wenn Streitberg's Voraussetzungen zuträfen, seine
Folgerungen hinsichtlich des gotischen *u* unzulässig sein würden.

[2] Vgl. ob. S. 234.

wurde im Gotischen "jedes *o* wieder zu *u* gewandelt" sodass sich von dem *a*-Umlaut in den gotischen Sprachquellen, wie sie uns vorliegen, keine Spur findet.   Nur in dem Namen der Goten hätte sich bei Griechen und Römern eine Spur des *a*-Umlautes erhalten.   Als Belege nun des "wieder zu *u* gewandelten" *o* gelten Streitberg (*Idg. Forsch.* 4, 308 f. und *Urgerm. Gramm.* § 71) "die *Gutones* des Plinius, *Gutþiuda* des gotischen Kalenders und *Gutanio* des Goldrings von Pietroassa."   Fände sich diese Zusammenstellung nicht gleichlautend an den beiden genannten Stellen, so möchte man glauben, dass "die *Gutones* des Plinius" durch ein Versehen des Setzers in eine falsche Zeile geraten seien.   Aber wie die Sache liegt, und nach dem Zusammenhange zu urteilen, scheint Streitberg in der Tat Plinius für den Vertreter einer jüngeren Zeit zu halten, in welcher im Gotischen "wieder" *u* bestand, während Tacitus die Zeit des "älteren Gotisch" vertritt, in welcher das Gotische an dem — wie Streitberg glaubt — gemein-germanischen *o* Teil hatte.   An der letzteren der beiden vorhin angegebenen Stellen werden dann auch noch die vermeintlichen Γούτωνες des Strabo und die Γύθωνες des Ptolemaeus den *Gutones* des Plinius angeschlossen.

Wie vertragen sich diese Annahmen mit den Daten der römischen Literaturgeschichte?   Strabo lebte fast ein Jahrhundert früher als Tacitus, und Plinius war zu der Zeit, als Tacitus seine Germania schrieb, längst nicht mehr am Leben. Wie kommen also Strabo und Plinius dazu, dem Tacitus gegenüber als Vertreter des jüngeren Gotisch zu fungieren? Wollte man den Standpunkt Streitberg's streng durchführen und mit der üblichen Zeitrechnung in Einklang bringen, so würde sich folgendes Resultat ergeben:

1) Vor-Taciteische Zeit: Γούτωνες — d. h. wenn man das Βούτωνες der Hss. in Γούτωνες ändern will — bei Strabo; *Gutones* bei Plinius.   Die Goten kennen den *a*-Umlaut noch nicht.

2) Tacitus: *Gotones* oder *Gothones*.   Der Name der Goten zeigt *a*-Umlaut.

3) Zeit des Marinus und Ptolemaeus: Γύθωνες.   Der *a*-Umlaut ist wieder aufgegeben.

4) [Dexippus], die Scriptores historiae Augustae u. s. w.:
Gothi, Γότθοι. Der *a*-Umlaut tritt von neuem auf.

5) Gotischer Kalender (aus der Zeit nach Wulfila): *Gut-
þiuda.* Der *a*-Umlaut ist wiederum aufgegeben.

Das Resultat wäre, dass die Goten zu der Zeit, welcher die
uns erhaltenen Denkmäler der gotischen Sprache angehören,
in Bezug auf die Färbung des *u* wieder da anlangten, wo sie
zur Zeit des Plinius gestanden hatten. Inzwischen aber
hätten sie zweimal einen *a*-Umlaut des *u* überstanden, der
freilich nur in der Namensform, welche sie bei Griechen
und Römern haben, zu Tage tritt. Man braucht die Streit-
bergsche Theorie, wie mir scheint, nur in dieser Weise conse-
quent durchzuführen, um sich davon zu überzeugen, dass sie
unhaltbar ist. Immerhin aber war es wol der Mühe wert, zu
zeigen, dass sie auch sonst bei näherer Prüfung sich nicht
bewährt.

<div align="right">Hermann Collitz.</div>

Bryn Mawr College,
    Pennsylvania.

THE BERLIN FRAGMENT OF THE
MADELGHIJS.

IN looking over the contents of the *sammelmappe* folio 923, in the Royal Library at Berlin, I came across a Middle Low Franconian fragment, which showed signs of recent inspection. The name " Athenor " had been written at the bottom of the outside page, and under this title I later found it briefly mentioned by Willy Scheel, in his contribution to *Festgabe an Karl Weinhold* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 71.

The fragment consists of two connected quarto sheets, parchment, 22 × 16.5 cm. The upper and lower edges of both sheets have been clipped, so that usually two of the 43 original verses of both volumes have been lost. The first page — not the second, as Scheel erroneously supposes — has been cut off lengthwise, thus destroying part of two columns (1 r. b. and 1 v. a.).

The manuscript, which belongs to the fourteenth century, is well written by one hand; the initials of each line are separated from the rest of the words and marked with a red stroke. The letters are rather heavy, and the ink has peeled so that many letters can be recognized only from the depression in the parchment. The verso of the second page has suffered from exposure.

From the names occurring in several places it was evident that the romance goes back ultimately to French sources. Mr. Ch. Martel, of the Newberry Library, was the first to call my attention to the names of Vivien and Oriande in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, tome XXII., p. 700 sq. It required little further search to identify the fragment as part of the Low Franconian translation of the *Maugis d'Aigremont*. This translation is known to us only in frag-

ments. J. te Winkel, in his *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Letterkunde,* I., p. 139, mentions five known fragments. Two years later N. de Pauw edited all the fragments found so far in one handy volume, *Madelghijs' Kintsheit, al de gekende Fragmenten critisch uitgegeven en vergleken met het Duitsche Handschrift,* Gent, 1889. Of the nine short sections collected there, the second (B) partly coincides with the Berlin fragment: vv. 127–319 correspond with vv. 1–185 in the latter, with very few deviations. It has thus been possible to supplement most of the gaps in our manuscript: all such matter is printed in italics.

The handwriting of fragment B, of which de Pauw gives a facsimile, resembles that of the Berlin fragment so much that one is almost tempted to ascribe the two to one copyist. On closer scrutiny, however, we find that the orthography varies to a considerable extent. The Berlin fragment uses more abbreviations, which have all been retained in the following edition; the prefix *ge* is mostly written with an *h,* and some forms, *e.g. iou,* do not occur here at all.

Recently two more fragments have been discovered, one in the University Library of Gent, containing 60 verses, the other, comprising 321 partly mutilated verses, in private possession in London. Both have been published by W. L. de Vreese in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde,* XV., pp. 283–307.

I R. A.	I R. B.
dat si h' seluē vallen liet B. 127.	. . . .
in onmacht .j. lange stont.	houd vwe par . . .; *athenoer*
alse bequam, *dat si v cont,*	45 staet but' *stat van rosefloer*
riep si : "driew'*ven* lief,	*naect gebonden an sinen mast*
5 die mi solaes eṅ grief	eṅ *houtemmer die kerse vast*
beide mach nemē eṅ gheuē	alse .j. mā, *die staet in trans,*
eṅ an wien dat al mij̄ leuē	al omtrent hē *j. dans*
staet gewortelt, *dat hi*	50 van naectē rid*ders dare .c. es*
	an,
met .j. worde mochte mi	eṅ hi es selue *die speleman,*
10 doden of gheuē lijf!	want hi in die *middel staet.*

nochtā wetic wel da*t* geē wijf
sculdech es te makene mare

eneghē man, hoe dat in hare

sine miñē es gheplant.
15 m' *lief,* ghine sijt geē *c*alant
loos, fel no onwerdech,
m' ter doget soe ghepertech,

dat in v *nes* geen lac.
natuerlike lief, dat niet en brac
20 m*ine* h'te, alsoe sach v,
da*ts* meer dā wond'. ic to*ocht*
v :
ghi sijt mīj raste, mīj delijt;
slapēde, wakēde, talre tijt
*b*en ic v, soe w' ghi weest.

25 v'corē lief, ald' eest

wond', dat se niet *ne* brac
mine h'te, eer *ic* sprac,
die d' vul es vā vwe *per*chelē.
sagic liggē al die *f*ardelen
30 van al dē mañē, die nv leuē,
lief ! *sone wistic* mi hoe geuē
te geens mans dienste dā tē
uwē.
athenor wilde mi doē huwē

bi bedwange an sine persone ;
35 al *es hi coninc* eñ draget crone,
ic salt v clagē eñ gode hier
bouē,
datti mi wilde rouen,
te wies boef, datic si
ghesticht ghemaect eñ ghi te
mi.
40 eñ ic wille mi gheuē

dat heeft al ghe*dáen mijn raet,*
dus heeft hi v*we minne be-*
suert."
55 " bi gode ! vrouw*e, sprac mees-*
ter Yverd,
alsi den cō naect *bant*
entie tortise ga*f in die hant*
eñ opt hooft .j. *veltijn hoet,*
ic loech soe se ', *daer ic*
stoet,
60 dat mi dochte, *dat ic spleet.*"
hi ghinc vort *ende nam gereet*
al die ridd'en, *sonder waen,*
eñ deedse tenē *dance staen,*

al moed'naect, *slapende sere.*
65 spyet seide : " *bi onsen here !*
ic sachse alle ghe*coppelt stan-*
den,
eñ elc hadde a*ndren bi den*
handen.
v'uwe oriande, *des sijt vast;*
atenor stont *an den mast*
70 eñ .j. veltijn hoe*t up thovet*
eñ .j. tortise, *dies gelovet,*
scone b'nende *ende claer.*
ic [hiet] hē hebbē g*enen vaer,*
ic seide, het *begonste naken*
75 den oechste (!), *men souder*
scuwe of maken.*"*
d' oñe was ghe*lachen genoech.*
oriande dede *dat men droech.*
tafelen leggen . . . . .

eñ bey'de *dede men dragen*
80 beide hoy eñ *goet coren;*
entie h'en *wel gheboren*

ghingē etē *met aise.*

tuwen dienste al mīj leuē.

. . . .

m' noit was *volc so tonpaise*
als *viuien was, ende die sar-*
  rasijn.
85 *alst noene was, die coninc fijn*

I V. A.

ontwiec ende seide :
" *hout die dieve* beide !
si willen mi ontgaen."
als hem die coninc dus vant
  *sta*en,
90 *seide hi : " Mamet ende Apo-*
  lijn !
hoe comt dit, hoe maecht sijn,
*dat ic hier aldu*s stande ?"
*viuien seide : " de*se scande

heeft v die truwant ghedaen."
95 *die coninc seide :* " es hi ont-
  gaen ?"
" *ja hi, ja hi, sprac vi*uien.
die coninc sach al ome met-
  tien,
waer sine ridders al ome
  standē
tenen dance al bi handen,

100 *want het den coninc* qualike
  gheleec ;
deen verscoot, dand' v'seec,
*ende seiden: " o w*ach, w'
  benic ?"
deen vel over side, dand' ou'
  ric,
die derde over den buuc.

105 *daer was .j.* groot gejuuk,
*dat si hem al*len naect vondē.
*die coninc wa*s doe ontbon-
  den ;

I V. B.

Het ware elken man tè sterc,
130 te doene d'staen atoer."
doe seide die cō atenor :
" alse ghi saget dē truwant,

ghi wanet gesien hebbē .j.
  sant ;
an sine tale ic v'stoet,
135 datti ons onste ledel goet,
ēn ledel heeft by ons ghe-
  daen,
datti vns dede d'staen
al naect tenē danse groot.

hets wond', wine warē doot
140 van grot' coude, d' elc stoet."

viuien spc : " ghi had .j. hoet

op v hooft, van velte ghe-
  maect,
ēn al warē dand' ridd'e naect ;

ēn .j. tortise in v hant claer,
145 ghemac was v beuert daer.

dat mogen m'kē wel die
  vroede."
athenor spc : " mi was te
  moede,
als ic brudegoō hadde ghesien
van oriandē, d' vruwen fijn,
150 ēn ons die truwant hadde
  getruwet

*hi moeste va*llen also wel

*ter erden ne*der alse enech el ;

110 *daer omme was* ghelachen
vele.
*die coninc sprac al*se in spele :
" *ic hebbe v*w' alre knecht
gesijn
biden voget apolijn !
ic wilt mi half mij lant
115 *ware geco*st, entie truwant
hier hadde, die ons dit dede."

*doe sprac viui*en ende sede :
. . . . ddi (?)
. . . nē hi soude di
120 . . . en dā hi heeft gedaē
. . . ndi v ontgaen.
hi dunct mi sijn .j. arm ghe-
selle,
*so eist die truw*ant vter
helle.
*hi liep h*alē .j. clene wicht,
125 *van naturen* eest soe licht,
*ende dapper u*p sinen spronc,

het es ēēs *d*uuels ionc ;

Men maecht wel sien an dit
werc ;

2 R. A.

Dastromien antworde saen.
hi seide : " h' cō, dit vant
v'staen ;
vwen droom wetic wel te
spelne,
175 m' mine staets [*niet*] te
v'telne,

beide te gadre ; nv bescou-
wet,
wat dese droom bedieden
mochte." -
.j. and' seide : " hort wat mi
dochte :
d' ic stont al in trans,
155 soe dochte mi dat .j. g't dans

vand' brulocht was ghemaect ;
entie cō stont alnaect.
dies haddic .j. wond' groot."
die d'de seide : " mi dochte
al doot
160 viuiē in onsen dans staen.
doe quā die truwant ghegaē
eñ nam viuiene bid' hant
doe w't leuēde die wigant.
doe v'blijde die coninc ;
165 athenor dede varinc

.j. astromien dit v'staen,

eñ hiet hē datti soude gaen
nachts besien an die sterrē,
eñ datti soe diepe lase eñ so
v'rē
170 in sine boeke, dat h' ie ō
dochte,
Wat dese droem bespellen mochte.

2 R. B.

215 die truwant . . . . .
datti v beidē hadde ghe t'uwet

te gad'e, h' cō, scouwet

dese red . . . eñ v'staet wel,

vor *dat ic* hebbe verstaen
　borghe,
　dat *ic mach* segge sond' sorge,
　soe dat mi nieme en sal
　hier ome mesdoen, groot no
　　smal ;
180 en selue willic bliue gheuaen
　tote ghi die w'heit hebt
　　v'staen
　van datic hier v'trecke sal,
　dat mi nieme, groot no smal,
　sal mesdoen e binne daghe
　　d'tech,
185 en ghi mi hier op sijt geh'tech,
　　Exit B 319.
　van desen drome al ghemene.

　h' co, die sake sijn niet clene ;
　het valt zw' an vwe side.
　o datic welle, dat nieme be-
　　nide,
190 soe willic bliue geuaen,
　　. . . ic (!) die w'heit hebbe
　　v'staen
　van mine liue te houdene
　　vri. (?)
　h'co soe salic di . . . . .
　den droom spellen . . .
　　tehant,
195 soe s'gaet up uwen tant.
　Die . . . ant w'de . . .
　　athenor
　. . . . . . . an zwoer
　dat hine solde hebben te
　　rechte
　jege ma en iege knechte
200 XXX daghe al omeganc.
　die meester seide : " hebbic
　　soe lanc
　respijt, soe salic v v'tellen

h' co . . . . . eme . . . .

220 al eest v te horne onlochte,
　den and'en ridd'e die dochte,
　dat ghi al naect stoet

　in den dans, des sijt vroet,
　dat es vant bekinne,

225 dat v oriande niet mach mine ;
　en ghi mintse, dats w'hede,
　dat bediet v naecthede ;

　en dats dompheit groot.

　den d'den ridd'e dochte al
　　doot
230 in den dans staende viuie ;
　entie truwant qua mettie
　en nam bid' hant viuiene en
　　dochte,
　datti leuede doe was v sochte.
　Dese droo es fel en zwaer,

235 ic salne v tellen want hi es w'.

　nv v'staet, h' coninc,
　ic segt v in waerre dinc,

　dat viuie d' stont doot,
　dats ons allen rouwe groot.

240 hi sal ons, h' co, afgaen,
　en hier in moghedr v'staen

　dese poente ende merken,
　datti w't doot in onse gew'ken
　tonsen boef, sonder blijf.

245 en dattem die truwant gaf lijf

den droom, die vele h'en sal
   quellē ;
dats mi leet, horter uaer.

205 h' cō, al eest v zwaer
   te horne, ic sal v'tellen

   vwen droō vor dese gesellē.

   dat ghi niet moget ōstekē
     mien,
   die sakē en selen d' ghescien.
210 d'bi willict seggē ou'luut :
   v dochte, dat si was v bruut,
   oriande van rosefloer,
   dat ne sal nem'me athenor

. . . .

        2 V. A.

. . . .
. . . .
. . de hoochst . . hede
260 . . . .
. . . .
. . . .
m . . dit sacic ou' waerheit
. . . . dē ghest . . . waer
265 viuiē seide : " .j.   . . .
moetti hebben, die . . ort
   brochte,
alsoe w' . . . . . dochte
. . . . . . h'te mijn
. . . . . . sijn
270 . . . . . . trouwe."
. . . . . . sal rouwen
datti . . . ou' waerhede,
m' XXX daghe heeft hi
   vrede."

dat bediet, h' cō stout,

datti hē met h'te altoes w't
   hout
den truwant, al sond' begeuē,
eñ in sine hulpe altoes sal
   cleuē ;
250 die bliscap, cō, die ghi had
   groot,
dat viuiē leuede na die doot,

dat es rouwe eñ droefhede,
die v ghescien sal sond' bede,
alse v viuiē af sal gaen.
255 bi dē truwant selen wi v'staen
enē dē vroetstē clerc, die
   leuet,

        2 V. B.

. . . .
conic, dat sal ghescien ;
soe selē wi ons houdē, spc
   viuiē,
. . . .
305 . . . . hope (?)
indē dijc eñ v'drincken ;
wi selē . . nsē zw'dē scinkē,
die gh . . niet mogē v'smorē,
d' w'den si alle v'loren,
310 of he sal mi costē clijk

. . . desen ke. . .rijk
die dese . . . . . . heeft
athenor . . . . . leeft
dats . . . . . goet (?)
315 si .j. . . . mert'spoet (?)
alsoe . . . . . eit
a . . . .

doe s͞p͞c die meester . . oech :

275 "h' cō, ... oech,

hier binnē sal vele geschien."

"nu hort, sprac viuien,

h' cō, doet minē raet.

ic wille, dat mā enacht gaet

280 .j. fosseit deluē iegē onse heere,

X . . voet wijt ou' mere,

ēn diepe XV voet.

. . . erwē (?) dat come die vloet,

sal . . water d'in doen gaen ;

285 ēn alse . . . . . es ghedaen

sa . . . . mē dat het niet

wed' . . h' cō, siet

d . . ou' de dijc . . .

stocke scietē, die niet sijn groot,

290 a . . . . . . maken

e . . . . . . ē vlakē

s . . . . die ghebare

alse . . . . . . ware

. . . w'dē . . . . .

295 . . . . binnē

. . mure (?), het es waer,

. . ine sele . . niet . . haer

. . ōvredē . . ghew .

die van binnē dat . . . . .

300 . . . .

. . . .

dat . . . .

320 me . . . .

e . . . . . die hede

h . . . . . vant (?)

d . . . . . . nē

325 . . . . viuienē

. . . . . . in h' vaert

. . . . in . .ghesc . .

. . . . leedde mald' (?)

. . . . .balder

330 sih . . an beiden siden

alse die op and'e . . wildē stridē

e . . . . v'driet

d . . . . . . niet

dat . . . .

335 . . . .

. . . .

. . . .

wau . . beȳ ou' . . anc

dand'e beitē niet lanc ;

340 si sloegen met sporē vreselijc,

pert ēn man reet in dē dijc

d' v'smord' b'de vele . . h'te

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG.

CHRIST 77.

THIS line contains, in the word *mōd*, a *crux* for all the editors. In an address to Mary, we have:

> þone gebedscipe
> æfter monwīsan mōd ne cūðes.

Gebedscipe is of course the object of *cūðes*, and *monwīsan* of the preposition *æfter*. Hence, if the manuscript reading is retained, *mōd* is apparently in apposition with *gebedscipe*. But this makes no sense. Thorpe proposed to read *mōde*, 'in mind'; but this is far from convincing. Grein suggested *mōt*, in the sense of 'Begegnung,' 'Zusammensein,' appositional with *gebedscipe;* but there is no such OE. word, and the two meanings would not be synonymous, if there were. Gollancz interprets *mōd*, in a note, as 'desire,' but leaves it untranslated in his version. Wülker (*Bibliothek*, III. 4) reads *mot*, but without explanation.

I would suggest *mōt*, in the sense of 'mote,' 'atom,' and make *mōt ne cūðes* parallel to the *wiht ne cūþe* of 419[b]; the *wiht ne lōgon* of *Beow.* 862[b]; *him wiht ne spēow, Beow.* 2854[b]; *nō hē wiht fram mē, Beow.* 541[b]; cf. *Beow.* 1083, 2857. Or it might be taken in the dat. inst. as *mōte;* cf. *Christ* 1048:

> ne magun hord wera heortan geþōhtas
> fore Wāldende *wihte* bemīþan.

Cf. also *Beow.* 186, 1514.

Mōt was known in both North. and WS. as a translation of the Biblical *festuca*, and was employed in ME. in the sense which I would attribute to it here, as strengthening a negation. The ME. examples, collected by Hein (*Anglia*, xv. 101), are from (1) *Gawayne and the Green Knight*, v. 2209; (2) *Patience*, vv. 455–6; (3) Chaucer, *Tr. and Cr.* III. 1603;

to which he adds (4) Occleve, *De Regimine Principum,*
str. 135.   These are:

   (1) Hit helppes me not a mote.

   (2)   þaʒ no schafte myʒt
      þe mount[n]aunce of a lyttel mote,
         vpon þat man schyne.

   (3) It mighte nought a mote in that suffyse.

   (4) Not wold I rekke as muche as a mote.

The difficulties are two.   There is no proof of the OE. use
of *mōt* in this sense; and it apparently introduces a short
syllable when the metre requires a long one.   To the first I
would answer : The sense seems to require such a strengthen-
ing of the negation, and, if it were to be done in what Hein
calls a 'figurative' (bildlich) way, *mōt* is as appropriate a
word as any ; it is, besides, used in the ME. *alliterative* poem
of *Patience.*   The second objection, that the word bearing
the sense of 'mote,' 'atom,' has hitherto been uniformly
written as *mot*, may be met by the statement that it is written
with the accent in Lind. Lk. 6. 41, and as *moote* in the two
Chaucerian manuscripts, Cp. and H. ; though of course the
Chaucerian spelling is not decisive.

<div align="right">ALBERT S. COOK.</div>

YALE UNIVERSITY.

CONRAD VOLLSTATTER'S GEDICHT VON DES TEUFEL'S TÖCHTERN.

DER codex Ms. germ., fol. 564, der berliner königlichen bibliothek enthält ausser einer sammlung von gedichten des Teichner eine anzahl sprüche von Heinrich Kaufringer. Letztere gedenke ich anderen orts baldigst zu veröffentlichen. Der schreiber des sammelbandes, Conrad Müller von Ötingen, der seine copie im jahre 1472 fertig stellte, hat dem codex noch ein kurzes gedicht einverleibt, dessen gegenstand literarisch wenig bearbeitet ist, so weit mir bekannt. Die wenigen verse, die hier im abdruck folgen, handeln von den töchtern des teufels.

Von dem dichter scheint uns weiter nichts überliefert zu sein; wenigstens findet man ihn nicht unter den namen verzeichnet, deren erdrückende anzahl Scherers schema verdächtig macht. Die schülermässige behandlung des stoffes, der mangel an verstechnik und poetischer gestaltungskraft erlauben uns zudem den schluss, dass sein ruf die engsten localen kreise nicht überschritten hat. Es scheint dies beweis genug Vollstatter Baiern als heimatland zuzuweisen, dem lande, dem auch der Teichner und Heinrich Kaufringer sowie der copist angehörten.

Das gedicht lautet in diplomatischem abdruck folgender massen.

Von des tüfels töchtern, der siben waren.

So hatt der teufel die Geyttikait
Zu der ee genommen jn der criste[n]hait.
Bey der hatt er acht tochter gehabt;
Die hat er hin geben dem gewallt.

Die erst tochter haysst Symoney ;
Die hat er geben den prelaten frey.
Die ander ist neydt genant ;
Die gab er in die Clöster zû handt.
Die dritt ist gehaissen wûcher ;
Die ist vermehelt den Edelleutten ser.
Die viert ist trücknuss genannt ;
Die ist den kauffleutten zu gesandt.
Die fünfft haysst Rauberey ;
Die hatt er geben rittern vnd knechten frey.
Die sechst ist genant hochfartt ;
Die hat er empfolhen den frawen zart.
Die sibent haysset valschaytt ;
Die habent genommen die diener gemaidt.
Die acht tochter ist vnkeusch genant ;
Die ist den münichen wolbekannt,
Vnd sunderlich allen, die naturlich leben ;
Den hatt er auch sie in gemain geben.
Das ist auch ware on alles gewäre.
Also Sprach Conrat Vollstatter.

Der anfang des gedichts lässt darauf schliessen, dass wir es nur mit einem bruchstück zu tun haben. Der folgende text der exempla des Jacques de Vitry macht dies noch wahrscheinlicher. Ich zitire hier nach der ausgabe von T. F. Crane : *The Exempla or illustrative stories from the sermones vulgares of Jacques de Vitry.* London ; published for the Folk-Lore Society, 1890, pp. 101, 102.

CCXLIV.

Ornatus meretricis non pertinet ad matrimonii honestatem sed incitat ad luxuriam, que etiam sine exteriori aminiculo omne genus hominum valde infestat. Teste enim Jeronimo : ' Libido ferreas mentes domat.' Unde dici solet quod diabolus novem filias genuit ex uxore turpissima et concupiscentia (sic !), que nigra est velut carbo extinctus per pravorum desideriorum adustionem ; fetidam per infamiam, etc. Ex hiis autem filiabus octo maritavit totidem generibus hominum, symoniam prelatis et clericis ; ypocrisim monachis et falsis

religiosis ; rapinam militibus ; usuram burgensibus ; dolum
mercatoribus ; sacrilegum agricolis, qui decimas Deo sacratas
auferunt ecclesiarum ministris ; fictum servitium operariis ;
superbiam et superfluum habitum mulieribus ; Nonam autem,
id est luxuriam, nulli voluit maritari, sed tanquam meretrix
improba omnibus generibus hominum se prostituit, omnibus
commiscens, nulli generi hominum parcens.   In fetore enim
unguentorum ejus currunt homines incauti ad ipsius prostibu-
lum, tanquam aves ad laqueum, etc.

Die beiden erzählungen stimmen so genau überein, dass
wir nach einem grunde suchen, der die geringen abweich-
ungen erklärt.   Das deutsche gedicht erwähnt nur acht töch-
ter ; das sacrilegium der bauern, die den zehnten nicht
bezahlen, ist ausgelassen, dagegen sind die edelleute des
wuchers beschuldigt.   Der dichter spricht ganz in dem tone
des Kaufringer und wird wie dieser wohl dem bäuerlichen
stande angehört haben.   (Vergl. Bibliothek des Littera-
rischen Vereins in Stuttgart, CLXXXVII. p. viii.)

Von deutschen versionen kann ich nur auf das gedicht
Jörg Schillers aufmerksam machen, das Ph. Wackernagel, *Das
deutsche Kirchenlied*, 2. no. 1055 veröffentlicht hat.   Des
weiteren verweise ich auf das, was der herausgeber der exem-
pla in seinen trefflichen anmerkungen sagt.   Danach ist noch
eine bearbeitung bekannt in den Fiore di Virtù, Napoli, 1870,
p. 74, die nach den italienischen herausgebern auf die Vite dei
Santi Padri zurückgehen soll, was wohl abzuweisen ist.   Eine
uebersetzung des italienischen originals (1320 cr.) vollen-
dete Hans Vintler im jahre 1411 ; cf. ZfdPh. II, 185 ; ZfdA.
X, 259.   Auch der codex 619 des zwölften bis dreizehnten
jahrhunderts in der vatikanischen bibliothek enthält dieselbe
erzählung.   Ebenso erwähnen die sechs zeilen eines *dit* in
Jubinal, *Nouveau Recueil*, Paris, 1836, I. p. 283, in aller kürze
die weibliche nachkommenschaft des teufels.

University of Chicago.   H. Schmidt-Wartenberg.

REVIEWS.

Die Syntax in den Werken Alfreds des Grossen. Von Dr.
J. Ernst Wülfing. Zweiten Teiles erste Hälfte. P. Han-
stein: Bonn, 1897. Pp. xiv, 250.

In 1894 there issued from the press of Hanstein at Bonn the first
part of Dr. J. E. Wülfing's *Syntax in the Works of Alfred,* a work
which promised, in spite of certain grave shortcomings, to be the
most important contribution yet made to a knowledge of the modes
of expression in the earliest stage of our language. The present
instalment, devoted to verb-syntax, follows closely the plan, and has
all the excellences, of the first part; of the defects there noted, some
have been in a measure corrected, while others, which seem to have
their root in the author's temperament, are still present in as irritat-
ing a form as ever.

The scope of the work has increased as it has progressed. The
latter half of this second part will treat of adverbs, prepositions, and
conjunctions, thus completing the syntax of the parts of speech,
while a third volume will be required for the discussion of the syntax
of the sentence.

In his preface, Dr. Wülfing pays his respects to his various critics,
defending his methods against their strictures. He has, however,
yielded to their suggestions, and materially added to the value of his
work by introducing frequent examples of the phenomena under dis-
cussion from non-Alfredian prose texts; the territory thus annexed
includes the Laws of Æðelbirht, Hloðhære, Ine, and Wihtræd, the
Blickling Homilies, those of Wulfstan, the Gospel of Luke, the Legends
of the Holy Rood, Ælfric's Homilies, the Chronicle, and the North-
umbrian Matthew, the citations from the last three being confined al-
most exclusively to the selections in Kluge's *Lesebuch.* One is a little
surprised that a scholar of Wülfing's thoroughness — a trait of which
new evidence is given by the four pages of Errata and Addenda,
mostly to Vol. I., which are prefixed to the volume in hand — should

be satisfied with 'choice selections' made for purposes quite other than syntactical.

The mechanical excellences of the book are the same which were so commendable in Part I. The table of contents, the system of cross-references — giving not only section, but page — the variety in the types, and all the modes devised for making the matter easy of reference, leave little to be desired in this direction. Summary lists, such as were so helpful at the close of Part I., are promised for the end of the second half of Part II.

But from one who has so just an appreciation of the value of form in a work of this sort, it is a surprise to discover such inconsistencies in arrangement as present themselves throughout the book. To cite a few: In the treatment of reflexive verbs (pp. 2–18), a section is devoted to each construction, and, within each section, the verbs are arranged alphabetically; this seems the obvious and ideal arrangement. In the portion of the book (pp. 73–233) in which subordinate clauses, infinitives, and participles are discussed, the verbs on which these various adjuncts depend are arranged in no discoverable order; the supposition is that a 'subjective' order, fitted to his view of the requirements of each construction, exists in the author's brain; but, except for an occasional statement to the effect that he follows some other grammarian's classification, the reader is left without a clue. The verbal substantives, beginning on p. 233, are placed in alphabetical order; a section each is given to those in *-ing* and *-eng*, while those in *-ung* are divided into nineteen sections, some of them containing but a single example, corresponding to the initial letters of the words which they contain. If only the *Uebersichtlichkeit* might be spread out a little more, and not thus congested where it is least needed !

Again, in his treatment of dependent clauses, he ordinarily makes no distinction among the introducing conjunctions. These are tumbled in a heap at the head of the section; and if you wish to discover how they differ in application, you may search for yourself in the mess of examples which follow. Thus, we have, as introducing temporal clauses denoting 'the point of time at which a thing takes place': '*ða, ða ða, ðonne, ðonne ðonne*, time-word+*ðe, ðe* (? *Or.* 2, 6), *mid ðy ðe* (*Bo.* 548, 43), *mid ðam ðe* (*Bo.* 6, 24), *ðær, ðær ðær, þonecan þe* (*Bo.* 146, 22 ; 100, 13 ; 138, 18), *þonne ær þe* (? *Bo.* 116, 1), *swa oft swa, swa hwanne swa* (*Cp.* 389, 35),' an interesting and varied collection surely, but presented without

comment, and affording, in the section which follows, no means of viewing at once all the examples of the use of a given conjunction, except in the case of the rarer ones, the occurrences of which are designated in parenthesis after the conjunction in the list, as above. But, on turning to p. 127, we see with joy that Wülfing has arranged his conditional clauses under the introductory conjunctions; even here, however, he fails us at the end, where (§ 457, p. 146) he gives a half-page of unassorted conditions with 'andere Fügewörter,' some of them very unusual, with no other comment (aside from an interrogation) save that afforded by the Latin original, which he usually, as in all doubtful cases where possible, subjoins in parenthesis.

It is, however, only just to Dr. Wülfing to give him the benefit of the conjecture that much which he has failed to give us here will be supplied in the sections on the conjunctions and on the syntax of the sentence.

In his preface, the author defends himself against Holthausen's and Kellner's charge that he does not sufficiently emphasize what is characteristic in Alfred's syntax, by saying that his book is not a treatise on the peculiarities of Alfred's syntax, but an account of Old English syntax, as it exists in the works of Alfred. If this is the case, why does he mention, as at the top of p. 38, phenomena which are not found in Alfred, and may only possibly ('wohl') exist elsewhere? If he is giving merely the unrelated syntax of Alfred, why contrast the rarity of a construction, as *b*, top of p. 194, with its frequency in the poetry? At the end of a section, as pp. 32, 140, 145, 175, 197, he frequently presents collections of 'Einzelheiten,' in which, if anywhere, the flavor of Alfredian syntax is to be found. In some cases these are discussed, often with great good sense; as often they are merely named, or (as pp. 140 and 175) left in an indiscriminate pile for who will to rake over and label.

This reticence in matters of theory is, after all, the vital point of Wülfing's method, by which he must be approved or condemned. As a storehouse of materials his work is of great value; here he is on his chosen ground, and a more careful or trustworthy collector of phenomena we could not desire; but as a reasoned account of Old English syntax, or even of that syntax as exemplified in Alfred's writings, his book is a disappointment. Wülfing makes many an illuminative comment on single passages, he proposes occasional emendations and corrects mistranslations, and he gives the Latin originals of his passages, to justify his classification; but that classi-

fication, as in the cases mentioned just above, is still rough, and, worst of all, there is practically no attempt to explain, or even to suggest by arrangement, the probable development of a construction or series of constructions, or the true nature of idiomatic expressions ; or to account for the employment of a word or construction for purposes apparently far removed from those native to it. Sporadic outbursts of explanation there are, as the comment on the various subjunctives in §§ 437, 439, and 441 ; but just as the reader is congratulating himself on Wülfing's change of heart, he looks across the page and finds § 443, much longer than any one of the others, and quite parallel in scope, with not a single comment vouchsafed. From these facts only one conclusion can be drawn : the ground must all be worked over anew by some one who will use this material, like that presented by the unnumbered makers of little dissertations, merely as data for a philosophical treatment of the subject. Dr. Wülfing has missed a rare opportunity ; his labor has not indeed been in vain, for he has spread before us a large mass of material ; but with so much material in hand, supplemented by such other matter as he occasionally introduces in the section of his work before us, he might, with little more pains, have made a book which would have taken its place for many years to come as a serviceable, even if not ultimate, handbook of Old English syntax.

At the foot of p. 101, he quotes from Dietrich, apropos of the use of an imperative for the subjunctive : 'The simple mention of a so-called variation from the norm would furnish no scientific justification for the change.' Wülfing apparently endorses this sound statement ; yet I fear that the present work, judged by this self-accepted standard, would often be found sadly lacking. It is this failure to do more than 'simply mention' phenomena which gives the book the air of presenting nothing new. The large amount of fresh material is lost sight of, in the absence of fresh theory to keep pace with it.

In the present volume, beside Mätzner, whom he follows in his classification of infinitives, Wülfing owes much to the excellent dissertations of Blackburn, Fleischhauer, K. Köhler, Lüttgens, and Mather, all of whom he quotes at length in their various fields.

The author seems to have partially recovered from the healthy fear of dogmatizing in the matter of ambiguous forms, which he felt three years ago. Thus, he says (p. 52, foot) : 'The preterit has the force of the first conditional only in the subjunctive, although the

form sometimes appears to be that of the indicative.' There follow forms like *wæron, gedyde, hæfde*, together with others clearly subjunctive. On p. 60, 1, he says, 'In two passages a preterit indicative seems to represent the conditional.' In the first of these passages the verb is *mehton*. This seems both arbitrary and inconsistent. Similarly (pp. 46 D, and 52 *b*), he gives long lists of preterits used as pluperfects, with only in rare instances sufficient context to enable one to form any judgment in the matter; frequently only a single clause is given.

Thus much for general considerations. I subjoin a few points of detail, noted in passing.

P. 2, § 376. Taught by his colossal experience in the matter of transitive verbs followed by the accusative (to which he devoted one hundred and seventeen pages of his first part), Wülfing gives no list of intransitive verbs: 'das gehört . . . mehr ins Gebiet des Wörterbuches' (!).

P. 25, l. 8. *Bo.* 360, 2, *hwæðer ðu nu ongite hwider þios spræce wille* is cited as an example of *willan* as a verb of independent signification ('Begriffszeitwort') ; p. 31, l. 11, in *Cp.* 387, 14, *ðæt hie forgieten, hwider hie scylen, scylen* is regarded as an auxiliary, with ellipsis of the infinitive of a verb of motion. There is a manifest inconsistency here.

P. 31, l. 15 from foot. In *Bo.* 80, 29, *þæs leodhatan gewuna wæs þæt he wolde ælcne cuman swiþe arlice underfon, þonne he him ærest to com . . .; ac eft ær he him from cerde, he sceolde beon ofslegen*, Wülfing says that *wolde* and *sceolde* have the same meaning (= 'pflegen') ; while both may possibly, considered apart, be thus translated, an experiment will immediately prove that they are not interchangeable.

P. 40, § 399. Wülfing aptly quotes Schmidt, to the effect that a Latin deponent often induced the periphrastic form, with present participle, in Old English. A similar observation may be made regarding the effect of the Latin periphrastic future, as exemplified in § 400, p. 42.

P. 42, § 401. *Dælneomende* is probably already a noun, corresponding to *participes* (although cf. Lat. *participo*).

P. 46, § 408, 1. Under *wesan*, all the examples are from the root of *beon*. Similarly, on p. 55, § 412, 2, under *beon*, all the examples are from the root of *eom*, p. 51, l. 12. The example from Wulfstan, *þe leofað and rixað a butan ende*, is of interest, as being on the

border-line between the present and the future signification for the verbs, which may perhaps better be said here to combine the two meanings. It is certainly not a safe case to cite as a present used for the future.

P. 51, § 411. Why does not Wülfing give, as in the preceding section, examples of the preterit *als solches ?*

P. 71 *f*, § 422. Wülfing says that all these independent questions with the subjunctive have a note of indefiniteness ('unbestimmte'), which is denoted in German by 'wohl'; this determines the mode. The questions in this section seem to me rather to fall into two quite widely differing classes : those introduced by *hwæðer*, and those where another interrogative word is employed. *Hwæðer* corresponds to two uses of 'wohl': (1) the ironical (= Lat. *num*) ; *e.g.* *Bo.* 134, 1, *hwæþer þæt nu sie to talianne waclic and unnytt þætte nytwyrþost is eallra ðissa woruldþinga, þæt is anweald?* (2) as denoting that the sentence states the speaker's opinion (= Lat. *nonne*) ; *e.g. Bo.* 78, 15, *eala hwæþer ge netelican men ongiton, hwelc se wela sie?* The subjunctive is used in both forms of *hwæðer-*question, on account of the 'subjective' element which is present. In each case the question merely states a supposition or hypothesis, which is thrown into the interrogative form for the sake of making its expression as weak as possible. The questions introduced by some other word than *hwæðer* also fall into two classes : (1) Those which are derisive (similar to the first class of *hwæðer*-questions), as *Bo.* 74, 12, *eala hwæt se forma gitsere wære, þe ærest þa eorþan ongan delfan æfter golde?* These are merely rhetorical questions, not asked for information, or regarded from the standpoint of fact. (2) Those which expect a negative answer, as Ps. 43, 22, *hu ne wræce hit þonne God?* which is stated in a form (here negative, and expecting a positive answer) contrary to fact, and so unreal.

P. 76, l. 7. For *þæ*, read *þa*.

P. 77, Anm. 1. Here, as elsewhere, Wülfing refers to the headings in *Bede* and *Cura Pastoralis* as presenting certain peculiarities ; I would respectfully suggest these headings as a subject of investigation to some inquiring spirit. In this connection, I would like to call attention to the similitudes of the *Cura Pastoralis,* whose name is Legion, and a few of whose characteristics may be seen in § 456, p. 146 ; I know of no more interesting or promising field of study, cultural as well as linguistic, than is presented by these similitudes.

P. 88, § 426, *cweðan.* After this verb, which usually (cf. § 427) takes the subjunctive in an object-clause, something more than mere assertion is required to prove that *seglode* is indicative.

P. 104, *Or.* 2, 6. I believe *þe hie* to form a relative pronoun. The only case of *ðe* = 'when' with which I am acquainted — and even this I propose with much diffidence, — occurs in a late text (Homily on John xiii. 1–30, in the *Bibl. der Ags. Prosa,* Vol. III., p. 156, l. 114) : *Geearnode he þy syððan, þe he drihten heora ealra modgeðances cunnode, and be him sylfum hi ealle befran, hwæt hi wendon þæt he wære.*

P. 110, § 435. Wülfing finds only two cases of this construction — 'as soon as' clauses with subjunctive — in Alfred. In a treatise on Temporal Constructions in Old English Prose, which I expect to publish within a year, I hope to present a goodly number of such instances from other texts ; in the meantime I offer from Alfred, *Or.* 116, 27, *Bede* (Miller), 190, 15, and (with *meahton,* an ambiguous form) 248, 25.

P. 110, foot-note. May I suggest the possibility that Dr. Wülfing has misunderstood Förster's *allein* (= only) ?

P. 119, l. 9 from foot. For *Or.* 120, 12, read *Cp.* 120, 12.

P. 145, § 454. In *Be.* 494, 42, for *and nu,* Miller gives *ono nu.* It is unnecessary to note and to lament that Wülfing follows, in his selections from *Bede,* the readings of Smith, instead of the later and presumably more correct ones of Miller.

P. 151, Anm. May not the first part of *Bo.* 178, 8, introduced by *hwæðer,* be a rhetorical question of the sort discussed above under § 422, p. 71 ? This would leave *ðeah* to express the concession.

P. 177 ff., §§ 480–481 should be consolidated ; the dependence of the infinitive is under consideration ; the question of whether itself has or has not an object (*i.e.* whether it is the infinitive of a transitive or intransitive verb) is out of place here.

P. 238, ll. 12 ff. Wülfing adds to his list of *verbal* substantives in *-ing* : 'Von anderen Ableitungen auf *-ing* sind mir folgende aufgefallen : *dirling, ierming.*' These seem quite out of place here ; if a list of other derivatives were to be given, it should be much more complete.

FRANK H. CHASE.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

An Old English Grammar and Exercise Book. By C. Al-
  phonso Smith, A.M., Ph.D., Professor of English in the
  Louisiana State University. Allyn & Bacon : Boston, 1896.
  Pp. vi, 129.

In the preface to this neat and modest little volume Dr. Smith
claims that it treats 'only the essentials,' and that it 'is planned
more as a foundation for the study of Modern English grammar, of
historical English grammar, and of the principles of English ety-
mology, than as a general introduction to Germanic philology ' ; and
a little later he states as the object of the book ' to give an element-
ary knowledge of Early West Saxon prose.' ' Such knowledge,'
he adds, ' will also serve as the best introduction to the structure
both of Middle English and of Modern English, besides laying a
secure foundation for the scientific study of any other Germanic
tongue.' The separation of a general knowledge of Germanic phi-
lology from the scientific study of a Germanic tongue is a divorce to
which it is fair to suppose Dr. Smith would not theoretically consent ;
nevertheless it is one to which he has very nearly committed himself
by word, and which he has practically championed by the construc-
tion and arrangement of his grammar. It is impossible to estimate
his work without examining the underlying theory.

  The first question that naturally arises turns on the fitness of Old
English for such elementary study as is here suggested. ' The
essentials ' of any language are generally understood to be a know-
ledge of inflection and syntax sufficient to enable the student to
understand the expressions of others, and an aptness in the applica-
tion of this knowledge sufficient to enable him to express himself
through the medium of that language. So most people regard the
study of French and German, and so one may even justify the
Ollendorffian practice in, ' Have you the cork of the bottle of my
grandmother ? ' But is the object of Old English study similar?
Can one as easily justify turning from Modern to Old English, ' The
animal has the body of the woman's child ? ' In other words, is
Old English chiefly valuable as a medium of expression or as the key
to a process of development? According to Dr. Smith's own words,
he views it in the latter relation. His method is then open to criti-
cism ; for in his effort to make his subject simple and interesting, he
has sacrificed scientific accuracy. A grammar that omits entirely
the *j*- and *w*-divisions of the *o*- and *ā*- (or, as Dr. Smith prefers to

style them, the *a*- and *ō*-) declensions, that calls no attention to the umlaut in the *i*-declension, offers no explanation of umlaut superlatives, passes without comment the change of simple medial and final *b* to *f*, and dismisses contract verbs with the general statement, 'This [*h*] was dropped before *-an* of the infinitive, contraction and compensatory lengthening being the result,' — such a grammar may doubtless be helpful to a student desiring merely to read the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or the Old English versions of the Gospels; but it is not easy to see how it can lay 'a secure foundation for the scientific study of any other Germanic language,' inasmuch as it is not itself erected on a scientific basis.

That Old English is a suitable subject for elementary students there can be no doubt; but that it should be taught according to what are popularly considered elementary methods is a matter of very grave question, and Dr. Smith's book offers still another argument against it.   That is, it is not by ignoring, but by elucidating phonological laws, that one is to introduce students to linguistic science, and the maturity of the student in no way affects this principle, although it very materially determines the method of the explanation.   That Dr. Smith should not have worked on a different plan seems particularly unfortunate, as he has manifested great cleverness in stating his points clearly and concisely, as, for instance, in summing up the peculiarities of the various declensions.

The volume affords no place for the consideration of phonology, such statements as in the author's view are indispensable being scattered through the book: *e.g.* the *i*-umlaut table occurs in paragraph 58, in the chapter headed 'Present Indicative Endings of Strong Verbs'; the shifting of *a* to *æ* is noted in paragraph 27, in connection with the *a*-declension; the breaking of *a* is given in a note under the third conjugation; while there is no mention of the change of *a* before nasals.   Omitting what generally forms one of the earliest divisions of a grammar, Dr. Smith opens his Introduction with a short history of the language, and a consideration of sounds, syllables, accents, and inflections.   The second part is devoted to Etymology and Syntax, a very desirable emphasis being laid on the latter point. The various chapters in this part close with exercises for translation from Old to Modern English, and *vice versa*, the sentences being taken, as far as possible, from Old English texts.   The third part comprises selections from the Alfredian prose: the battle of Ashdown, the so-called Prayer of Alfred (the normalized version given

in Dr. Cook's *First Book in Old English*), and portions of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan.   The glossaries make the fourth part.

As a whole, the book seems to be a careful and conscientious expenditure of energy in a wrong direction.   Doubtless a scholarly teacher could use the book to the advantage of a class, but only by supplying the deficiencies by constant reference to the works to which Dr. Smith acknowledges himself continually indebted.   The question then arises, why the deficiencies?   Since the excerpts and modifications here offered are inadequate, the same process of selection from standard authorities which Dr. Smith has admitted must be followed by every one who attempts to use this grammar; hence it is not easy to see anything but the personal and subjective value of the work.   Indeed, it reminds one of Charles Lamb's irritation at 'a book all stops.'

ELIZABETH DEERING HANSCOM.

SMITH COLLEGE.

The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth.   Myra Reynolds.   Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.   1896.   Pp. x, 290.

IN her Introduction, Miss Reynolds gives an excellent review of preceding studies of the treatment of nature in literature.   The interesting thing is, that, although Schiller opened the discussion in 1794 with his *Ueber naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, five-sixths of the contributions to the subject have been published since 1882.

Following the Introduction are seven chapters, — The Treatment of Nature in English Classical Poetry; Indications of a New Attitude toward Nature; Gardening; Travels; Fiction; Landscape Painting; and a General Summary.

The first chapter opens with the cautious remark that "It is not the purpose to discover all that has been said about nature by the classical poets between 1623 and 1798.   It is the purpose rather to eliminate exceptions, and to dwell on the general obvious qualities, the typical features, of the classical poets' conception of nature" (p. 1).   Following out this principle, Miss Reynolds finds the characteristics of classical English poetry to be : Preference for city life; distaste for wild scenery and for the ocean; dislike of winter; disregard of the more delicate aspects of the sky; conventional epithets for scenery; conventional use of similes drawn from nature; distinct

subordination of nature to man, nature being used only as a back-ground ; wearisome conventionality of poetic diction in the iteration of such words as ' painted,' ' gaudy,' ' watery ' ; the prevalence of adjectives in -*y* ; and imitativeness of diction.

Most of these characteristics have long been commonplace in criticism of the eighteenth century, but Miss Reynolds has established them beyond question. Of special interest and, so far as I know, new, is the statement about the imitativeness of classical English poetry. Miss Reynolds has shown most clearly, I think, that very many of the stock *pseudo*-classic phrases which seem to us so ineffectively used, are nothing but imperfect, clumsily used translations of vivid Latin originals. The most notable are ' painted ' and ' purple,' this latter used, not as an impressionist might use it, but so vaguely that it often means almost less than nothing.

The statement that adjectives in -*y* are unusually prevalent in eighteenth-century poetry, I cannot accept. Miss Reynolds quotes a number of unusual words, such as ' paly,' ' dampy,' and ' heapy,' which would now have no termination or -*ing*. I grant at once that ' mossy,' ' mazy,' ' airy,' ' shady,' ' dewy,' and others still common, were overworked in the eighteenth century ; but I must take exceptions to the implication that *unusual* adjectives in -*y* are peculiarly characteristic of the eighteenth century. I have thus far collected some 650 adjectives in -*y*, of which 437 are in common use to-day. Of the remaining 213, 92 were used in the eighteenth century ; while the sixteenth century used 75, the seventeenth 111, and the nineteenth 116. Of the 92 used by the eighteenth century, it originated only 38, though the sixteenth originated 75, the seventeenth 67, and the nineteenth 33. The great users and coiners of such words were Shakspere, Keats, and Tennyson, none of them eighteenth-century writers.

On p. 41, I find this : " Another word of unusual application is ' towering.' When used of the Alps, it is easily understood ; but it seems a heavy word to apply to the flight of hawks, falcons, and eagles, though more appropriate there than when applied to swans and larks, and even to spiders. It probably meant simply ' ascending.' " This sounds very much as if Miss Reynolds had forgotten that long before the eighteenth century ' towering ' was one of the commonest terms of falconry, and used constantly of high flight. Compare Shakspere's " Falcon towering in her pride of place " (*Mac.* 2. 4. 12).

In a note on p. 56 is recorded the curious fact that "In the references to the nightingale by Chaucer, Milton, Cowper, Wordsworth, Keats, Shelley, Matthew Arnold, and Mrs. Browning, the only approaches to description of the appearance of the bird are Matthew Arnold's 'tawny-throated'; Keats' 'full-throated'; and Coleridge's 'Bright, bright eyes, their eyes both bright and full.'" And on p. 54, "Mr. Shairp credits Thomson with being the first poet to mention the fragrance of the bean fields; but Philips is at least twenty years ahead of Thomson in noting this fact." Oddly enough, I have run across two earlier instances, both, I think, first published in 1648, one in Herrick's *Hesperides* (No. 422 : *A Pastoral sung to the King*), "Each thing smells divinely redolent, Like to a field of beans when newly blown"; the other from Suckling's posthumous poems, "Rare perfumes all about, Such as bean-blossoms newly out" (*Upon My Lady Carlyle's walking in Hampton Court Garden*).

In Chap. II. the principle of Chap. I. is reversed, and the most significant things are the *exceptions* to the general habits of thought and expression. The whole chapter is a careful working out, in much detail, of the beginnings of the Romantic movement as shown in the attitude toward nature. Dr. Phelps' book on the *Beginnings of the English Romantic Movement* (1893) is of greater scope, but very much less detailed than this chapter, so that the two books supplement each other without in any way competing.

In the Summary, the most important and interesting statements are these : "The decisive beginnings of the new spirit in painting, fiction, and travels are about contemporary, but are thirty years behind poetry and gardening. Furthermore, the time between the decisive beginnings and the final full expression is greatly varied. In poetry it is seventy-three years, in gardening about sixty-five, in painting about fifty, in fiction not over twenty-five, and in travels only about fifteen years" (p. 243).

"As a rule, such significant poetry of nature as appeared during the transition period was the work of men who had spent much of their youth in the country or in country villages. It was practically their earliest poetic venture, and usually the work of their youth ; and, in most cases, where there was an extended literary career, the poetry of nature speedily gave way to work of a didactic or dramatic sort, in which nature played but a small part" (p. 244).

EDWARD PAYSON MORTON.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY.

Uno Lindelöf, *Glossar zur Altnorthumbrischen Evangelien-übersetzung in der Rushworth-Handschrift* (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ,* Tom. XXII., No. 5). Helsingfors, 1897. Pp. iv, 104.

This is a rather inconvenient quarto ($28\frac{3}{4} \times 16\frac{1}{4}$ in.) of some 104 pages, covering the so-called Rushworth[2], from Mk. 2. 15 to the end of John. The author, who is Docent of Germanic Philology at the University of Helsingfors, had already written two papers on inflectional and phonological points in the Rushworth and Lindisfarne Glosses (*Memoires de la Société Néo-Philologique à Helsingfors,* I. (1893) 219–302, and Herrig's *Archiv,* LXXXIX. 129 ff.), which were sound contributions to scholarship; and the present publication is deserving of the same praise.

As his general model, the author appears to have taken my *Glossary of the Old Northumbrian Gospels,* to which he several times refers. The following differences, however, may be noted :

(*a*) He does not mark quantity, nor assign diacritical indications to the derivative *e* and *o* (e, o), in the head-words of his articles.

(*b*) He is considerably less full in his citation of examples.

(*c*) The cross-references from simple words to their derivatives are contained in an appendix, instead of being incorporated into the glossary, and there are no cross-references under derivative suffixes. Under N, Lindelöf's matter is not more than two-fifths as much as in my book. This of course covers both (*b*) and (*c*).

(*d*) There is no Latin-Northumbrian Index.

(*e*) On the other hand, he has no such formidable list of *errata,* and he does have much fuller explanations of the glossator's blunders and oddities.

I have looked up the words contained on p. 25 of Skeat's *St. Mark,* and in the course of this operation noted the following facts with reference to Lindelöf's work :

(*a*) When his citations are incomplete, he frequently does not instance the first occurrence of a word in his texts. This seems to me misleading and indefensible. It is certainly as easy to cite the first occurrence as the second or the third.

(*b*) He sometimes follows the text in writing *v* for *u*, but often does not.

(*c*) He does not always note the abbreviations of proper names ; *e.g.* Iacobus, Mk. 3. 17.

(*d*) Under Iohannes, he has Mk. 3. 17 as *ns.*, instead of *as.*

(*e*) Under Hierusalem he says : ' oft verkürzt, keine form mit einer Endung.' But he overlooks Mk. 3. 22, where the word is spelled out in full.

(*f*) He notes *eft* only as a prefix, and gives no definition of it as an independent word, nor any instances, referring instead to the words with which it is compounded. But under *sona* there is no reference to the *eftsona* of Mk. 3. 20.

(*g*) The very common word *ilce* he has omitted altogether, without notice or correction.

(*h*) While he has very properly treated *efne* as a prefix in words like *efnegicegde*, though printed separately in the text, he has not been consistent with this in his treatment of *ðona* (*ðona comun = descenderant*).

However, after such deductions as these are made, it still remains true that the work is one for which we have every reason to be grateful, and that few persons would have been likely to do it better, if so well.

As Lindelöf speaks of undertaking ' die northumbrische Mundart in einem Zusammenhang,' it may be as well for me to state that my monograph, according to present plans, is to be published as a supplement to the *Journal of Germanic Philology*. For that reason, I trust he will wait yet a little, though of course the publication of any investigation on the *Rushworth* text is perfectly legitimate.

<div style="text-align:right">ALBERT S. COOK.</div>

The English Dialect Dictionary, edited by Joseph Wright, M.A., Ph.D., Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford. Part I., A–Ballot ; Part II., Ballow–Blare. London and New York [1896].

THE glorification of democracy brings with it the glorification of dialect. The provincial, feeling himself also to be a man like another —like the denizen of London or Paris, but uneasily conscious that the metropolitan is prodigiously scornful, or at least derisively tolerant, of his claims to equality, can never rest, in a democratic era, until he has vindicated for his rusticity the esteem, if not the applause, of the world. Dante, dreaming of a universal monarchy, could also

dream of a universal literary language for Italy, and by his writings do much to render it possible. The French writers of the age of Louis XIV. tended more and more to become purists in expression, and to eschew all terms save such as were recognized as belonging to the conventional language of literature. Monarchy has thus ever favored the authoritative regulation of language. Democracy, on the other hand, in exalting the individual, has necessarily rehabilitated idiom, dialect, even *patois*. Burns, the ploughman poet, brought Lowland Scotch into honor; and William Barnes has done a like service to the Dorsetshire dialect of this century. We Americans have been regaled with the dialect of the Tennessee Mountains, of the New England village, and of the Southern plantation, until critics prophesy a surfeit, and mildly protest against so lavishly overdoing a good thing. The popular writers of the day, whether they hail from Scotland or India, — wherewith do they charm their readers, or lure silver from the pockets of their hearers, if not by their titillating Doricisms, winged, no doubt, by the ardors of genius?

Nor has scholarship lagged behind. If it be indeed true that learning is aristocratic in the best sense, it cannot wholly resist the impulses of democracy. So, instead of the dictionary which is the Blue Book of select and noble words, we are beginning to have those which rather resemble huge drag-nets, cast abroad into the swarming deep, and coming back laden with specimens of the most varied tribes, not all of which had hitherto been regarded as food for the epicure. The grammars restore and defend the locutions of Soloi; and the reign of equality, nay, of universal mutual superiority among words and constructions, has begun.

In this state of things, after English dialect glossaries have been piling up for decades, and America has at length her active Dialect Society, it was inevitable that an English Dialect Dictionary should be compiled by some one; and we can only be thankful that it has fallen to such competent hands — that the Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford is to edit it, and the Clarendon Press to print it.

According to the title-page, the Dictionary is to be the complete vocabulary of all dialect words still in use, or known to have been in use during the last two hundred years. American and colonial words are to be admitted only in so far as they are still in use in Great Britain and Ireland, or are found in early printed dialect books and glossaries. Words which differ in pronunciation from standard Eng-

lish no more than Sc. *amang* from Eng. *among*, and which are not noticeably different in meaning, seem to be excluded.   Notwithstand-ing these limitations, Part I., with 144 pages (beside the prefa-tory matter), contains 2166 simple and compound words and 500 phrases, illustrated by 8536 quotations, the latter not including the quotations from early writers within square brackets at the end of each article.   Part II., with the same number of pages, has 2695 simple and compound words and 267 phrases, illustrated by 7657 quotations, besides 5728 references to glossaries, manuscript collec-tions of dialect words, and other sources.

The Dictionary has been begun none too soon.   According to the editor, 'pure dialect speech is rapidly disappearing from our midst' (what will the self-constituted dictators of English among us say to 'from our midst'?), and 'in a few years it will be almost impossible to get accurate information about difficult points.   Even now it is sometimes found extremely difficult to ascertain the exact pronunciation and the various dialectic shades of meanings, especi-ally of words which occur both in the literary language and the dialects.'

In general, the work seems to be well done.   The etymologies can usually be trusted ; the quotations are copious, and are drawn from writers as late as Watson (called Maclaren) and Crockett, as well as earlier ones, like Scott and Burns ; and the typography is beautifully clear and varied.   Cross-references are, however, too scanty ; thus *airle-penny* (Burns' *My Tocher's the Jewel*) must be sought under *arles ;* this is almost enough to baffle the professional philologist.   Then an American may object that the implied promise of the Prefatory Note is not kept, and that American usage is not always recorded under the words which are at once English and American.   I instance two out of a much larger number, viz. *Anthony Over*, and *Bail* (of a pail).   The editor would do well to seek information more frequently from the American Dialect Society, and all the prominent contributors to *Dialect Notes*.   In this way, the value of the Dictionary to American readers would be con-siderably increased.   Meanwhile, it is cheering to note that prepara-tions for an American Dialect Dictionary have been well begun (see *Journal*, No. 1, p. 110).

Considering that the Dictionary is printed at the expense of Pro-fessor Wright, who bears this in addition to the editorial burden, it would seem that the friends of English learning everywhere should

encourage him to the utmost by their pecuniary support, especially
as professors, editors, and college students, to say nothing of the
general reader of popular dialect novels and tales, are likely at any
time to have occasion to consult this invaluable repertory of informa-
tion concerning provincial words.	Subscriptions may be sent direct
to Professor Wright, 6 Norham Road, Oxford, and it is to be hoped
that many more will reach him before the next part appears, espe-
cially as the complete list of subscribers will be printed when Vol. I.
is completed.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

Det Arnamagnæanske Haandskrift 310 *qvarto.* Saga Olafs
konungs Tryggvasonar er ritaði Oddr muncr. En gammel
norsk bearbeidelse af Odd Snorresøns paa latin skrevne
Saga om Kong Olaf Tryggvason. Udgivet for det
Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond af P. Groth. Chris-
tiania. Grøndahl & Sons Bøgtrykkeri. 1895.

THE historical value of Odd's report on King Olaf Tryggvason, its
close connection with other sögur, and the fact that it apparently
was the source of several of the most important among them, made
an accurate study of the whole material in question very desirable
indeed.	Many problems were still waiting for a positive answer: To
what extent did the author of *Fagrskinna,* of *Flateyarbók, Snorre,* and
other writers borrow from Odd directly or from one of his transla-
tors? and in the latter case which of them did they follow? where
did they copy each other? and did not, in turn, the one or the other
of them furnish some material to Odd himself, or to some of his
translators?	Indeed, there still existed much difference of opinion
as to the more fundamental questions : what is the age and charac-
ter and the relative value of the three known versions of Odd's work?
which of them represents most faithfully the original?

What now appears to be the main text, (*A*), the Arnamagnæan
manuscript, was available only in a somewhat antiquated edition, in
the collection of *Fornmanna Sögur,* Vol. X., and it had never been
studied with philological accuracy.	It was not astonishing, therefore,
that *Munch* — who in 1853 edited the other two versions, (*B*) the
Stockholm Ms., and (*C*) the Uppsalafragment — and *Storm* in his

Latinske Kildeskrifter til Norges Historie i Middelalderen, and *Mor-genstern*, and more recently *B. M. Olsen*, came to very different results with regard to most of the questions mentioned above. In 1886, at his teacher's, G. Storm's, own suggestion, our editor under-took what he intended to be ' en fuldt paalidelig og nøiagtig udgave' of *A* ; his edition is now before us, and so far as one can judge from the editor's method and from the whole character of his book, it appears to be a diplomatically exact rendering of the Ms. All the manifold forms of letters used in the codex, — such as *d, ð, ꝺ, þ ; u, v, þ, ꝼ*, etc., are equally distinguished in the printed text ; even evi-dent mistakes of the scribe are reproduced in the text, but usually indicated as such in the notes, and, besides, they are treated together in a special chapter. The abbreviations of the Ms. are also treated in a chapter of their own, while in the text itself all forms are printed in full, the part abbreviated in the codex being indicated by italics. Footnotes give further information on individual passages, and the whole is followed by a brief synopsis of the different chapters, together with additional notes of a textcritical nature, and by a very welcome index of proper names.

In short, the edition is a strictly philological one, and yet, while it must be admitted that the book is anything but attractive, typo-graphically,[1] the text will be found readable enough even by those who are interested in literary or historical questions only. Moreover, the historian — who would care but little for the minutiæ of Old Norse philology — will readily become reconciled with the editor's method, when he considers the wealth of new results which it has yielded. We will here review some of the more important ones.

The character of the Ms. is studied on the first forty-eight pages of the introduction, and a number of interesting points are brought out. From the next to consistent use of *ð* for later *d*, and the fre-quent occurrence of *ꝺ*, along with *þ*, the editor concludes, correctly, that the Ms. was probably written during the first half of the thir-teenth century, not towards the end of the same, as had been com-monly supposed. Other features, mainly the use of *æ* for *e* (in *ær, æn*, etc.), the interchange between *a* and *o* for the *u*-umlaut of *a*, the correct distinction between the sign for *ǿ, ø* on the one hand and *æ* on the other, perhaps the initial *u* in *uurðu, uox*, etc., point at a

---

[1] Few misprints seem to have escaped the editor's attention; we notice on page 42 *qange* for *gange*, page 45 *Allgemeimen* for *Allgemeinen*, page 62 *mun* for *nun*.

Norwegian, not an Icelandic scribe, while in the form *iak* for *ek*, and the use of *en* as conditional conjunction, Swedish influence is perceptible. The seemingly indiscriminate use of forms with and without initial *h* before *l*, *n*, and *r* is accounted for by the theory that the learned, conservative scribe had a preference for the archaic spelling with *h*, but in many cases, quite especially in words of a popular character, he unwittingly yielded to the common habit of his own time and country. The forms with *h*- do therefore not prove Icelandic origin or influence. All this is plausible enough, and the Norwegian origin of the Ms. may well be regarded as safely and definitely established. In regard to a few details, we would differ with the editor's interpretation of the Ms. spelling. His conclusion, against Hoffory, that medial *f* before voiced consonants was voiceless, is untenable ; it surely is not acceptable for the whole of Norwegian, and although the usage of our Ms. seems to indicate a (dialectal?) difference between medial *f* before vowels and before voiced consonants, the latter was not necessarily voiceless, but may have had a narrower lip articulation than between vowels. As to *z*, it must be admitted that this letter does not invariably stand for *ts* ; it occurs for *s*, *st*, and possibly for *þs*, but it is safe to say, that *d* and *ð* became unvoiced before *s*(*k*), and that *z*, in such cases, indicates *ts* and *þs*, not *ds* or *ðs*. Nor did the -*k* of the reflexive pronoun owe its retention to a dynamic reason, such as Groth suggests on page 38 : ' *k*-lyden i refleksivendelsen har sandsynligvis kun holdt sig i saadane tilfælde, hvor *z* paa grund af en foregaaende dental ikke i og for sig var tilstrækkelig tydeligt refleksivmærke.' The fate of the -*k*, as also that of the dental preceding the *s*-, depended primarily upon the character of the preceding and following sounds ; later the -*k* was gradually eliminated by analogy. But these details of phonology have no direct bearing on the character of our text, and for the present we return to the latter.

The next important point which is also decided definitely, I believe, is the fact that our Ms. is a direct translation from the Latin original. A large number of peculiar expressions, different from common usage and not to be found in the two other versions, or in the *Islendingabók*, point clearly at the immediate influence of the Latin prototype. Thus, the exceedingly frequent use of *at* with the dative of a noun and a participle is apparently a rendering of the Latin ablativus absolutus, f. i. *at bioðanða bonða*, where *B* has *siþan mellti buande ; at einum aftecnum*, as against *B : nema einn lutr ; at*

liðnum III nottum, for *B : sweckurum davgum siparr*, etc.   Another
significant construction the editor finds in : *at hann mætti allum
auðsær vera oc mal hans at heyra.*   In this phrase, he says, there
is nothing upon which the *at heyra* could grammatically depend ; it
is the idea of ' easy,' contained in *auðsær*, which governs the *at
heyra ; auðsær*, however, renders a Latin *facilis visu*, and upon this
facilis the following verb also depended in the original.   This
explanation, ingenious as it may be, is yet very unsafe, and, I believe,
unnecessary.   In the first place, the Latin, with *facilis* belonging to
two nouns and governing two supines, would not read very smoothly :
' *Ut (Olaus) facilis esset visu atque vox eius auditu.*'   On the other
hand, *B* has here as second part of the phrase : *oc allir metti mal
hans heyra ;* this points at a Latin *atque vox eius omnibus esset audi-
bilis*, or *ab omnibus audiri posset*, and why should not this be ren-
dered in Old Norwegian by the current construction, *allum mætti
vera* (like *verða*) *at heyra ?*   Another passage which Groth does not
seem to explain quite satisfactorily is *tóc hann þa við trausti þrónða
fyrst at upphafi. oc gauldóla.*   *B* has here *ok tok hann þa við trausti
Gauldóla at upphafe. ok þar með allra þrenda*, while in *Fagrskinna*
the corresponding passage reads : *tóku allir þrónðir vel við hanum
ok fyrst Gauldólir.*   The question is, does the passage in *A* mean
the same as the two others?   Groth says, against Morgenstern, that
it does, and I believe he is right, but I cannot accept his explanation
of the difficulty.   He quotes the use of Latin *que* as *explicativum ;*
however, as long as *fyrst at upphafi* refers to the *þrónder*, the *oc* may
at the most (= *que explicativum*) mean ' and among others also,'
' and especially also,' but never ' and first of all.'   Considering the
rather mechanical way in which the Latin text has been translated
throughout, it may be permitted rather to detach *fyrst at upphafi*
from *þrónða* entirely, to put a comma after *þrónða* instead of after
upphafi, and to understand *fyrst at 'upphafi oc G.* as rendering a
Latin *primumque G.*   In any case, the evidence presented by Groth
sufficiently proves that *A* is a direct translation from the Latin.
This refers also to the chapter on the introduction of Christianity
into Iceland, which was not taken from *Islendingabók ;* the probabil-
ity, indeed, is that Odd himself made use of Arne's report for a later
revision of his work.

   In the following chapter the editor compares our Ms. with *B* and
C, and he finds that *B*, the shorter version, is more remote from the
original than either *A* or *C*.   *B* quotes Odd, while *A* and *C* trans-

late his history.   Again, *A* and *C* represent two different phases in
the development of Odd's own work ; between them there came the
revision to which the author submitted his report in accordance with
the advice of Gissurr Hallson.   After quoting some of his main au-
thorities, Odd himself says, on page 120 of our edition, *Ec synða oc
bokina Gitsure hallz syni oc retta ec hana eptir hans raðe. oc haþum
ver þui halldit siþan.*

Thus it appears, that several passages which are lacking in *C* or in
B, and which were supposed to have gotten into *A* from other
sources, may well have been inserted by Odd himself, *A* representing
the revised version and *C* the earlier form of his history.   Concern-
ing Odd's relation to other contemporary and later writers we learn,
that only in revising his work did he make use of *Thjodrek's* history,
while nothing proves his indebtedness to the author of the *historia
Norvegiæ*.   As to *Fagrskinna*, the editor shows, against Morgenstern
and in continuation of G. Storm's investigations, — whose results are
somewhat modified, — that our translator did not use Fgrsk., and
that Fgrsk. used neither *A* nor *B*, but a version more explicit than
the latter, perhaps a Latin text, or a translation different from any of
the three we know.   *Snorre Sturlassön*, of course, used Odd's work
directly and also through the medium of Fgrsk., as G. Storm has
shown in his *Sn. St.'s Historieskrivning:* but which version did he
follow ?   Groth, taking issue again with Morgenstern, concludes, that
Heimskringla as well as, directly or indirectly, the later large history
of King Olaf and the *Flateyarbók* followed a text which in many
respects resembled *A*, simply because the latter represents the origi-
nal most faithfully.

We have been able to report only the main results of Groth's
investigations.   His book modifies, in a number of important points,
our views of Old Norse grammar and historiography.   We hope that
it will find its way into many Germanistic libraries and contribute its
share towards securing for Scandinavian studies the place which they
deserve to hold in our discipline.

Gustaf E. Karsten.

University of Indiana.

THE COLLEGE TEACHING OF ENGLISH.

THE object of this paper is to suggest, rather than to elaborate, a theory of teaching English. If in form it appears dogmatic, this is because the writer has aimed at brevity. In a subject of vast complexity and importance, he is but a learner like others. But, like others who have taught, he has made his observations, and deduced certain principles therefrom. These principles he ventures, in all modesty, to produce, as his contribution to the common fund of ideas upon a topic which, though it has been much discussed, will not for many a day have had the last word said upon it.

How we shall teach English, in college, university, or school, depends upon our answer to the question *why* we should teach it.

The answer to the latter question is twofold: One concerns the individual, and one the State. The individual should become wiser, more just, more gentle, more humane,[1] because of it. Then, the individual should be prepared by it to combine more effectively with others for the advancement of the great ends of communal, civic, and national life.

The individual becomes wiser only as he learns to decide and to do. Reading does not necessarily make one wiser. Neither does listening necessarily make one wiser. Wisdom implies what the psychologists call self-activity. We learn by deciding ; and we learn by doing. All else, while it may profit, profits in a less degree.

---

[1] Compare the expression, 'The humanities.' Here must be included, of course, the cultivation of the æsthetic sense. I leave out of account the question how far all education has these effects. It is sufficient that they flow from the proper teaching of English, and that in an eminent degree.

Deciding implies standards of judgment, principles to which reference may be made. Thus there are axioms in geometry, laws of combination and equivalence in chemistry, laws of motion in physics, laws of mental action in psychology, laws of syntax and prosody in Latin and Greek, laws of perspective in painting. No one would be expected to profit much by the study of any of these subjects who remained ignorant of its laws. No one would be expected to have a right to an opinion in these branches, unless he referred the special point under consideration to the body of knowledge, ordered and systematic, already extant. He would not be countenanced if he affirmed that, in these domains, the opinion of any one person was worth as much as that of any other. Should it be different in the English language and literature?

The study of principles facilitates the labor of acquisition. Suppose every theorem in geometry were to be read over without reference to fundamental truths, — how slow, laborious, and unsatisfactory would be the task! Suppose the study of light, heat, or electricity, without the fundamental concept of vibration!

The study of principles in English may be either deductive or inductive. If they are formally stated at the outset, they must then be verified by observation and experiment. If they are approached through phenomena, the process of discerning them must be quickened by the teacher, and thus is not purely inductive in reality, though sufficiently so in appearance to escape the offensiveness of dogmatism.

Cause and effect, antecedent and consequent, individual and environment, — such correlates must be continually present to the mind as one studies or teaches English. The antecedent will not always be in English itself; it will often be in some other language or literature. English must not be regarded, then, as an isolated set of phenomena. Æschylus may help to interpret Milton. Old French may help to interpret the language of Chaucer.

Language and literature are each joint products of the head and the heart. Accordingly, they must both be studied

with both head and heart. To become merely an æsthetic, a feeling, being in studying literature is as discreditable and shortsighted as to become merely a thinking, judging, and coldly intellectual being in the study of language. Language is the organ of literature, and literature yields up its highest significance only to the qualified student of language. On the other hand, literature is the form in which language discharges its highest function, and exhibits its highest potency. Hence the study of language conducted independently of literary considerations is comparatively unfruitful and devoid of charm. This does not, however, imply criticism of the scientific and exhaustive study of language; but, save in its more elementary forms, such study should be reserved for the university, as distinguished from the college.

If, as was said above, one of the two great ends of studying English is to make the individual wiser, more just, more gentle, more humane, then it follows that, in the choice of literature to be studied, that should have the preference which is the most perfect embodiment of the qualities of wisdom, justice, gentleness, and humanity, either singly, or, better, in fitting combination; and that such literature be eschewed, or relegated to a quite secondary place, as is the product of ignorance and folly, coarseness, depravity, and brutality. Of the latter sort of literature there is much in every language, and not a little in our own. The fact of its existence, however, is no reason why it should be sought out and dwelt upon.

But the study of English is also to be prosecuted for the advantage of the State, — of man in society, in coöperation. There is much that the individual cannot achieve by himself. A university, for example, is a communal product, the result of coöperation. So is a public school, or a public library. Man makes the most of himself, and gains the most for himself, by furthering all social activities which promote the spiritual progress of the race, the nation, or the community. From this certain consequences flow, which will be next considered.

The first consequence is that language and literature should be studied as the products of social life. They should be conceived as subject to laws which operate over long periods, and which result from racial or national constitution, experiences, and environment. In this way, one comes to discover the relation between the present status of a language or literature and the causes or conditions which are historically responsible for such status. One attains a perception of the relation between literature and the state of society of which it is an expression or index. Hence, with respect to the individual's function in the social order, one learns in what direction his efforts should tend for the conservation of a society in which language and literature are touching or approaching their acme, or, contrariwise, for the transformation of a society in which both are exhibiting a tendency toward degradation and foulness.

The second consequence is that literature distinctly antisocial in its tendency should be ignored. Those productions which tend to sap or disintegrate society should be regarded as inimical to the human race and to every individual comprised within it. The literature which would undermine the family, or sow distrust, envy, or suspicion broadcast among men, has no place in the class-room, save as the students can and do themselves detect and expose its vicious tendencies, and then only to an extremely limited amount.

The third consequence is the converse of the second. Such literature as is the highest embodiment of humanity and civilization should always have the preference, and such preference, if not exclusive, should at least be overwhelming. There is no need to teach cynicism or frivolity, bestiality or despair.

The foregoing considerations are general in their nature. Those which follow are more special, and suppose a fairly large college as the field of operation. I need hardly add that what I propose is merely an ideal, — that I have never seen it realized, and never expect to.

Organization. An English department, like a classical department, like a mathematical department, should have a

clearly defined, comprehensive purpose, which it is prepared to outline, to expound, to defend, to enforce. This purpose should be held intelligently, loyally, and enthusiastically by all the members of the department, and every one should be prepared to contribute his individual quota toward the accomplishment of it. To this end, coöperation is essential. No one individual can do all parts of the work equally well, yet every one may and should see just how the general good is subserved by his particular effort. Every one, therefore, should have received a training which takes account of the whole range of the discipline, and not of a fragment merely. Then, without having his task prescribed for him, he will know how to make his personal endowments and idiosyncrasies contribute to the development not only of his special branch, but to the upbuilding and establishment of the whole.

Scope and divisions of English work. English properly includes three main branches: (1) literature as a concrete product; (2) the instrument of literary expression; and (3) the principles of literary expression. These three are somewhat inadequately suggested by the terms literature, language, and rhetoric.[1] In practice, it is often convenient to emphasize one rather than another, but in theory they should be united, and in practice so far as the efficiency of the teaching is not thereby impaired.

Staff. It follows from the foregoing that there should be a sufficient number of teachers, all equally well trained, but of different ages, temperaments, and special inclinations, in order to secure at once variety and essential unity in the treatment of the vast subject. This number should not be exceeded by that of the staff of any other department, since there is no subject that concerns the student more nearly, and none more difficult to cover with the requisite thoroughness.

Subjects of the courses. The topics treated should denote

---

[1] Among the ancients, the function of rhetoric was primarily to train men for effective public speaking; though in modern times the appeal to the eye through print has to a considerable extent supplanted that to the ear, yet there is still occasion to insist that the original purpose of rhetoric should not be lost sight of. However, the principles of effective writing and of effective speaking are in many respects identical.

an approximately homogeneous content, or should at least permit of the exemplification of a characteristic, a tendency, or an evolution, or a related group of these, marked with considerable distinctness.   Courses which deal with mere sequences or groups of authors, unrelated save by the bond of chronology, should, as far as possible, be avoided.   If a course is apparently an exception, it should prove to be defensible by the disclosure of an unsuspected relation, which the instructor holds himself prepared to demonstrate to the general satisfaction.

Sequence of courses.   Fundamental courses should precede, and satisfactory attainments in them should be a prerequisite to admission into later and less essential ones.   The whole sequence and grouping of courses should exhibit a rational and self-consistent plan.

Method of instruction.   So far as practicable, every course should aim at securing the active coöperation of every student at every stage of its progress.   Exceptions, if any are admitted, should be distinctly recognized as such, and should be comparatively rare.   The topical method of investigation should be practised by the students, the topics being provided by the instructor, and the works to be consulted being either suggested by the instructor or discovered by the student.   The guidance of the students' own efforts should be the object proposed to himself by the teacher, and formal lectures should, for the most part, be given only occasionally, and with this end in view.   In addition to the foregoing, however, there should be supplementary courses, for mere entertainment and information, with or without examinations at the end; for these no official credit should be given.

Investigation.   Every teacher in the department should also be an investigator, who publishes the results of his scholarly labors, not once only, but from time to time.   It follows that he should not be unduly burdened by class-room duties or administrative occupations.   The continual acquisition and development of scholarship and taste demands leisure; and school, σχολή, means precisely that, *leisure*.   In other departments than English, taste is less necessary in

addition to scholarship, or else the results of scholarly activity in the past are better organized, and more readily accessible ; in such departments, therefore, leisure is less imperatively requisite for the purposes mentioned than it is in English.

Continuity of effort. There should be open to every student an opportunity to pursue English throughout the whole of every year of his college course. He should thus be enabled to render his work continuous, if for any reason his interests demand it, through the secondary school and the college.

Yale University.   Albert S. Cook.

INDO–EUROPEAN ROOT–FORMATION.

THOSE who have attempted to trace the relation between any of the IE. languages must have been struck by the comparative paucity of undoubtedly related words which can be found in a vocabulary so extended. It is a further surprise to find such a multiplicity of roots, having the same or nearly the same meaning, distributed among the several languages.

The explanation of this lies in the fact that the roots of the original stock have been combined in various ways. If we analyze the so-called roots in the manner of Per Persson, in his *Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzel-variation*, we shall greatly increase the number of possible connections and greatly reduce the number of separate roots. And this I believe to be the true method. The roots as we find them may be greatly changed, may have been confused in some instances with one another; but that does not alter the fact that it is really compound and not simple roots that we have to deal with. Few would perhaps dispute this.

The matter resolves itself, then, into a question of method: Shall we take the roots as we find them, or try to reduce them to a simpler form? I see no difference in principle between cutting off the suffix and comparing what remains in Gk. πλή-ρης and Lat. *plē-nus*, and doing the same thing in such combinations as *x-b, x-bh, x-p, x-t, x-d*, etc., where *x* denotes a common element with a common meaning, and *b, bh*, etc., various determinatives. Now those who are opposed to this method, when they find *x-b* and *x-bh*, and are convinced that they are cognate, avoid the difficulty by calling them by-forms. And yet if the same persons discover an IE. root *bha* and another with a similar meaning, *ba*, they would doubtless hesitate to connect them. Now that to my mind seems

unscientific. Until it is proved that *b* and *bh* are interchange-
able it is no explanation to say that *x-b* and *x-bh* are by-forms.
So they are by-forms, just as πλήρης and *plēnus* are.

It is generally admitted that what we now call suffixes had
once a separate existence, that the formation of a stem was
essentially the same as the formation of a compound. That
being the case, why are the suffixes usually so much shorter
than the root to which they are appended? Simply because
the suffix is the last of possibly several suffixes.

Suppose now that we start with a root *eu̯*, *u̯*, meaning 'to
turn' or 'move back and forth.' To this may be added
various other roots, modifying or intensifying the force of
the original, or indicating the source or the agency. So we
may have **u̯e-i̯o-*, **u̯e-u̯o-*, **u̯e-lo-*, **u̯e-ro-*, **u̯e-bho-*, **u̯e-dho-*, etc.
These, in turn, may become the bases, or so-called roots, of
further formations, and we get **u̯ei̯-do-*, **u̯eu̯-do-*, **u̯el-do-*, etc.,
or **u̯ei̯-bo-*, **u̯el-bo-*, etc. Or through a prefixed element there
may arise **s-u̯elo-*, **s-u̯ero-*. Such I believe to be the process
in the growth of words in IE., and this, among other things
growing out of it, I shall attempt to prove in the following
discussion.

Suffixes. It is necessary first to examine the suffixes, and,
wherever possible, to explain their origin. And here we
should look first to the demonstrative roots, for there we
shall be most likely to meet with the oldest elements of the
IE. speech. Others have sought here for primitive stems,
and whether or not it is scientific, it is reasonable.

Language has developed, like everything else, from small
beginnings. What is more natural than to suppose that
among the earliest elements were utterances pointing out
this or that? To give one illustration here, let us take
Gothic *saihvan*. This, according to Fay, *A. J. P.* XVI. 22,
has its origin in an exclamatory demonstrative. He might
have made a very plausible case if he had referred to Goth.
sai, OHG. *sē*, *sē-nu*, 'behold! see!' which has been ex-
plained as **so-id* by Osthoff, *PBB.* VIII. 311 ff. This is noth-
ing but the demonstrative calling attention to something, just
as we might say 'There!' meaning 'Look there!' And what

else is Goth. *hiri, hirjats, hirjiþ,* but the adverb supplied with verbal endings because it is used as a verb? Goth. *saihvan,* then — but not Gk. ἕπομαι, Lat. *sequor,* whose origin is different — may very well have arisen from the dem. *so* used in this way.

It will be seen from an examination of the pronominal stems that they coincide with many of the nominal and verbal suffixes. This coincidence indicates a common origin. And such an explanation has been given in the case of some of them. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss,* II. 768.

The personal pronouns were undoubtedly demonstrative in origin (cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* § 493). In the first person we have the stems $*e$-$\hat{g}\breve{o}$-, $*e$-$\hat{g}h\breve{o}$-, which may be compound, $*e$-me, $*ne$; dual and plural, $*\mu o$, $*no$, with remains of other stems in the case suffixes. These stems evidently denoted the nearest relation to one's self. The first part of the stem is perhaps the pron. stem $*o$, $*e$, Brug. II. 801 ff., and identical with the suf. -o, -e. In -$\hat{g}o$- we have possibly the same element as in the similar suffix in the noun and verb, as Skt. *bhrájate,* 'beams,' Av. *barāza,* 'beaming' (cf. Persson, *Wz.* p. 20), and in $\hat{g}ho$- the same as in Skt. *spṛhayati,* 'desires eagerly,' Lett. *spars,* 'energy,' etc., Pers. *Wz.* p. 27. In $*mo$-, $*me$- we may see the nominal suffix, and possibly also the accusative case-suffix, and other case-suffixes containing the base *mo, me.* The stem $*no$, $*ne$ occurs also as a demonstrative stem, and is further the nominal and verbal suffix.

In the second person singular occur the stems $*to$, $*\mu o$, or the two combined, and in the dual and plur. $*\mu o$, $*i̯o$. Forms beginning *te-,* as OHG. *dih,* O. Ch. Sl. *tebe,* have the simple stem $*to$; those beginning *tŭ-* are composed of $*to + *\mu o$. In the same manner, Goth. *jŭ-s* may be explained as the 'schwundstufe' of $*i̯e$-μe-s. Cf. Johansson, *Bez. Beitr.* XV. 313 ff., XVI. 163, and Brugmann, *Grd.* II. § 435, An.

These stems were very common as noun and verb suffixes, and, together with the others mentioned and those to be discussed later, were well adapted to form adjectives or nouns of agency, which, of course, might develop in various ways in noun and verb. For any of these pronominal stems added

to a root would fix the idea conveyed, or indicate the agent. The stems of the second person naturally denoted a relation somewhat more remote from the speaker than those of the first.   The stem *$u̯o$-, it is true, is common to both, but is used only in the dual and plural of the first person, and 'we' includes the person addressed as well as the speaker.

The stem *$i̯o$ is especially interesting.   It implies something removed, primarily, from the speaker, and then from that to which the speaker may refer.   From the idea of separation easily arose that of source, on the one hand, with its various meanings of 'belonging to,' 'pertaining to,' 'coming from,' 'originating in,' etc. ; and that of difference, on the other hand, from which comes its force as a comparative suffix.   Every way in which this suffix is used may be explained in this manner.   Moreover, its use as a relative is easily accounted for, since it denoted something pertaining to the person or thing referred to.   Enlarged, this suffix appears as -$i̯en$-, -$i̯on$-, and in its comparative force as $i̯e$-s, $i̯o$-s.   Further, I believe this to be the -$i̯o$ of the genitive singular of o-stems, as Gk. λύκο-ιο, ἐμε-ῖο, and in its 'schwundstufe' in μοὶ and Thess. χρόνοι.   I do not see, at least, how it can be separated from possessive pronouns with this suffix, as Lat. *meus* < *$me-i̯o-s$, which Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 125, places here.   It is even possible that this root is contained in the verb *$ei̯$, 'to go.'   The meaning is at least very near.

The corresponding feminine suffix is -$ī$-, -$i̯ē$-, which in its character as a suffix forming collectives (cf. V. Michels, *Germania*, XXXVI. 121) may well be the optative suffix -$ī$-, -$i̯ē$- ; for what 'is to be done' or 'should be done' (cf. Skt. *yajyas*, 'reverendus') easily passes into what one wishes done or to do.

In the reflexive are united the stems *so, *$u̯o$ in the same manner as *to-, $u̯o$- in the second person, *so- occurring alone as *to- does.   This stem *so- is the *so of the demonstrative, which supplies the nominative to the reflexive.   The use as a reflexive was not original, but was the natural outgrowth of its use in connection with the subject in the third person. It is possible that this stem furnished the suffix for a few

verbs whose stem ends in *s*, but in most cases the origin of
this *s* was different. It was used, however, as I believe, in
the formation of the nominal declension. The *s* occurring
here is the appended original demonstrative **so*, which prob-
ably appears also in Skt. *nas, vas,* and in this way was the
same as the *s* of the plural, as Torp supposes. Cf. Brugmann,
Grd. II. 519. An appended demonstrative is not a strange
thing in the development of the IE. languages. In the de-
clensions we undoubtedly have compounds formed in the
same manner as the nominal stem, which was certainly in
many instances composed of root + pronominal stem. And
this same process has been repeated in later times, as in Lith.
and in ON.

The nominative case suffix, then, is our demonstrative **so* in
its 'schwundstufe.' It will be noticed, too, that it does not
occur with **so*, which was never **sos* originally, but does
occur with all other masculine *o*-stems, at least. The gen. suf.
-sį̓o would be just what we should expect from a stem **-so*,
assuming, as we have, that *-įo* is here the real genitive suffix.
And yet it is probable that this was not original, since the
development of relation of one form to another was much
later. The genitive suffix in the form *-so* is none the less the
demonstrative. So too the *s* in other cases points to this
origin, especially in the locative suf. *-su, -si*.

There occur further as demonstrative stems, besides those
mentioned as forming the personal pronouns, also *k̂o-* and *k̂įo-*
from *k̂o + įo*; *qᵘo-* and *qᵘi-* from *qᵘo- + į(o)*, and *qᵘu-* from
qᵘo- + u(o) ; *sįo-* from *so- + įo-*. All of these, at least in their
simple forms, recur as suffixes in noun and verb stems.

Besides these are other suffixes not of pronominal ori-
gin, or at least not connected with stems of pronouns that
remain as such. Two suffixes, *(e)lo-, (e)ro-,* or *el-, er-,* in their
various forms, furnish the most common IE. suffix to form
nouns of agency or instrument. The suf. *el(o-), (e)lo-* is the
verbal root **el-* in Gk. ἐλ-άω, ἐλ-θεῖν, the primary meaning of
which was 'to proceed or spring from,' and hence denoted
the source of the act, and consequently the agent or the in-
strument. In its development as a diminutive suffix it is

parallel with the suf. *-io-*. The suf. *-telo-, -tel-, tlo-* is a compound of *-to-* + *-lo-* (cf. Persson, *Wz.* p. 202 ff., and the literature given there).

The suf. (*e*)*ro-, -er*(*o*) comes likewise from a verbal root **er-*, 'to spring up,' 'to rise,' 'to go,' in Skt. *r̥-n̥óti*, 'rises,' Gk. ὄρ-νυμι, Lat. *or-ior*, and in Gk. ἔρ-χομαι, etc. As in *-elo-*, a longer form *-tero-, -tro-, -ter-* is composed of *-to-* + *-ro-*. The development in meaning was similar to that of (*t*)*elo-*. The comparative suffix was the natural outgrowth of the idea of separation, as in the *-io-* suffix. Like the *-io-* suffix, it is also used as a genitive case suffix, as in ON. *vār*, 'of us,' Goth. *unsara*, OHG. *unsēr*, and in the form *-tero-* in the genitive and possessive pronoun, as Lat. *nostrī, nostrum*, and *noster*, Gk. ἡμέ-τερο-ς. This is not a development of the comparative suffix, but both grew out of the same idea of source or separation. Lat. *meus* < **me-io-s* from the stem *me* is exactly parallel to *noster* from *nos*. These possessives seem to be closely connected with corresponding genitive forms, as ON. gen. *vār* <**uē-ro*, poss. *vārr* < **u̯ē-ro-s ;* IE. **me-io-s* from gen. **me-i̯*(*o*). Exactly similar is Skt. gen. *táva*, poss. *tvás*, Gk. τεός, Lat. *tovos*. For further examples cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 823 ff. This, it seems to me, proves that the *-io-* as well as the (*t*)*ero-* suffix is of the same origin in the genitive, the possessive, the comparative, and elsewhere. It is needless to say that the same suffix in the formation of the verb-stem is identical, for this is always the case. It may be called a suffix in one place, and a root-determinative in another, but it is the same thing. For my part, I prefer the term suffix throughout.

The suffixes *-dho-* and *-do-* are used similarly in noun and verb, the former from the root **dhē*, 'to put, do,' the latter from the root **dō*, 'to give' (cf. Brugmann, II. 1045 ff.). The suf. *-dho-* appears compounded with *-ro-* and *-lo-*, as *-dhro-* and *-dhlo-*. The suf. *-d-* in the noun I consider identical with the element *-do-* of the verb, from the root **dō-*, 'to give.' Primarily it would indicate the source or agent. Skt. *jala-da-s*, 'water-giving,' or Lat. *lūci-du-s*, 'light-giving,' differ from Gk. μηκάς, 'bleating,' 'bleater' (*i.e.* 'bleat-giving') or λαμπάς, 'the light-giver,' 'the torch,' only in being later formations.

Of course, after the suffix had become productive, it was used, like any other suffix, with a weakened feeling for the original meaning. The earliest use of it is as an ablative case suffix. If this be the origin, it came to its use through the idea of separation involved in the compound thus formed.

The suf. -*bho*- may be connected with the verb **bh-eu̯*-, 'to become,' 'to spring up.' This would also express the source, forming adjectives denoting the source, or nouns of agency or instrument. For examples, see Brugmann, *Grd*. II. 203 ff. Under this head would come the adverbial suf. -*ba* in *ubila-ba*, 'ill,' 'evilly,' which brings us to the conclusion that the same element is contained in the case-suffixes beginning with *bh*-, the instrumental and the ablative. Starting with the meaning contained in √ **bheu̯*-, the further development of this suffix is quite natural. See Persson as above.

In the suf. *es*, *os*, occurring in nouns, and in verbs in forming desideratives, the future and the aorist, as well as the infinitive, Skt. -*sē*, Gk. -*σαι*, Lat. -*re*, Bopp recognized the root *es*-, 'to be.' See Bopp, *Vergl. Gram*. II[3]. 425, 540, and III[3]. 107, 271, 398. His view seems to be abandoned. That he was right, however, I shall attempt to prove. It is admitted that there is a connection between the several formations, but that one is the natural outgrowth of another has not, so far as I know, been in every particular pointed out. First, what was the primary meaning of the IE. root **es*-? Certainly not 'being' or 'existence,' for of that the pro-ethnic man could have no conception. It probably signified a continuing or remaining as distinguished from a wandering life. The same meaning inheres in the root **u̯es*-, which possibly may be a compound of **es*-. At any rate this is a natural development.

If the primary meaning is 'to remain,' verbs and nouns formed with this as a suffix ought to imply a continuance of the activity expressed. This, I think, is the case, at least primarily. To the stem IE. *k̑leu̯*-, 'to hear,' belong O. Ch. Sl. *slovo*, 'word,' Skt. *çrávas*, Gk. *κλέος*, 'renown,' the continuance of the hearing. So √ *nem*-, to bend : Skt. *nam-as*, 'a bending, honoring'; √ *g̑ʰher*-, 'warm' : Gk. *θέρος*, 'heat,

summer,' Skt. *háras*, 'heat'; √ *ten*, 'to hold' : Gk. τένος, 'a
band,' something that continues to hold. Continued action
is more or less apparent in Gk. ζεῦγος, 'a yoke,' 'a pair';
ἕρκος, 'inclosed space'; κεῦθος, 'abyss'; πένθος, 'sorrow';
ψῦχος, 'cold, coldness'; Lat. *opus*, 'work'; and many others.

The adjectives in -*es* regularly express a continuous quality,
as ψευδής, 'deceitful'; εὐμενής, 'well-disposed'; ἀσθενής
'weak'; Skt. *apás-*, 'active,' *tavás-*, 'strong,' *su-cétas-*, 'well-
disposed,' etc. Here, however, the continuous force might
arise regardless of the significance of the suffix.

It is in the verb that the character of this suffix is most
evident. From √ *eu-* in Lat. *ex-uō*, 'doff,' Skt. *v-as-té*,
'dresses,' *i.e.* continue wrapping one's self; √ *ter-*, 'to turn,'
'to tremble': Skt. *trásati*, Gk. τρέ(σ)ω, Lat. *terreō*, 'keep
trembling,' 'fear'; Lat. *videō*, 'see' : *vīsō*, Goth. *ga-weisōn*,
'to visit'; Skt. *dhṛ*, 'hold,' 'withstand' : *dhṛs*, Goth. *ga-dars*,
'to continue firm,' 'be bold'; Skt. *hárati*, 'take away' :
hrasati, 'continue taking away,' 'decrease.' Instead of ex-
pressing continued or repeated action the verb may be inten-
sive, as in Skt. *taṣati*, 'pull'; *bhāsati*, 'shine'; Gk. ὀδάξω,
'sting'; ξέ(σ)ω, 'smooth,' etc.

Enlarged, the suffix occurs as -*sko-*, forming iterative or
intensive verbs. Notice especially the Ionic iterative pre-
terits, as φεύγεσκον, ἐρίζεσκον, εἴπεσκον, etc., Brugmann, *Grd.*
II. 1032. Further: Lat. *hīscō*, *nōscō*, *crēscō*, *quiēscō*, *rubēscō*,
and many others with an inchoative meaning growing out of
the original continuous force of the suffix, and not 'due to
the accidentally inherent continuous character of a few verbs
of this class,' as Bloomfield, *IF.* IV. 68, puts it, in agreement
with Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 1036.

The next step in the development of verbs in -*es*- was to
pass into desideratives, since from the idea of continued or
repeated action arose that of attempted or desired action.
Compare the similar growth in the imperfect. That the two
ideas are closely connected is seen in the reverse develop-
ment of the English 'would,' as in 'he would go,' meaning
first 'he wished to go,' and then 'he used to go.' Examples
of desideratives it is not necessary to give.

From the desiderative it was a short remove to the future, as we see in the English 'he will go,' and such, we may be sure, was the procedure in IE. -s$i̯o$-, Skt. -*sya*. Cf. Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* 948, b.

These then are the principal suffixes recognized as such, and most of them have been referred to pronominal stems. It will be seen that many of these suffixes go in groups, as -*dho*-, -*do*-; -*ro*-, -*lo*-, etc. The reason of this is that their meaning was similar, not because there was a phonetic interchange. It remains, however, to show the connection between the suffixes in -*o* and those in -*i* and -*u*. The latter are formed from the corresponding *o*-stems by the addition of the suffixes -$i̯(o)$- and -$u̯(o)$-, just as stems in -*t* or -*n* come from stems in -*to*- and -*no*-. (Cf. Streitberg, *IF.* III. 305 ff.; Hirt, *Ind. Akz.* 220.) I believe the origin of all *i*- and *u*-stems to be of that character. They run parallel with the corresponding *o*-stems, though, of course, later words might be formed directly with the *i*- or *u*-suffix. There may even occur a union of -$i̯o$- and -$u̯o$-, as in Gk. υἱύς < *su-$i̯u(o)$-. If then the suf. -*tu*- is from -$te̯u(o)$ from -*to*-+-$u̯o$-, the suf. -$t̯u̯o$-, which is identical, should be divided -t-$u̯o$- and not -$t̯u$-o-. These compound suffixes were formed on stems ending in a simple suffix, as Goth. *lūni*-, 'ransom,' Skt. *lū-ni*-, 'a tearing loose': Skt. *lū-na*-, 'torn loose'; or *áçru* : *açrá*-, 'tear'; *patáru*- : *patará*-, 'flying.'

As $ŭ$ is the 'schwundstufe' of $(e)u̯o$-, we have a ready explanation for several forms that have caused difficulty. Goth. *tuggōn* seems not to correspond to OHG. *zungūn*. The $ū$ of OHG. has the same origin as the *y* of Slav. *bogynji*, 'goddess,' as Streitberg, *PBB.* XIV. 220, points out. Notice the Greek examples cited, as εὔθῡνα < *εὐθυνυ̯α, in which the *u* is from $u̯e$. Now the Goth. *tuggō* is in Lat. *lingua* (for **dingua*). The Goth. and OE. probably have compromise forms between **tungwō*, gen. **tungwōs*, and a stem **tungu̯en*-, while OHG. *zungūn* regularly represents the 'schwundstufe' of **tungu̯en*-. This same $ū$, from -$eu̯e$-, appears in several suffixes. The Gk. suf. -σννο- is compared by Persson, *Wz.* 53[7], to Skt. -*tvana*- and Lat. -*tūnā*- in *fortūna*. Other connec-

tions can be made. The Skt. suf. *tva*, which forms gerund-
ives, is simply the 'vollstufe' of the suf. *tu*. This in Gk.
forms participles of necessity in -τεο- for -τεϝο-, used actively
or passively. The same suffix, with an added -*ro*-, gives in
Lat. -*tūro*-, which forms future active participles. Compare
also Skt. -*tvara*- (Whitney, *Skt. Gr.* 1171. a), as in *itvara*,
'going.' It is evident that Lat. -*tūro*- can have no direct
connection with -*tor*-, for *r* tends to make or keep the vowel
open. Compare *melior : melius ; regeris : regis ;* Goth. *aírþa :
ita ; waúrd : tunþus*. It is more directly connected with the
to- suffix, as we see from Gk. -τεο- : -το-. The connection
made by Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 364, is therefore wrong, as are
also the various attempts to explain the verbal suf. -*turiō*,
used in Lat. to form desideratives. This -*turio*- is nothing
more nor less than a denominative to the future participle
in -*tūro*-, but with the vowel further reduced. It is easy to
see how the desiderative force comes in : *scripturiō* does not
differ greatly from *scriptūrus sum*.

Further, the Skt. -*tvá-tā* may be compared with Lat.
-*tū-t*(*i*), Germ. -*đū-þi*, with the same accent. As -*tā*- is a
secondary feminine to -*to*-, and -*t*- is from -*to*-, and -*ti*- from
te-i(*o*), we have for the original form of this suffix -*tué-to*- or
té-ue-to-. We might expect the same vowel-grade as in Skt.
The Lat. -*tūt*- may go back to -*teuet*-, as -*ūs* in the nominative
plural of *u*-stems comes from -*oues* < -*eues*. (Cf. also Gk.
-τεϝο- : Lat. *tū-ro*-, as above.) Goth. *đūþi*- may go back to
the suffix accented -*teuéti*-, a compromise between *téueti*
and *teuéti*.

-*Uo*- was also used as a comparative suffix, as in Skt. *pûr-
vas*, 'former,' Gk. πρᾶν < *πρω-ϝά-ν (Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 127),
and in Gk. λαιός, Lat. *laevos ;* Gk. σκαιός, Lat. *scaevos ;* Goth.
taihswa. It has a comparative force in Skt. *návas*, Lat.
novus (which is strengthened in Skt. *návyas*, Goth. *niujis*),
and in Gk. πολύς, πολλοῦ < *πολϝοῦ. This, I believe, is
also in Lat. *plūs, plous* < *ploves* < *plĕves*, in which -*ues* is
an extension of -*uo*-, as -*ies* of -*io*, Brugmann, *Grd.* II. § 136, 6.
The Germ. comparative -*ōza*- beside -*iza*- may possibly con-
tain this suffix. Goth. *frōdōza* may be for an original *frō-

dūza, in which -*ūz*-, the 'schwundstufe' of -(*e*)*ues*-, became -*ōz*-under the influence of the *o* of the stem.

The *ū*-stems, according to Hirt, *Ind. Akz.* 245, came from stems in -*uuo*-. I believe, in some cases, they came from stems in *ā͡xu(o-*), and that the *ū* with the slurred accent (schleifton) is the regular reduction of the long diphthong. This seems best to account for OE. *brāēw* < *bhrēuo-, OHG. *brāwa* < *bhrēuā-, Celt. *brīva:* OE. *brū*, ON. *brū-n*, Gk. ὀφρῦ-ς, Skt. *bhrū*. Those forms that are not directly reducible to long diphthongs may have acquired them by the usual process: -*ēu*- < -*euo*-. The splitting of the *ū*, as in acc. *bhúvam:* nom. *bhū́s*, is comparable to that of -*ām* in the genitive plural to -*aam*.

One other important suffix remains unexplained, viz. -(*e*)*po*- or -*ep(o)*, as in Lat. *cr-ep-āre*, *cl-epō*, Gk. κλ-έπ-τω, Goth. *hl-ifa*, etc. Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 55 ff., 202. As the root meaning of the verb to which this suffix is attached is not changed, but simply modified, the suffix must be an expression of the agency. An element with such a force would mean 'to make,' 'to do,' 'to cause,' or something similar. A root with this meaning is imbedded in Skt. *áp-as*, Lat. *opus*, 'work,' OHG. *uoben*. It occurs, as is known, in *svapas*, 'wonder-working,' where the meaning is exactly fitted to express agency. Goth. *hlifan*, then, would primarily be 'to make a concealment'; Gk. τρέπω (cf. O. Ch. Sl. *trepetŭ*, 'trembling,' Lat. *trepidus*), 'to make a turn.' Other examples are: Gk. δρέπω, 'pluck, reap,' δόρπον, 'meal'; Skt. *limpáti*, Lith. *limpù*, 'stick,' Goth. *bileiban*, 'stay'; and in such formations as Skt. *sthā̆-pá-yami*. For these and other examples, see Persson, *Wz.* 49 ff. Here also belongs Skt. *svapiti*, 'sleeps,' *svápna*, 'sleep,' Gk. ὕπνος, Lat. *somnus*, *sopor*, OE. *swefn*, from the root *su-*, 'to be heavy,' 'to press.'

Prefixed elements are not so easy to determine. It is not improbable that many roots are thus covered up. As examples of prefixed elements may be cited Gk. δάκρυ, Goth. *tagr:* Skt. *áçru*, Lith. *aszarà;* Lith. *dárbas*, 'work': Goth. *arbaips;* Skt. *dīrghá-*, 'long,' Gk. δολιχός, O. Ch. Sl. *dlŭgŭ:* Lith. *ilgas*. Such differences may be caused by assimilation to words of like meaning bringing out this addition, or in other

cases producing loss. For example, Lith. *dárbas* may have
taken the *d* from *děti*, 'to lay,' O. Ch. Sl. *děti*, 'to do.' In
Skt. *svādú-*, 'tasting good,' 'sweet,' Gk. ἡδύς, etc., and
svádati, 'make savory,' ' — agreeable,' Gk. ἀνδάνω, 'please,'
Lat. *persuādeō*, I think we undoubtedly have a compound of
su, 'well,' and the root *ed-*, 'eat.' The same root *su* is proba-
bly in Goth. *su-pōn*, 'to season'; in *su-pjan*, 'to soothe, itch,'
and Eng. *soothe*, from OE. **supian*, not from *sōpian*, 'to
verify,' which, in this meaning, has been lost.

Upon what principle, then, should we proceed in tracing
the origin of words? Shall we say that in Goth. *gateihan*
and *taikns* we have by-forms of a root *deik̑, deig̑*? I have
no objection to the expression if we are to understand by it
that we have a simpler root to which two different suffixes
have been added; but if we must believe that *k̑*, *g̑*, *g̑h*, or *t*,
d, *dh* are interchangeable, then why longer bother ourselves
with any phonetic laws when it is so easy to explain all vari-
ation in this manner? Per Persson, *Wz.* 193, speaks a sea-
sonable word on this subject in saying: 'Ich glaube eher,
dass hier [in connecting OHG. *sweifan* with Lith. *svaíg-ti*],
wie auch sonst, Erweiterung durch verschiedene Determina-
tive vorliegt.' I believe, further, that wherever we find a root.
beginning with two consonants it should lie under the sus-
picion of being a compound root. That is, a root in the form
tren is in most cases to be separated into *ter + en*. Nor have
we even then reached the last analysis. *Ter* may be for *et +
er*. In other words, I range myself with those who believe
that IE. roots were monosyllabic, and I also hold, and shall
try to make probable, that these roots began, for the most
part, with a vowel. The vowels certainly were the first utter-
ances, and though we cannot make the beginning of IE.
speech coeval with that of human speech, we may at least
assume that language, at that time, was in a very primitive
state, and that the words used were composed of fairly well
understood elements. If, therefore, proceeding in the strict-
est accordance with the known phonetic laws, we can sepa-
rate words now spoken into primitive, or rather simpler,
elements, something has been gained toward a better under-

standing of a subject which each in his way is trying to throw light upon.

The examples following are intended to illustrate the development of stems from monosyllabic roots beginning with a vowel. If time and space permitted, these could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

1. √ *Es*, 'to be,' primarily 'to stay.' Here belong many words meaning 'long continued,' as Skt. *sana-*, 'old,' Gk. ἔνος, Lat. *sen-ex*, Goth. *sin-eigs*, from *es* + *eno* + various other suffixes; Skt. *sádā*, 'always.' More directly connected are the immediate derivatives of the participle stem **snt*, as Skt. *satyá-*, Goth. *sunja*, 'truth,' from which *sunjōn*, 'verify,' OE. *sōþ*, whence *sōþian*. This root may further enter into the formation of many other verbs, determining or supplementing their force. As such may be regarded the following: Skt. *sévate*, 'stay,' *sácate*, 'to be with,' 'follow,' from *es* + *eq^ṵo-* (the latter part of which is in Skt. *ca*, Gk. τέ, Lat. *que*, Goth. -*h*), Gk. ἕπομαι, Lat. *sequor*. Likewise Skt. *sapati*, 'follow after,' a by-form (*sic*) of which, **seb*, may have given Goth. *sipōneis* < **sebāntiŏ-*, a derivative of the present participle. A very prolific family of words is headed by the root *stā*, 'set,' 'cause to stay,' from *es* + *t-ā*, and *stē* < *es* + *t-ē*. From *stā*, *stē* is derived an immense number of words containing the idea of fixedness, firmness, strength, rigidity, etc. The root *es* is probably used as a supplementing prefix in a considerable number of verbs. A case of this kind is Skt. *sañj*, *sájati*, 'to stick,' from *as* + *añj*, *anákti*, 'to smear.' Both roots are largely represented in the various IE. languages. Other words that may belong to *es* are Skt. *sa-bhắ*, 'hall,' perhaps originally 'a fixed abode,' 'an abiding-place,' Goth. *sibja*, 'relationship'; Skt. *sa-*, IE. **sm̥-*, 'same-' and 'one,' Lat. *sem-el*, Skt. *samá*, Gk. ὁμός, Lat. *similis*, Eng. *same*. From the idea of 'abiding,' 'continuing,' this group of words could very easily develop. When we say 'he is always the same,' we mean 'he does not change,' 'he is fixed or stationary' in that in which we assert he is the same.

2. Another root, **sē̆* or **es*, which may be identical with the above, has the meaning of 'to be heavy.' A *to*-participle

to this is Goth. *saþs*, 'full,' 'satt,' from **sətó-*, OE. *sæd*, 'sad,'
'heavy,' OHG. *sat*, 'satisfied,' 'tired of.'   Here also, Lat.
satis, Lith. *sótis*, 'satiety,' Goth. *sōþs*, 'a satisfying.'   That
the primary meaning of this root was 'to be heavy,' or 'load
down,' the development of the meanings plainly shows.   The
word *sad* is still used in English in the sense of 'heavy,'
when we speak of 'sad bread.'   The idea of 'fullness,'
'heaviness' easily passes into that of 'sadness' or 'satiety.'
As a parallel compare Gk. γέμω, 'to be full,' 'loaded,' γόμος,
'load,' Lat. *gemō*, 'to groan,' to which should be added
MLG. *kommer*, 'kummer,' ME. *combren*, 'to cumber,' a gen-
uine Germanic word.   French *décombres*, on the other hand,
is a loan-word from the Germanic.   Other examples of the
same development of idea are given below.

An enlargement of this root may be Skt. *sahatē*, √ *seĝh*,
'overpower,' Gk. ἔχω, Goth. *sigis*, 'victory'; √ *sed*, 'to sink
down,' 'sit': Skt. *sádati*, 'sink down,' 'be overcome,' 'despair,'
'sit,' the idea of heaviness throughout, Gk. ἵζω, Lat. *sedeō*, etc.

Also in √ *sĕu̯*, 'press out,' Skt. *sunóti*, unless we suppose
the original idea is 'to flow,' which I think is improbable.   The
'flowing' is rather the effect.   With the same form of root
is Skt. *sūtē*, 'to bear,' primarily 'to be heavy with child,' to-
gether with the various derivatives of the same root, as Skt.
sū-nú-, *su-tá-*, Goth. *su-nus*, Gk. υἱός, and Lat. *sūs*, OHG. *sū*,
etc.   Here also, with the suffix *-tno-*, Goth. *su-þn*, 'stomach.'
Cf. Skt. *satu*, 'womb,' which comes from the simpler form of
the root *sĕ*.   Several other examples are given below to show
that words for 'stomach,' 'womb,' 'bear a child,' come from
an original root, meaning 'to be heavy.'

With the suf. *-go-*, making *seu̯ego-*, from which either *seu̯go-*
or *su̯ego-*, are formed Got. *siuks*, 'sick,' MHG. *swach*.   In the
form *su̯enk* or *su̯engh* occur OE. *swongor*, 'heavy,' OHG.
swangar, 'pregnant.'   From the stem *su̯ĕro-*, Goth. *swērs*,
'weighty, honored,' OHG. *swāri*, 'heavy,' *swëro*, 'sickness,'
Lith. *sveriù*, 'lift, weigh.'   To this with a *-qo-*, *-qā-* suf. Goth.
saurga, 'care,' OHG. *sorga*, *sworga*.

With a *mo-* suf. to *sĕu̯:* OHG. *soum*, 'load of a pack
animal,' MHG. *sūmen*, 'delay.'   With various other suffixes

probably belong here: OE. *sū-pan, sū-gan, sū-can,* OHG.
sūfan, sūgan, 'sup,' 'suck,' 'drink,' OHG. *sūftōn,* 'sigh,'
Goth. *sweiban,* 'to be silent.'

With suf. *-i̯o-, sēi̯o-:* Goth. *sair,* 'pain,' Finn. loan-word
sairas, 'sick'; Goth. *sainjan,* 'delay,' OHG. *lang-seimi,*
OE. *sǣmra,* 'more delayed'; Goth. *sei-þus,* 'late,' Skt. *sāyam,*
'evening,' Lat. *sē-rus.*

3. √ *Em* in Skt. *amīti,* 'press hard upon,' *ámīvā,* 'load,'
'trouble,' ON. *ama,* 'vex,' Persson, *Wz.* 147[2]. The primary
meaning of this root was probably 'to bruise, cut,' from which
developed a great variety of meanings. *Mě,* 'cut,' 'divide,'
'measure,' Av. *mā,* 'to measure,' Skt. *mā-tra-,* 'measure,'
Lat. *mētior,* Gk. μῆτις, 'counsel,' μέτρον, 'measure,' Goth.
mitan, 'to measure,' *mēna,* 'moon,' *mēla,* 'bushel,' *mēl,* 'time,'
plur. *mēla,* 'marks,' 'writings.' With these various suffixes,
the idea of 'cutting,' 'measuring' is preserved throughout.
Here also may belong Goth. *-mērs,* 'renowned,' *mērjan,* pos-
sibly through the idea of 'heaviness.' Compare Goth. *swērs,*
'honored.' Or it may mean primarily 'marked,' 'distin-
guished.' Here certainly Goth. *mēkeis,* 'sword,' with which
Lat. *mactō* from **məg-tō* may very well be connected. In fact,
I believe all words beginning with *m,* and having the mean-
ing of 'cut, bruise, slay,' or 'cut, divide, measure,' or 'bruise,
rub, grind,' or 'cut, mark,' may possibly have for their first
element this root *em.* It may have taken on suffixes, or have
been prefixed to other roots having a similar meaning, but
most assuredly in the case of this family of words, as well as
all others, it is impossible to suppose that the IE. speech
was so rich in unconnected synonyms. Wherever we find
similar elements with similar meanings, we have a right to
connect them. The possibility is at least there, though we
may often make mistakes in our inferences through our
inability to follow the development of meaning. Words the
most distant in signification might be brought together if we
only knew the figure of speech out of which they grew. It
is more reasonable to suppose that the IE. speech contained
a comparatively small number of roots, many of which, in
the IE. period, were united in compounds, and many others

agglutinated in the life of the separate dialects. For when we consider that the average man uses about five hundred words, it is appalling to think how pitiably we have degenerated from the copiousness of our ancestors. And that is what we must believe if we must set up a separate root for every combination that has no exact counterpart. It certainly is worth while to attempt to get at the original force of a word. It is interesting to know how such words as OHG. *māl*, 'spot,' *-māl*, '-times,' MHG. *māl*, 'meal,' may be connected.

As possibilities I would suggest the following words as belonging to this root: OHG. *mahhōn*, 'make,' 'to cut into shape,' just as Lat. *creō* may belong to √ *qer*, 'cut'; Lat. *macer*, 'lean,' 'rubbed down,' Gk. μικρός, 'small,' etc. These, of course, are only possibilities, for there is no way of ascertaining what the original root meant.

A productive outgrowth of this root has the form *mel*, 'to rub, bruise, beat.' Most widely extended is the secondary meaning, 'grind': Goth. *malan*, Lat. *molo*, etc. Hence anything fine, as Goth. *malma*, 'sand,' *mulda*, 'dust,' or figuratively, *-milds*, 'mild,' *bleiþs*, 'merciful' (Johansson, *PBB*. XV. 226 ff.). The last word is connected by Johansson with Skt. *mlā́yati*, a derivation that Uhlenbeck thinks impossible, and proposes Skt. *mrītyati*. Both words undoubtedly go back to the same root, and in fact the latter may come directly from the former. Does any one imagine that *mrīt* is a simple root? And if not, is it not to be separated as follows? *Mel-ī-t(o)*, in which *-to-* is the nominal suffix, *ī* the 'schwundstufe' of *ei̯(o)*, and *mel* itself a compound root. In *mlā́yati* *y* is just as much a part of the so-called root as the *ā* of *mlāti*. From √ *sere*, 'flow,' we have *sre-u̯e-*, 'flow'; and words derived from this stem contain the *u*. That is the very process of word-formation. There are all too many who seem to think that words sprang from the lips full grown, like Pallas Athena from the brow of Zeus.

From the stem *mel*, with its primary meaning, come Goth. *ga-malwjan*, 'bruise,' and *bliggwan*, OHG. *bliuwan*, 'beat.' In fact, these words are almost identical. The latter comes

from *mlếu̯ō*, the former from *mlu̯-i̯ó*, the regular reduction of *mlēu̯ō*, with the added suf. -i̯o-. From this word comes the adjective *mlŏu̯tu-*, Goth. *blauþus* (whence *blauþjan*), OHG. *blōdi*, OE. *blēaþ*, 'weak, fragile'; and also *mlŏu̯do-*, or *mlə̯u̯do-*, OE. *blēat*, 'poor, wretched,' ON. *blautr*, 'soft, tender,' OHG., MHG. *blōz*, 'proud, naked.' These words are certainly far enough apart in their meanings, and yet Gk. βλάξ, from the same root, is exactly parallel in its meanings, 'sluggish, silly, delicate; boastful.' However, there is not the least difficulty in unraveling the meanings of this word if we get hold of the right end. The root meaning is 'rub, strike.' Used passively, therefore, it means 'rubbed, stricken'; actively, 'rubbing, striking,' i.e. 'haughty, boastful.' It is well known that the suffixes were not active or passive in themselves, and it hardly needs examples to illustrate this. Take one: Gr. φοβερός, Eng. *fearful*, both mean 'frightening' and 'frightened.'

The root *mel*, then, may appear in its weak form *ml* + any addition, as *mlē*, *mlō*, *mlā*, which, in turn, may be increased. The form *mlādo-* or *mlōdo-* is in Goth. *blōtan*, 'worship,' OHG. *pluazan*, 'offer,' *bluostar*, 'an offering.' We have in this word a reflexion of the primeval blood-sacrifice. *Blōtan* meant originally, 'to slay, sacrifice,' hence 'to worship, honor' a god (cf. Goth. *guþblōstreis*), and then to honor any one. With the introduction of Christianity, these words were transferred to a new field, though they fitted in very well with the Mosaic ritual.

The connection of these words makes it quite probable that Got. *blōþs*, 'blood,' is also an offshoot of this root. 'Blood' was the effect of the blow or thrust. I think it quite probable that Skt. *krūras*, 'bloody,' Lat. *cruor*, 'blood,' are in like manner connected with the root *qcr*, 'to cut.' It is true that 'blood' may come from the same root as 'bloom,' but not because it is 'the symbol of "blooming" life,' but because both may come from the primary meaning, 'burst forth.' OE. *blētsian*, 'bless,' if connected with 'blood,' makes it more probable that these two words also refer to blood-offerings. *Blētsian* probably does, at least.

From 'rubbing' we may next arrive at the meaning 'smearing,' 'defiling.' For a similar development compare Goth. *smeitan*, 'smear,' QE. *smītan*, 'smite,' 'throw'; and Eng. *strike*, Ger. *bestreichen*. This brings us to Gk. μέλας, which Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. μέλας, connects with Skt. *malinás*, 'dirty,' *málas*, 'dirt, sin,' Lett. *melus*, 'black,' Prus. *melne*, ' blue spot,' Goth. *mēla*, 'writings,' Gk. μολύνω, 'defile,' etc. This gives another possibility for *mēla* (cf. above), which in either case goes back to the same root. With these I should also join Gk. βλάσφημος, 'abusive,' for *μλασ-, μέλας, 'black'; compare Lat. *male-dīcō*, the *male* being the same element.

With Gk. μελαίνω, 'blacken,' μελαίνομαι, 'become black,' may be compared Goth. *blinds*, 'blind' from *mlen-dho-, *blandan*, 'blend,' and their cognates.

Here may belong also OHG. *blāo* < *mlēu̯o- (but not Lat. *flāvus*); OE. *blæc*, 'black,' from *mlogo- or *mlǝgo; Eng. *bludgeon*, Gk. βλάπτω, Skt. *marcáyati*, 'injure' (cf. Prellwitz, s.v. βλάπτω, which he connects with the Skt. word); MHG. *blach*, 'flat,' which may be the same word as OE. *blæc* with a different development of meaning; O. Du. *blaf*, 'flat,' Ger. *ver-blüffen*, from *mlop-, *mlp̥. To these might be added several more. It is doubtful, however, in the case of some, whether the words go back to *ml-* or *bhl-*, since there is another root, *bhel*, meaning also 'beat,' and from this some of the above words might equally well be derived. One other word I will venture, since it has not been traced outside of Germanic, viz. OHG. *blīo*, 'lead,' from *mlīu̯o-, perhaps named from its color, cf. Lith. *mély-nas*, 'blue,' and Gk. μόλι-βος, μόλυ-βος, μόλυβδος, 'lead.' From this Gk. μόλυβδος it seems a pity to separate Lat. *plumbum*, 'lead.' This may be for *blumbum*. The word *plumbum* was applied to a scourge with a leaden ball at the end of it, as was also *plumbatae*. Notice also the expression *ictus plumbei*, 'leaden blows,' 'blows with the *plumbum*,' and we may be sure that the common people used the word *plumbō* in the sense of 'to flog,' and *plumba* meaning 'floggings,' 'blows.' With the word used in this way, the original *bl* might have been

changed to *pl* under the influence of other words meaning 'a blow,' 'strike,' as *plaga, plago, plango, plaudo, plecto, pello.* For this connection there seems to be a pretty clear case. Instances enough are here given for IE. *ml:* German. *bl* to settle this point. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I². § 421, Anm. 2.

We are not yet through with the possibilities of the root *mel,* or rather the stem *mĕle.* I think it is safe to say that most words containing this element, *i.e. mĕl-, ml̥-, ml̥-,* etc., are from this root. From the root-meaning 'press,' 'rub,' we may have 'bruise,' as in *zermalmen;* 'grind,' which is really the same, as in *malen;* 'make soft,' as in Lat. *mollis,* and in *melt;* the same used figuratively, as in *mild, blithe,* and various other developments; 'to strike,' as in *blow;* 'to stroke, caress,' as in Lat. *blandior;* 'to be hard pressed, to labor,' as in Lat. *molior;* 'to be made fine,' as in Goth. *malma;* 'to smear,' from the meaning 'rub,' as in Gk. μολύνω; 'to mark,' as in Goth. *mēljan;* to show the effect of any of these actions.

With the suffix (*e*)*ro*, giving the stem *mere, mer, mre,* we may expect a similar development. We find it pretty close to its primary meaning in Goth. *maurþr*, 'murder,' Lat. *morior*, 'to die,' *i.e.* 'to be killed'; Goth. *ga-maur-gjan*, 'to cut short'; *maur-nan*, 'to be depressed, sad'; *mar-zjan*, 'to oppress,' OE. *mierran*, 'to mar'; Goth. *mar-ka*, Lat. *margō*, that which cuts off or separates, border; Goth. *marei*, 'sea,' Gk. ἀμάρα, O. Fries. *mar*, 'ditch,' Skt. *mira*, 'sea, border.' This word for sea, therefore, meant 'that which separates.' It may point to the fact that the Indo-Europeans lived near a sea, or large body of water, which was the boundary between them and some hostile tribe, as has been supposed.

Here may belong Eng. *brine*, cf. Lat. *marīnus;* OE. *brim*, 'surge'; Eng. *brink* (**mreng-?*), cf. Lat. *margō;* and many other words with the meaning 'stroke,' 'strike,' 'cut,' 'divide,' etc.

With various other suffixes the root (*e*)*me* occurs in Goth. *maitan*, 'cut'; *maiþms*, 'gift,' that which is apportioned; *mats*, 'food' (cf. Skt. *bhaj*, 'divide': Gk. φαγεῖν, 'eat'); *minniza*, 'smaller,' √ *mei*, as in *maitan;* *ga-maiþs*, 'crippled,'

from *maidjan*, 'change'[1] (ON. *meiđa*, 'injure, maim'); *ga-mains*, Lat. '*com-mūnis*,' 'dividing with'; *mimz*, 'flesh,' a reduplicated stem **mē-mso-*, cf. Lat. *carō* from √ *qer*, 'cut'; and numberless others.

With many of the words beginning with *m* are connected others having initial *sm*, as *melt : smelt*. We are not to assume, however, that in such cases an initial *s* has been lost, — though in some instances that may occur — but rather that there has been confusion, or rather fusion, with another root. For illustrations see Bloomfield, *IF.* IV. 66–78. But that cannot explain everything, or if it does, there can be no science of language.

In the words with initial *sm*, then, we have various possibilities : a union or confusion with the roots *se-u̯*, 'to press'; *a˟s-*, Skt. *asyati*, 'throw'; *se-r*, 'flow.'

The root enlarged in this way appears in Goth. *bi-smeitan*, 'besmear,' OE. *smītan*, 'throw,' 'smite,' in which the idea of 'smearing' comes from that of 'rubbing,' as in Ger. *bestreichen*, and 'throwing' from that of 'forcing,' or 'striking.' Compare the various uses of Lat. *pellō*. Therefore, O. Ch. Sl. *smĕŭd*, 'dark-brown,' may well be compared. (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *bismeitan*). For a similar development see the words 'blue' and 'black' above.

Here also come Goth. *-smiþa*, 'smith'; *smairþr*, 'fat'; *smals*, 'small'; OHG. *smāhen;* MHG. *smouch* (cf. Gk. ἐσμύγην, Kluge, and for the meaning Lat. *fūmus*); *sminke;* OHG. *smerzan;* MHG. *smuz*, etc.

4. √ *es*, 'throw,' Skt. *ásyati;* *s-ē*, Gk. ἵημι, Lat. *sē-vi* (Persson, *Wz.* 92); *sĕ-i̯o-*, Skt. *sāya-ka*, 'missile,' *sē-nā* (*id. ibid.* 111); *sĕu̯o-*, Skt. *suváti*, 'set in motion, drive' (*id. ibid.* 133); *se-ro-*, 'flow' (*Wz.* 175), Skt. *sísarti*, 'flows,' 'runs'; *sre-u̯o-*, 'flow,' Skt. *srávati;* *sr-ē*, MHG. *strām;* *sr-ō*, Gk. ῥώομαι (*Wz.* 92); *se-lo-*, Lat. *saliva*.

This root may be identical with *es*, *sĕ̆*, 'to be heavy,' 'to press.' Pressure may cause motion on the one hand, or fixedness on the other, hence *es*, 'to throw,' and *es*, 'to remain, be.'

---

[1] The idea of 'change' comes from that of 'cutting,' 'working over or taking from'; and that of 'meanness,' 'injuring,' is still more closely related.

Or √ *es,* 'to throw,' may have originated in the hissing, whizzing sound of motion, as is more probable.

The stems above may be enlarged by any suffixes, so that a great variety of forms arise. Thus OHG. *sinkan, sīgan,* 'drip,' are built on the stem *sei̯o-.* Here also OE. *siftan,* 'sift.' On *seu̯o-* are formed OHG. *swingan,* 'swing,' 'hurl'; OE. *swincan,* 'to toil'; OHG. *swimman,* 'swim'; Goth. *suns,* 'soon.' Goth. *swinþs,* 'strong,' MHG. *swinde,* 'violent, brave,' with OHG. *gisunt,* 'sound,' may contain this root; and perhaps OHG. *swert,* 'sword'; OE. *swāpan,* 'swoop,' 'sweep'; *swift.*

5. √ *Su-,* 'sound,' is probably connected with *es,* 'throw.' With various suffixes: Skt. *sv-anati,* 'sound,' OE. *swinsian;* MHG. *summen,* 'hum'; OHG. *sūsōn,* 'whiz'; MHG. *swatern,* 'chatter'; Skt. *svárati,* 'sound'; MHG. *swarm;* Goth. *swiglōn,* 'to pipe'; *gaswōgjan,* 'sigh.'

Some of these words may also be given under other roots. If, for instance, we have a stem **s-u̯er̀o-,* the *s* may be due to the root here considered, while the rest is from a root (*e*)*u̯er.* It is intended here to show how the different elements have grown together.

6. √ *Su,* 'to be hot,' probably related to √ *su* expressing rapid motion. This root occurs in: Goth. *sauil,* 'sol,' *sunna, sugil;* Skt. *svêdatē,* 'to sweat'; OE. *swelan,* 'glow'; OHG. *swëdan,* 'steam'; *siodan,* 'boil'; Goth. *sauþs,* 'offering.' Compare also Eng. *swelter,* 'to be overcome and faint with heat'; OE. *sweltan,* Goth. *swiltan,* 'to die.' The last word seems rather more closely connected with *su,* 'to be heavy, oppressed.'

7. Another root forming words meaning 'to flow, float, swim,' etc., is *en,* which probably originated from an expression for 'water.' We cannot be sure, however, that this is the primary meaning. Any word expressing motion may give other words for 'water,' or a word for water may develop expressions for motion on or in the water. Compare Skt. *gal,* 'drip,' *jala-,* 'water,' Gk. βάλλω, ἐμβάλλω (of a river), OHG. *quellan;* also Skt. *sísarti,* 'run swiftly, flow,' *srávati,* 'flow,' and many others.

The root *en* occurs in OHG. *anut*, 'duck,' Lith. *ántis;* Skt. *abhrám*, Gk. ἀφρός, Lat. *imber*, IE. *m-bhro-;* Gk. ὀμ-βρός, 'rain,' Skt. *ám-bu*, 'water' (the *m* from *n* by assimilation). This root is possibly further connected with the root *en*, 'down,' 'under,' in ἔνεροι, *inferi*, as the Lat. expression *aqua infera*, 'rain-water,' seems to indicate. If so, the words connected with this root have developed as follows : 'down,' 'fall down,' 'water that falls,' 'cloud,' 'storm,' etc. (cf. Eng. *downpour*), 'water,' 'flow,' 'float,' 'floater' (ship), and various other actions on, in, or with water. For examples see Persson, *Wz.* 142, 28, 54, etc.

Such words as νέω, 'swim,' ναῦς, 'ship,' νήχω, 'swim,' with which compare OE. *naca*, 'boat,' Νηλεύς, Νηρεύς, νήφω, 'to be sober,' 'to drink water,' OHG. *nuohturn* (Kluge), νίζω, 'wash,' νάω, 'flow,' νηρός, νᾱρός, 'flowing,' and a host of others, are too plainly related to the original root to need explanation.

How it is possible to see the same element in a group of words containing the same root-meaning, and not to connect them, let those explain who can. I do not believe that we have exhausted the possibilities of this root, even after we have brought together all the words with initial *n* having any of the meanings given above. And that the number is a large one any one can see by turning over the leaves of a lexicon. A word that means 'to flow' may also mean 'to go' or 'to hasten,' and we may therefore assume that to this same root belongs Gk. νέομαι, 'to go, come,' which indeed is used in the *Iliad*, XII. 32, of streams: ποταμοὺς δ᾽ ἔτρεψε νέεσθαι κὰρ ῥόον. This, of course, connects it, through intermediate stages, with modern Ger. *nähren* — from the clouds to the stomach. An immense amount remains to be done toward the better explanation of the development of words in their meaning.

This root is often given with initial *s*. It is generally assumed that Skt. *snauti*, 'to flow,' represents an older form than Gk. ναῦς. Such is not the case. An initial consonant or combination of consonants may be lost; but more frequently when we find forms with and without *s*, it is because

of a fusion, in the former case, with other roots of similar meaning. Here are Skt. *sísarti* and *srávati* by the side of another root 'to flow,' as in *naús*. What more natural than that *nāu* should become *snāu*? In this I entirely agree with Bloomfield, who, in the article quoted above, assumes in several cases such a contamination.

8. √ *Eu̯(e)*, *u*, Lith. *au-nù*, 'clothe,' Lat. *ex-uō*, 'put off' (clothing), *ex-uviae*, *exūtiō*, Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 918, 970. To the same root belongs IE. **ou̯is*, the animal whose skin furnished the clothing. Various words for *skin* are connected with roots meaning 'to cover,' not because the skin covered the animal, but the man who used it. Thus Lat. *cu-tis*, Gk. κύ-τος, Germ. **hūdi-* (see Kluge, s.v. *haut*); Lat. *pellis*, OE. *fell*, from the root *pel*, 'to cover.'

The sheep, therefore, received the name **ou̯is* from this root *eu̯*. Moreover, as we shall see later, the word 'wool' contains the same root. The primary meaning of this root was, however, not 'to clothe,' but 'to wrap.' It expresses in most of its compounds a rolling or waving motion.

Enlarged to *u̯ē*, *u̯ō*, as in Gk. ἄησι, ἀήρ, ἄωτος, Skt. *vā-ti*, Goth. *winds*, *waia*, etc., it expressed the waving motion caused by the wind. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 961. With the suf. *-i̯o-* it becomes *u̯ei̯o-*, *u̯i-*, as in OHG. *witan*, 'bind,' *wī-da*, 'willow,' Skt. *vī-tás*, 'wrapped up,' Lith. *vejù*, 'twine,' Goth. *windan*, 'wind,' Lat. *vīnum*, *vītis*, Skt. *vindati*, 'to be active, find,' *vētti*, 'knows,' Goth. *wait*, etc.

This root is perhaps the first element of all words beginning originally *(e)u̯e*, as *u̯e-bho-*, 'weave,' *u̯e-ĝho-*, 'move,' *u̯e-go-*, 'to be awake, active,' and many others expressing motion. Here would belong the enlarged root which follows.

U̯elo-, 'to roll, twist,' may develop various meanings, not hard to follow. Examples are: Gk. οὖλος, 'curly,' Goth. *wulla*, 'wool,' OHG. *wella*, 'wave,' OE. *wella*, 'spring, well,' OE. *wielm*, 'wave'; Goth. *walwjan*, 'roll,' Lat. *volvō*, Skt. *valati*; OHG. *walchan*, 'to beat, full,' OE. *wealcan*, 'walk'; Goth. *wiljan*, 'to wish,' O. Ch. Sl. *veljǫ*, 'command,' Lat. *volō*. The Germanic word comes to its meaning through the intermediate idea of 'look for, search for.' From 'rolling'

is developed the meaning 'moving,' '*walking*'; from this, 'searching, hunting,' with a short step to 'wishing,' '*willing*,' and from that, 'commanding.' For a similar development compare Goth. *winnan*, 'to suffer,' OE. *winnan*, 'strive for, win,' and, with the suf. *sko*, OHG. *wunsken*, 'wish,' all of which grow from the root *u̯en*, a compound of (*e*)*u̯e*.

As *u̯ele*, 'to roll,' gave words for 'wave,' as OHG. *wella*, the transition to 'moist' was easy. Therefore to this root belong OHG, *welc*, 'damp,' O. Sl. *vlaga*, 'dampness,' OE. *wlacu*, 'moist,' *wolcen*, 'cloud.' (Cf. Kluge, s.v. *welk*.)

The weak form of the root *u̯ele*- gives Goth. *wlits*, 'face,' *wlaiton*, 'to look round,' which is identical with Gk. ἰλλίζω, 'to look awry, leer,' from **u̯i-u̯lidi̯ō*; Goth. *wlizjan*, 'to beat,' from **u̯les*-, Gk. εἰλέω, from **u̯ele*(*s*-), a word that is used of soldiers pressing hard upon the enemy. Notice *Od.* V. 132: νῆα κεραύνῳ ἔλσας, 'striking the ship with a thunderbolt.' Goth. *anda-wleizn* belongs to *wlizjan* in suffix, but to *wlits* in meaning and ablaut. This shows how wrong the usual method of tracing the original force of a word is. Even words as far removed as 'face' and 'beat' may be cognate, as we see here. 'To turn' may naturally mean 'to look round,' and a word for 'looking' gives a word for 'appearance, face,' as in Eng. *looks*, Ger. *angesicht*. And how closely the ideas of 'turning,' 'twisting,' 'beating' are is seen in the Gk. εἴλω, εἰλέω, and in Eng. *wallop*, for the various meanings of which reference may be made to the dictionaries.

With the suffix -*ro*-, the root was *u̯ero*-, a productive form running parallel with *u̯elo*-. Here, too, the root-meaning 'turn' prevails. This is seen in Lith. *veriù*, 'open and close,' Lat. *vermis*, Goth. *waurms*, 'worm' (cf. from *u̯elo*-, Gk. ἕλ-μις), Lat. *verto*, Goth. *wairþan*, 'turn, become.' See Persson, *Wz.* 31, 52, 66, 100, etc. It must be borne in mind that, from a primary meaning, the same word may develop along different lines. Therefore agreement in the phonology is more important than in meaning. Goth. *wratōn*, 'to wander,' which according to Uhlenbeck is unexplained, may be compared with Gk. ῥοδανός, 'waving,' ῥοδανίζω, 'spin.' The development here is exactly parallel with that of the

cognates of Goth. *wairpan*, 'throw,' for which we find in other languages the meanings 'spin,' 'turn,' 'warp,' etc. Wherever, therefore, we find the root *u̯ero-* in its simple or enlarged form, we have a right to regard it as an outgrowth of the root *eu̯*.

As in other roots, we find here a prefixed *s*, as in OHG. *swellan*, 'swell': *wella*, 'wave'; Eng. *swing : wing ;* OHG. *sweifan*, 'swing': MHG. *wīfen*, 'swing, wind,' Goth. *weipan*, 'to crown.'

The several derivatives with different suffixes develop similarly. Among others the following parallels may be given.

	u̯e-lo-.	*u̯e-ro*.	*u̯e-no* (or *ue-i̯-no*).	
1.	Goth. *-walwjan*	Lat. *verto*	Goth. *wandjan*	'turn, roll.'
2.	Gk. ἕλμις	Lat. *vermis*		'worm.'
3.	Goth. *wlaitōn*	Gk. ὁράω		'look, see.'
4.	OHG. *wallōn*	Goth. *wratōn*	MHG. *wandern*	'wander.'
5.	Gk. εἴλω	OHG. *werra*	OHG. *winnan*	'strive, fight.'
6.	Goth. *wilja*		OHG. *wunsken*	'wish.'
7.		OHG. *werc*	OE. *winnan*	'work.'
8.	Goth. *walisa*	Goth. *wairþs*		'desired.'
9.	Gk. εἴλαρ	Goth. *warjan*	OHG. *want*	'cover, protect.'
10.	OHG. *wella*	Mod. Ger. *worpen?*		'wave.'
11.	OHG. *welc*	ON. *vār* ('wet time')		'wet.'

And so the comparisons might be extended, not only in these stems, but in others. It seems a necessary inference, therefore, that words as we find them are made up of simple elements for the most part monosyllabic. Roots as they are generally given are, of course, disyllabic or polysyllabic; for they are made up of several elements.

Examples without number might be given along this same line. I must content myself for the present, however, with a reference to Persson, *Wz.* 227 ff., where numerous illustrations are presented in proof of the very principle for which I contend, viz., that many IE. roots began with a vowel. This explains, according to Persson, many cases of the so-called prothetic vowel in Greek, an opinion to which I had independently come.

It is also, I think, the origin of another phenomenon in

the IE. verb — the augment.   The vowel was here pre-
served because it was under the accent.   To assume that
the augment was an adverbial particle denoting 'before,' as
ro in O. Ir., is merely an assumption without proof.   I there-
fore make this counter-assumption, with proof, to be sure,
scanty as yet, but which any one may increase to his heart's
content if he will but pursue the same line of investigation.
All admit that a vowel may be lost within a word, and that
the first vowel in such roots as *es*, 'to be,' has been lost.   It
is *a priori* not improbable, to say the least, that the first
vowel of many, perhaps the majority, of the original stock
of IE. verbs has been lost.   That this vowel was *e* in most
cases it is reasonable to suppose from what we see to be the
case in the verb as it now appears.

The question naturally arises, Why did this vowel have the
accent?   Those who believe it to be a prefixed particle have
a ready answer, which is entirely satisfactory if they are
right in their assumption.   The accent is not more difficult
to explain here than in many other cases for which no defi-
nite reason can be given.   It is well known since Hirt's
admirable work in this subject that nouns of agency and
adjectives of the *o*-declension are regularly accented on the
suffix, while the corresponding nouns of action have root-
accent.   Now does any one suppose that τροπός, κομπός,
λοχός, etc., are different in origin from τρόπος, κόμπος, λόχος?
The noun of agency must be the original, and here, as Hirt
indicates, the accent rested upon the defining element.   In
its secondary use, however, the accent was thrown back.
And it is not unnatural for a difference in use to cause a dif-
ference in accent.   Compare Eng. *perfúme, addréss, minúte*
with *pérfume, áddress, mínute*.   In the verb the same prin-
ciple prevailed.   The expression of present action was the
original and all-important one, and here, as in the noun of
agency, the stress was upon the defining element.   I put
this out as a query to those who have gone most deeply into
the study of accent : Why are some verbs accented on the
root-syllable (or rather on what is regarded as the root-syl-
lable) while others are accented on the suffix?   I suggest

this possibility: Verb and noun stems are identical, and consequently should be accented alike. If the agent was prominent in the mind of the speaker, the suffix received the accent in noun and verb. And this is what we might expect if these suffixes, as I have assumed, were, for the most part, especially in the older period, demonstrative stems pointing out the agent. But when the action was uppermost, then the verb was accented as in the noun of action.

This, of course, applies only to the present, which was the only original tense. But when the action was thrown into past time, a difference of accent indicated this change in use just as the similar variation arose in passing from τροπός to τρόπος. For a present action, then, we have the stem *(e)bhéro-, for the past *ébhero-. Later, when the initial vowel was lost in the present, the vowel remaining in the preterit was felt as a distinguishing mark of that tense, and therefore was used with all verbs, whether originally beginning with a vowel or not. Verbs in which the vowel was retained, as Gk. ἔδω, go back to roots with a long initial vowel, or else the long vowel is a contraction with the augment -e, as usually explained. In this case it was a secondary addition.

Considering the growth of words in this way, we get a better understanding of the reduplication also. This consists simply in the repetition of the root in its simple form. Per Persson, *Wz.* 216[1], suggests that the reduplication may have arisen from the repetition of the root in a different form. But the great majority of cases point toward sameness rather than difference. Thus: Skt. *lē-lāyati, ci-kēti,* (*ci*), *ci-kēta* (*cit*), *ji-ghy-ati;* Gk. δίζομαι < *didi̯o-, ὄδ-ωδε, ὄπ-ωπε, ἐδ-ηδώς; Goth. *reira, mimz* < *mē-mso-. The vowel of the reduplication was most frequently *e*, because that was the usual vowel of the root. Nearest to the original type are such forms as ἐδ-ηδώς. This is like the reduplication in λ-έλ-οιπα from *(ε)λ-έλοιπα, as in the pluperf. ἐλελοίπη. After the different types were once formed, they increased outside of their original limits.

Our views of ablaut must also be somewhat modified.

The great regularity in Germanic is *prima facie* evidence that it is a secondary, and not a necessary, development. This applies as well to the other IE. languages, though to a less extent. There seems to have been an original ablaut *e : o*, which may have depended on accent. It proves nothing to give such illustrations as **léiq^{u}ō : *lelóiq^{u}e;* for that probably does not represent the original condition. Whatever may have been the starting-point, the ablaut, as it appears, is something quite different. If, now, we begin with a root *(e)bhe*, and add the suffixes *io* and *uo*, we have the enlarged roots *bheio-, bhĭ̆ : bheuo, bhŭ̆*, and these may in turn be enlarged, and so on indefinitely.

Again, *(e)bhe* may become *bh-ē, bh-ō, bh-ā*, as Gk. πλῆ-το, Lat. *im-plē-s :* Gk. πλω-τός, Goth. *flō-dus ;* and Gk. δί-δω-μι ; Lat. *dā-s, addās.* Here the *ē, ō, ā* seem to be real suffixes, and the ablaut *ē : ō* a later development. These are not confined to any tense, as we see from Gk. ῥώομαι, ζῶ ; OE. *blōwan.* In Gk. ἵημι, *saia :* ἀφέωκα, *saisō, ē* and *ō* are just as truly suffixes as in ζῆ, ζῶ. In the University of Chicago *Germanic Studies*, II. p. 42, I explained the ablaut occurring in ON. *blōta : blēt* as originating in different suffixes. This I believe to be true, not only in verbs of that class, but also in many verbs of the ablauting series. The process is as follows: *pe- ; pe-le ; pl-ē, pl-ō ; plē-uo-, plō-uo- ; plĕu-do-, plŏu-do- :* or *pe-le ; pl-ē ; plē-io*, etc.

There is, therefore, no more reason for supposing the loss of an *u* in Gk. πλωτός, Goth. *flōdus*, on account of Gk. πλέω, than of assuming the loss of a *d* from Gk. πλέω, χέω, on account of OHG. *fliozan, giozan.* As well might we explain Lat. *plēnus* as coming from **plēunos*, since *plō-* in πλωτός is an ablaut of *plē-* in *plēnus.* What then becomes of the ablaut *ō : ū ?* There is no such thing, unless we extend the term to include all vowel sounds occurring in related words. Goth. *bliggwan* is undoubtedly connected with *ga-malwjan*, from **mlēuo- : *ml̥uo-*, as I have shown above ; and these are as certainly connected with Skt. *mlāyati (*mlēio-* or **mlāio-*), Gk. βλά-ξ, all from the root *mel.* Have we then the ablaut *ēu : ēi : ā ?* Of course not, it will be said, for *uo* and *io* are

only suffixes and do not belong to the stem. But how about Goth. *blauþjan?* This certainly is derived from the same stem as *bliggwan.* I believe, therefore, that it is misleading to speak of the ablaut $\breve{u} : \bar{o}$ or $\breve{\imath} : \bar{e}$. If that is ablaut, then it can be proved of almost any combination. Is it possible to keep apart Lat. *plāgō, plangō, plaudō, plectō?* If not, how shall we explain the ablaut? We have at least a common element *plă-* in the first three words, but further than that we can make no comparison. If we compare the four words, then we have only the common element *pl-*, and this is the 'schwundstufe' of *pel(e)-* in *pello.* The first thing to do, then, is to discover the root, or at least some common element, before we make comparisons or draw conclusions as to ablaut. In Germanic, especially, 'systemzwang' has obliterated former conditions. OHG. *sliozan* belongs to the *eu : ou* ablaut-series, but the *au* of Lat. *claudō* is from $\bar{a}u$, as is seen from *clāvis, clāvus.* The Germ. word, then, is for an original **sklāu̯dō*, which has gone into the second ablaut-series, because $\bar{a}u$ and $\bar{o}u$ fell together in Germ.; or from **sklēu̯dō*, in which case it cannot be compared directly with *claudō.*

Again, the verb-stem *sreu̯o-* may be from *srē* + *u̯o* (cf. MHG. *strām*), in which *sr-ē* is composed of the root *ser* + the suf. *ē ;* or it may be formed with the suf. *u̯o-* added to root *sere-*. Therefore when we find verb stems of the form *plĕi̯o- : plĭ ; plĕu̯o- : plŭ*, they are always compound, and the root is to be sought under the form *pele-* or *pe-le-*.

CORNELL COLLEGE,   FRANCIS A. WOOD.
MT. VERNON, IOWA.

IE. *NR* AND *NL* IN GERMANIC.

IT has been shown that *mr* becomes initially in Gk. βρ-, in Lat. *fr-*, in Germ. *br-*; and medially in Gk. -μβρ-, in Lat. *-br-*, in Germ. *-mbr-* (Brugmann, I². 360, 369, 383). The development of *ml* is similar, except that *ml* becomes in Lat. *bl-*. (On *ml* in Germ. compare especially above, p. 295.)

Correspondingly we should expect *nr* to give (*n*)*dr*. For the Greek this is established: ἀνήρ, ἀνδρός — δρ-ώψ (Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 360.) I think it is also true of Lat. and Germ., at least. In Lat., however, initial *nr*, as well as original *dr*, is simplified to *r*. The principal proof of this is that there seems to be no genuine Lat. word with initial *dr*. With original *dr* may be *rāmus*, 'branch, tree,' from **dr̥-mos*, Gk. δρῦς, Skt. *dāru*, etc.; *rādō*, 'scrape,' perhaps from √ *der*.

For *nr* > *dr* the following examples may be given from derivatives of the enlarged roots *ner̆*, *nar̆* in Gk. νηρός, νᾱρός, 'wet, flowing,' Νηρεύς, νάρω (Hesych.), 'suck.' Gk. δρόσος, 'dew,' with which compare Lat. *rōs*, 'dew.' Lat. *ruō*, which Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 926, connects with Gk. ἐρύω, probably contains two distinct roots. In the sense of 'fall, rush, sink,' it may be compared with Goth. *driusan*, 'to fall.' Lat. *rigō*, 'to wet, water, suckle,' is repeated in OE. *drincan*, 'drink,' *drencan*, 'drench, wet.' In Germ. the verb has passed into the third ablaut-series, as in *windan*. Other Germ. words that may go back to *nr-* are OE. *drēopan*, 'drip, drop,' *drīfan*, 'drive, drift,' Eng. *dregs*, OE. *dræf*, OHG. *trebir*, 'dregs,' OE. *drehnigean*, 'drain,' Eng. (dial.) *drock*, 'water-course.'

Eng. *dregs* is similar in meaning and phonetics to Lat. *rancor*. Perhaps here may belong Lat. *rāna*, 'frog,' from **nrā-nā*, 'water-animal,' and Gk. δράκων, 'dragon.' This term is applied to a sea-fish, and may have meant originally a water-

monster. The early prints, in representing the dragon as a winged crocodile, seem to indicate this. In formation δράκων is similar to Eng. *drake*, OHG. *antrahho*, which is probably for pre-Germ. *anragō*. OHG. *anut, enit*, Lith. *ántis* has the same root with a different suffix. Gk. δροίτη, 'bathing-tub,' is perhaps to be added here.

The root *aᶻnĕr*, 'to be firm, stiff,' occurs in Gk. ἀνήρ, Skt. *nar*, 'man,' Germ. *Ner-thus* (see Paul's *Grundriss*, I. 1101), OE. *norþ*, 'north.' This last word probably belongs here, rather than to *nĕr*, 'flow.' If so, 'north' received its designation as the 'cold' or 'stiff' side, in contrast to 'south' (cf. Kluge, s.v. *süden*), the 'sunny side.' Gk. δράω, which is usually compared with Lith. *daraũ*, 'do,' may better, as far as its meaning is concerned, be referred to the root *nĕr*, 'firm, strong.' Gk. δρ-άω, 'accomplish, fulfil,' δράσις, 'strength, efficacy,' correspond in meaning, and probably also in root, to OE. *drēogan*, 'accomplish, fulfil,' Goth. *driugan*, 'to be a soldier, to fight.' Late Lat. *drungus*, 'a body of soldiers,' is evidently a loan-word from the Germ. I have found no reference to it in the etymological dictionaries, strange to say.

If this is a correct derivation of *driugan*, the same law would hold good for Lith. *draúgas*, 'companion,' O. Ch. Sl. *drugŭ*, 'friend.' These words have grown from the root *ner*, as follows: *nĕr; nr-ā (drā); drā-u̯o; drău̯-gho-*. This is similar to the development of the root *pel*, 'to pour': *pel-; pl-ē-, pl-ō-; plē-u̯o, plĕu̯-do-*, as in Goth. *filu;* Lat. *com-plē-s;* Gk. πλέ(ϝ)ω; OE. *flēotan*. If Goth. *driugan, draug* goes back to an original diphthong *āu̯*, it has changed to the *eu̯ : ou̯*-series, just as OHG. *sliozan* compared with Lat. *claudō, clāvus*. It may, however, come from a *drĕu̯gho-*, which has grown from *nr-ē, drē*.

This word is, of course, not the same as OS. *driogan*, OHG. *triogan*, 'deceive,' which has been compared with Skt. *drúhyati*, 'injure,' and with Lat. *fraus*. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* p. 25.)

Another possibility for *nr* is ON. *draumr*, OHG. *troum*, 'dream,' which may be connected with Gk. ὄναρ, ὄνειρος,

'dream, vision.' The word was regularly used of an unreal vision as opposed to ὕπαρ, 'a waking vision.' The pre-Germ. form would be *nr-o̯umo-*, which contains the root of ὄναρ, with no greater addition than in δρ-ώψ from ἀνήρ.

In the medial position it is quite probable that the suffix *dro* in Germ. is in some cases due to the insertion of a transition *d* between *n* and *ro*. An example of this is OE. *gandra, ganra*, 'gander.' The exact correspondence of Gk. ἔνεροι with Lat. *īnferī* in use makes it possible that these two words may be connected phonetically. As the forms *īnfer, īnfrā* show, the *f* may have been a transition sound between *n* and *r*, for an original **indr-*. The superlative *īnfimus* would then be an analogical formation.

Medial *ndl* from *nl* appears in OE. *andlong* from *an + long*, which also gives *along;* ME. *anlong, along;* Mod. Eng. *endlong, along*. In Mod. Eng. *endlong*, the *end-* is due to a supposed connection with *end*. Ger. *entlang* is of the same origin, with a later connection with *ent-*, as in *entgegen* from OHG. *ingegin*. In OE. *āndleofan, endleofan*, the same transition *d* occurs.

If initial *nl* ever existed, there is no longer any trace of it. In Gk. and Lat. *dl* became *ll*, which would naturally be simplified when initial, and *dl* from *nl* would suffer the same change. In Germ., initial *dl* and *tl* do not occur. Therefore any word beginning with IE. *dhl, dl*, or *nl* would appear in Germ. with a simple *l*. A well-known example of IE. *dl :* Germ. *l* is Gk. δολιχός, O. Ch. Sl. *dlŭgŭ*, Goth. *tulgus : laggs*, Lat. *longus*. Lith. *ilgas* may have lost the *d* phonetically from the original **dl̥ghos*. For initial *nl* I find no examples.

Cornell College,　　　　　　　　　　　　　FRANCIS A. WOOD.
Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

ON OLD ENGLISH GLOSSES.

II.

More Old English Words rescued from the Glosses.

17) *aslaegan*, 'to slay,' 'to bring to the ground'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, P 623, *profligit . collegit*, i.e. *salegit*, which is metathesis of *aslegit = aslaegið.* Cp. the Epinal gloss (*C. G. L.,* V. 378, 26) *profligatus* (= *profligatis*) *forsleginū.*

18) *ali(c)gan*, 'to lie on' = German '*anliegen* (*Jemandem*),' *i.e.* 'to importune'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, E 87, *effligit . alligit*, i.e. *aligit = aligið.* Cp. Acts 7, 19, *afflixit patres nostros ut exponerent infantes suos, ne uiuificarentur.* The gloss is also on record in the *Erfurt* [2] (*C. G. L.,* V. 288, 35), but reads there *effligit allidit.* This would point to the interpretation being Latin, were there not examples showing that *d* has taken the place of *g*, of which later on.

19) *asęcgan*, 'to say on' = German *ansagen*, 'to answer'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary* as well as in *Epinal-Erfurt: Corpus Glossary*, R 78 = *C. G. L.,* V. 387, 22, *respondit accedit*, i.e. *asecgit = asecgið.*

20) *wrǣnsian*, 'to be lascivious'; on record in the *Erfurt* as well as in *Epinal-Corpus.* The *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 365, 26) has *indruticans uraesgendi = infruticans uuraensiendi*, while the *Epinal* reads *indruticans uuraestendi*, the *Corpus* (G. 77) *indruticans wraestendé.* The gloss refers to Aldhelm (ed. *Giles*) *De Laud. Virginit.* XVII. p. 17, *Ista stolidis ornamentorum pompis infruticans*, 'The other woman vaunting a silly show of finery.' Cp. WW 419, 16, *indruticans wraestende oððe wlancende = ibid.* 491, 32, *indruticans wraestende.* On *d* for *u* = *f*, cp. *Corpus Glossary*, D 219, *discos* (= *fucus*). *fraus ; ibid.* P 847, *pugionibus . glaunis = gladiis.* That

Aldhelm has been drawn upon for quite a number of glosses, will be fully established in the forthcoming supplement to the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, edited by Dr. Georg Goetz (Leipzig, Teubner).

21) *weaxan*, 'to grow'; on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 354, 13) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary*, C 737, *coalescunt . pascunt*, i.e. *wascaht = wacsath = waxað*. The gloss is taken from *Eusebii Historia Ecclesiastica Auctore Rufino* II. 17, *in quo (conuenticulo) sccedentes, inquit, honestae et castae uitae mysteria celebrant, nihil illuc prorsus quod ad cibum potumque pertinet, inferentes uel ad reliqua humani corporis ministeria, sed legis tantum libros et uolumina Prophetarum, hymnos quoque in Deum caeteraque his similia, in quorum disciplinis atque exercitiis instituti ad perfectam beatamque uitam studiis iugibus* COALESCUNT, 'they grow into a perfect and happy life by constant study.' To the same passage refer *Corpus Glossary*, Y 8, *ymnus . loob;* E 387, *exercitiis bigangum;* M 218, *misterium . sacrum.*

22) *baat*, 'boat'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, C 959, *curimbata nauicula fluuiorŭ*, i.e. *cariui = carabi baat nauicula fluuiorum.* The Irish coracle is meant.

23) *fiil*, 'file'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, L 195, *liniamentum . species quaelinit . ut fila*, i.e. *fili = fiil; fiil* translates *lima*, which occurs L 152: *lermentum . species . quaelenit ut lima = Epinal-Erfurt, C. G. L.*, V. 370, 38 = *Erfurt*[2], *C. G. L.*, V. 307, 13. The gloss is a conflation of two, viz. :

1) *lenimentum ꝥ lĕuamentum est omne quod lenit.*
2) *lĕuamentum est species instrumenti ut lima.* It refers to Oros. IV. 12, 8, *pax ista unius anni uel magis umbra pacis lenimentum miseriarum an incentiuum malorum fuit? Ibid.* IV. 12, 10, *numquid ex eo leuamentum malorum accipiet ac non totum annum miseriis deputabit?*

24) *hwerf*, 'turn'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, C 146, *catas . prophon ɔprehensio ꝥ pena*, i.e. *catastrophen conurehensio = conuersiō⁼ⁿē = conuersionem ꝥ ueru = huerf.* The gloss is also on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt*, but badly corrupted:

C. G. L., V. 352, 30, we find *caotastrifon uterem = catastrofen ouerciu = conuersiō = conuersionem.* The Latin interpretation and the Old English explanation cut off from the lemma appear in the *Erfurt, C. G. L.,* V. 354, 60, *cacos probon; ibid.* V. 354, 61, *conprehensio uel opera;* i.e. *catastrophen conuersio uel woeru = weorf = hweorf.* Part of this appears in the *Erfurt,* (*C. G. L.,* V. 395, 48), *trofon conuersationem = catastrophen conuers*[*at*]*ionem.*

25) *aðened hand;* on record in the *Corpus Glossary,* P 573, *protentū . tergant,* i.e. *protentā* [*manū a*]*teng ant = atenig hant = athenic hant = athenit hant = aðened hand;* the gloss refers to Oros. IV. 1, 10, *Minucius quartae legionis primus hastatus* PROTENTAM *in se* MANUM *beluae gladio desecuit.*

It is also possible that *teng* stands for [*a*]*-togen.*

26) *fald,* ' fold,' ' sheepfold ' ; on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 396, 40) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary* (T 321) and the *Leyden* (Sweet, No. 191) ; the former two exhibit the gloss as

> *tabulo* (*tabula*) *fala;*

the latter as

> *tubola fala,* i.e. *stabula fald.*

The reading of the *Erfurt* is witness of the interchange of *a* and *o,* and *o* could as easily be (and is often) mixed up with *ð = d;* on the loss of the *s* cp. my remarks in the *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* X.[2] 197 f. The mixing up of *ð* with *o* has also been at work, conjointly with metathesis, to produce the apparently unintelligible *sloae* in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.,* V. 294, 51), *fisuras scisuras idest sloaesax,* i.e. *fisuras scissuras slaed saxonice* = Engl. dial. *slade; slaed* is, owing to *n—l* interchange, probably identical with *snaed,* ' cut.' Cp. *geslaecce = rapiat* (*VP.* 7, 3) by the side of modern English *snatch.* Of *slaed,* ' cut,' ' notch,' ' valley,' Sweet takes no note in the glossary to the *OET;* in his dictionary that lately appeared he exhibits it on the strength of Hall's dictionary.

27) *huhugu,* ' at least ' ; on record in the *Corpus Glossary,* S 29, *saltim . nunc = hunc = hucu = huhugu* (cp. WW 414, 30, *gloriosas saltim huhugu*). The gloss is on record in the

*Erfurt*² (*C. G. L.*, V. 330, 30) as *saltim uelnunc = saltim uel huhugu.*

28) *bernan*, 'to burn'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, U 299, *usia . suernit*, i.e. *usiac uernit = usciat bernit = ustilat bernith.*   It is even possible that the lemma was *ustuiat;* for Prudentius (περὶ στεφ., 10,885) uses a verb *ustuire.*   Sweet (probably on the authority of Wülker) exhibits the gloss under the Addenda, but nowhere attempts to explain it.

28ᵃ) *feallan*, 'to fall'; on record in the *Erfurt*² (*C. G. L.*, V. 295, 16), *fluit molae = mᴕlae = . i . uaelᴕ = fealᴕ.*   Cp. *ibid.* V. 295, 12, *fluxerunt ceciderunt.*

29) *stede*, 'stead,' 'stable' = OHG. *stat;* on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 389, 48), *stabula seto*, i.e. *steoᴕ*, which is metathesis of *stedᴕ = stedu;* there is quite a number of instances where *o*, being mistaken for *ᴕ* and *vice versa*, has dropped out.   Cp. *Corpus Glossary*, V 277, *uoluter cupio = uolucer cupido;* on *o* for *u* cp. Hessels' *Corpus Glossary*, Introd. XXXII.   *Stede*, plural *stedu*, is probably also on record in the compound *suinastedu* we meet with in the *Corpus Glossary*, S 662, *suesta . suina . sceadu*, which may stand for *suestra . suina . steadu; Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 392, 52) exhibit *suesta (siuesta) suina suada; suestrum* would be a back-formation, inferred from *suestra*, which is metathesis of *sue-star*, a word formed on the pattern of *boue-star*, corresponding to Greek βου-στασιον.   Cp. *C. G. L.*, II. 259, 33, βουστασιον, *bostar bouilebouilium* (= *bouile bouilium*). This *bouilium* seems to be concealed in *Corpus Glossary*, B 229, *bubla flood = bouiliũ falod* (?).   *Suestrum* is probably also the word underlying the *uistrina* we find WW 271, 28: *uistrina stigo*, i.e. [*s*]*uestrmu stigi = suestrum stiig.*   But the above-quoted *suesta . suina . sceadu* may stand for *sucerta suinaescead = sucerda suuines cuuead* = German *Schweine Kot*, 'swine's dripping.'

30) *healiᴕu*, 'apex,' 'height'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, J 474, *iota sochtha*, i.e. *iota s̄ echthu = iota siue hechthu = healiᴕu.*   The Latin gloss probably ran this way: ἰῶτα *apex siue altitudo; apex* dropped out and the Old English glossator replaced *altitudo* by his *healiᴕu.*   The reference is

to Matt. 5, 18. This same *healðu* is also hidden away in the *Epinal-Erfurt* gloss, C. G. L., V. 353, 27, *corimbus leactrocas*, which in the *Corpus Glossary*, C 656, reads *corimbos leactrogas*. The gloss represents a conflation of two, namely :

<div style="text-align:center">

1) *corimbus ł nauium altitudo*, and

2) *corimbos bacas* (sc. *hederae*).

</div>

For *nauium altitudo* was, in the usual way, substituted *healðu*, which coalesced with the preceding *l = ł = uel*, thus producing *leahthu*. Now, as for scribes of that time *-us* and *-os* were about equal, they could think themselves justified in blending the two glosses on *corimbus* and *corimbos*. There, then, sprung up a gloss like *corimbus* (also spelled *corimbos*) *leahthubacas*. This might be written

<div style="text-align:center">

corimbus ⎫
corimbos ⎭ *leactuuacas*

</div>

and be simplified to

<div style="text-align:center">

corimbus ⎫
corimbos ⎭ *leactuacas.*

</div>

Now, there are numerous instances of *u* mixed up with *r* through the medium of *n*, and also of *o* appearing for *a*. Hence we have now

<div style="text-align:center">

corimbus ⎫ *leactrocas*
corimbos ⎭ *leactrogas* (with *g* for *c*).

</div>

To posit a *leactrog*, 'lettuce,' on the strength of this gloss, as Sweet, *OET*, p. 495[a], has done, is quite out of the question.

31) *þringan*, 'to press, pinch'; on record in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 323, 26), *premet prendet*, and (turned around), 323, 30, *prendet premet*, i.e. *premet prendet = þringeth;* on *ng* interchanged with *nd*, cp. WW 84, 12, *inuidet angað = andað.*

32) *þryccan*, 'to press, pinch' = German *drücken ;* on record in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 322, 65), *premit deserit*, i.e. *premit decerit = decrit = ðrecit = ðricceth.* On the anaptyctical vowel, cp. my remarks in the recent number of the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVII. No. 4, p. 474.

33) *scamian*, 'to feel ashamed'; on record in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 321, 8), *pitecus monstrum id sumit; ibid.* 321, 9, *piget pudet*, i.e. *pithecus monstrum id est simia; piget pudet id est samit* = *scamith*.

34) *laemfaet*, 'loam vessel = earthen vessel'; on record in the *Erfurt*[2](*C. G. L.*, V. 318, 57), *patellas lempite sãx* = *lemfati* = *laemfaetu saxonice.* Cp. WW 154, 20, *fictilia uel samia laemene fatu; ibid.* 124, 9, *lagena laemen faet.* Sweet, in his dictionary, posits a *lęmpitu f.*, 'dish.' On *i* for *a*, cp. Hessels' *Corpus Glossary*, Introd. XXX., on *i* for *u, ibid.* XXIX.

35) *bið*, 'he is'; on record in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 290, 56), *est fit*, i.e. *uit* = *bith*.

36) *teorian*, 'to fail, be lacking'; on record in (1) the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 285, 16), *derunt certunt*, i.e. *desunt oertaht* = *teorath;* (2) the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 356, 53), *defecit tedridtid* = *deficiet* [*tempus*] *teorið tid.* The reference is to Heb. 11, 32. Sweet, *OET*, p. 516[a], explains that as 'tramples.'

37) *fristan*, 'to prolong, continue'; on record in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 281, 64), *continuus ferstud*, i.e. *frestud* = *fristod.* Cp. German '*das Leben fristen*' = 'to prolong life, to make the continuance of life possible, and so to sustain life.' Sweet posits a *feor-stupu*, 'support, prop,' for which there is no warrant. The gloss, probably, refers to Oros. IV. 12, 12, *nam sicut in corpore hominis ita demum lepra dinoscitur, si uariatim inter sanas cutis partes color diuersus appareat, at si ita se ubique diffundat, ut omnia utrius coloris quamuis adulteri faciat, perit illa discretio: ita si* CONTINUUS *labor aequali tolerantia sine respirandi appetitu perfluxisset, intentio uoluntatis et electio consuetudinis diceretur.*

38) *butl* (*weðl?*), 'a sprig, spray, bob'; on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 392, 51) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary*, S 475, *spatula bed*, i.e. *becl;* that may represent either a *bocl, botl* = *butl*, or *uetl* = *uuethl.* That there must be hidden an Old English word expressive of 'sprig, spray,' can be concluded from the lemma; for S 449 we read *spatulas . rami . a similitudine spadi* (= *spade* = *spathae*), *dicti*, which refers to Lev. 23, 40, *sumetisque uobis . . . fructus arboris spatulasque palmarum*, where **spatulas** expresses

Greek κάλλυνθρα. If *spatula* refers there, *bed* may be =
botl, butl, which as *Bult* is still extant in the Low German
dialects, *e.g. Nägelkn-bult,* 'a cluster of pinks growing from
a main stem.' Perhaps nearer to what is on record would
come *uetl = uuethl = weðl,* corresponding to OHG. *wędil,*
'sprig, fronds used to fan or sprinkle with.' However, as
spatula also can mean 'shoulder,' it is just possible to sup-
pose that *bed* stands for *bocl = bohl,* derivative of *boh =*
modern English 'bough.' In favor of *uuethl* would be *Ahd.
Gl.* II. 710, 17, *hic formeus* (= *ramus*) *mei* (= German *Mai,*
'sprig') *UUethil.*

39) *ðel,* 'board, shield'; on record in the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,*
V. 385, 43), *peltam auramdel,* i.e. *peltam auram del = peltam
uarām del = peltam parmam ðel.*

40) *brordes ceorf,* 'grain cut while still green'; on record
in the *Erfurt*[3] (*C. G. L.,* II. 579, 30), *farrago brora scǣfr,* i.e.
brordscaefr = brords caerf = brordes ceorf. Cp. *C. G. L.,* V.
198, 25, *farrago fruges adhuc in herbę colore; ibid.* III. 266,
59, γράστις, *farrago; ibid.* II. 265, 6, γραστις χλωρος χορτος.
farrago; WW 148, 26, *farrago grene berecraes = grene berecraef
= grene bereceorf;* North. Gospels, Matt. 13, 16, *herba brórd.*

41) *feoðurung* = German *Vierung,* 'quartering'; on record
in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 385, 49), as well as in the
Corpus Glossary, Q 16, *quadripertitum cocung,* i.e. *sotuung =
fetnung = fethrung = feðrung = feoðurung.* On *c = s = f,* cp.
Hessels' *Corpus Glossary,* Introd. XXIII., XXVII., XXXVI.
On the strength of the above gloss, Sweet, in his dictionary,
posits a *cōcnung, cōcunung* f. 'thing cooked,' for which there
is no warrant in the lemma.

42) *fęnn-yce,* 'mud-turtle'; on record in *Epinal-Erfurt,*
C. G. L., V. 396, 20. The *Erfurt* has *testudo brodthaca uel
sceldhreða uel faenucae,* i.e. *testudo bordthaca uel sceldherða*
(= *sceldhyrða*) *uel fenycae;* the *Epinal, testudo borohaca*
(= *borðthaca*) *uel sceldreda* (= *scelderða = sceldhirða = sceld-
hyrðı*) *uel ifaerucae* (= *ı̃ faen ucae = in fęnn ycae*). Cp.
C. G. L., IV. 184, 6, *testudo coniunctio scutorum; ibid.* IV.
184, 7, *testudo quam uulgo testudinem* (he meant *testuginem*)
alii golaiam dicunt grado lento graditur secum domum suam

portans dorso picta et es[*t*] *uenenosa.* What the *Epinal* exhibits as third meaning of *testudo* is probably based on some such Latin explanation as we find *C. G. L.*, V. 581, 5, [*testudo*] *scis in mari animal in luto ordo militum in modum corone intrinsecus terga habentium = testudo est in mari animal ł in luto ł ordo militum in modum coronae intrinsecus terga habentium.* The *Epinal's ifaer = in faen* seems then to represent a Latin *in luto.*

43) *aeren cetil*, 'brazen kettle'; on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 350, 2) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary*, C 974. The *Epinal* reads *cyprinus fornaeticli*, i.e. *cyprinus s̄ ernae ticli = cyprinus siue aeren cetil;* the *Erfurt* has *cappri-nus fornetiali;* the *Corpus Glossary* exhibits *cyprinus forneted cli;* cp. WW 392, 12, *enum citel = aheneum cetil.*

44) *olfend-wop*, 'elephant's (howl) trumpeting'; on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 347, 14) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary*, B 183. The *Epinal* has *bradigabo felduuop;* the *Erfurt, bradigabo felduus;* the *Corpus Glossary, bradigabo felduop;* the gloss occurs again WW 196, 23, *bradigatio ploratiocampi feldwop.* This gloss shows that *bradigabo* must have developed from *bradigalio*, which itself sprung from *bradigatio = bradigasio = bardicasiδ = barditus id* [*est*]; now *barditus* is by-form of *barritus*, 'elephant's roar'; accordingly *ploratio campi* must have developed from *ploratio pamci = ploratio panti = ploratio* [*ele*]-*panti;* the *e* of *el* could easily disappear owing to the preceding *o*; *l* might then have been taken for *t* and been dropped as senseless, after *panti* had become by metathesis *campi;* so also the *o* of *olfend*, written *olfēd*, dropped out owing to preceding *o*, after *barditus id* had become *bradigasio.* The original full gloss I conceive, then, to have been *barditus id est ploratio elephanti olfend wop;* according to the usual fashion, *olfend wop* took the place of *ploratio elephanti; olfēd*, however, having lost its initial and the abbreviation stroke being omitted, could easily turn to *feld*, the more so as *elephanti* had become *campi.* Sweet's assumption that the plant 'plantain' is meant by *feldwop*, has nothing to stand on. On the ravages of me-tathesis cp. the *American Journal of Philology*, l.l.

45) *awican* = *onwican,* 'to yield' = German, *entweichen;* on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 351, 18) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary,* C 277. The *Corpus Glossary* has *cessere on wicum;* the *Epinal, cessere accessit;* the *Erfurt, cesserae accessit,* i.e. *cessēre aueccu = auuicū = awicum = awicun;* the gloss refers to Oros., I. 10, 13, *qui iubenti Deo non cesserant,* cessere *punienti.*

46) *genohend* (?) = German *genügend,* 'sufficient'; on record in the *Erfurt* as well as in the *Corpus Glossary.* The *Erfurt,* (*C. G. L.,* V. 354, 1), has *contentus ginehord = ginehond = ginohend;* the *Corpus Glossary,* C 666, exhibits *contentus geneorð.* Cp. *C. G. L.,* V. 281, 34, *contenta extenta sufficientia.* As, however, *m* and *n* are so often interchanged, *contentus* may stand for *contem*(*p*)*tus.* Then the *Erfurt's ginehord* may represent a *ginechord = genithord = genitherd,* and the *Corpus' geneorð* is = *geneðrð = geneðrð = geneðrod.*

47) *borgandi,* 'being bondsman'; on record in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.,* V. 326, 11), *putrenumgandi,* i.e. *patronum* [*uni*]*gandi* = *p. uurigandi = p. burgandi = borgandi;* owing to the preceding *um* the *bor*(*i*), when represented as pointed out, could easily drop out.

48) *gimnaedder* (or rather *naeddergim ?*), 'adderstone'; on record in the *Erfurt* as well as in the *Corpus Glossary.* The *Erfurt* has (*C. G. L.,* V. 356, 55), *dracontia grimrodr;* the *Corpus,* D 364, *dracontia . gimro . d̃r,* that is, *gimrodr d̃r = gimnedr dicitur,* 'gem of the adder'; it is the snakestone or 'Natterkrönlein' of the fairy tales. Sweet, in his dictionary, exhibits *gimrodor,* 'a precious stone.' Cp. *Corpus Glossary,* D 365, *draconitas . gemma ex cerebro serpentes = C. G. L.,* IV. 502, 14, *dragontia gemma ex cerebro serpentis.*

49) *cerðr* (?), 'churn-staff'; on record in the *Epinal-Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 399, 28) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary,* U 93. The *Erfurt* has *uerberatorium cordr;* the *Epinal* reads *uerberatorium cortr,* and the *Corpus, uerberatorum corthr.* Cp. WW 280, 31, *uerberaturium pwiril* = German *Quirl. corðr* (= *cerðr?*) would seem to be formed from root *cer-* from which we have the verb *cir-n-an,* 'churn.'

50) *neod,* 'needful thing'; on record in the *Leyden Glos-*

sary (*Ld.* 257), *opere p'cium necessarium uel neos*, i.e. *neot* = *neod.*

51) *ambihtes sciir*, ' discharge of office' ; on record in the *Leyden Glossary* (*Ld.* 26), *editiones thestisuir.* The gloss is identical with that exhibited by Goetz, *C. G. L.*, V. 418, 33, *editionis publicationis propositure*, which latter reappears in mutilated and corrupted form as *editiones duplicationes* in the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 357, 24) as well as in the *Corpus Glossary* (E 25). The reference is to *Rufini Historia Ecclesiastica*, as the *Leyden* clearly says. We read, *Ruf. Hist. Eccl.* IV. 15 (p. 211 of Cacciari's edition), *Et post haec uerba acclamabant Philippo munerario, ut leonem Polycarpo dimitteret. Qui respondit non sibi licere, quia iam* EDITIONIS *suae* MUNUS *explesset.* Philipp declared it was impossible for him to comply with their demand for a lion to be let loose on Polycarp, as his term of office as furnisher of public spectacles had already expired. Hence it becomes plain that the lemma must have been *editionis munus*, which was interpreted by *publicationis praepositura*, 'the office of "publication," *i.e.* of furnishing spectacles to the public.' This the Old English glossator tried to render by *ambihtes sciir*, I take it. The gloss ran then originally this way :

> *editionis munus publicationis praepositura ambihtes sciir.*

Now, *munus* might be overlooked and the gloss written :

> *editionis publicationis praepositura āuihtes sciir;*

there was then occasion for the *u* being mistaken for *a*; so there might develop an Old English *āaihtessciir*, which was substituted for the Latin interpretation, and simplified to *āihtes sciir.* Now *a* has been often enough mistaken for *c* and *vice versa;* so we read in the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 340, 54), *arbate sibaed* for *cribate* = *cribrate.* The same could happen to the above gloss, especially after the abbreviation stroke over *a* had been inadvertently omitted. Then there resulted *cihtes sciir.* *C* and *t*, however, are constantly mixed up; this, conjointly with metathesis, could well produce a *thestis sciir.* To save space, the two words might be written

as one, and then *sciir* could lose its *s* and *cur* be taken for *uir* (cp. *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 360, 6), *fouit caeormad = fouit cueormad = f. cieormad = ueormad = weormað*). That, I think, would account for the *thestisuir* on record. Cp. *Erfurt, C. G. L.*, V. 372, 19, *manticum = manuam* [*hordei*] *handful beouaes*, where *ticu* represents *ua*.

52) *baericge* (?), 'bearer of the bier'? on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, B 196 = *Cp.* 330, *braugina barice*, and *ibid.* B 55 = *Cp.* 282, *baruina barriggae*. In the October number of the *Anglia* I have tried to get at the meaning of this difficult gloss by supposing that the lemma represents *porcina;* I no longer think it tenable. As we find *C. G. L.*, II. 28, 23, *barginna, νεκροφορος . βαρβαρος . ‖ προσφωνησις . βαρβαρου*, we might conclude that *braugina* is = *barginna*, and that the idea of *νεκρόφορος* is rendered by *barrigge* (*barice*), signifying the woman slave of foreign birth who had to attend to the burial of criminals (?). Evidently the same mysterious word is recorded, WW 357, 36, *baruhina bericge*. *Barginna* (also *bargina*) is also mentioned by Flav. Caper, 2245, 8 P, and explained as *homo uitiosae gentis*, according to Georges.

53) *sceawunge* = German *Schauung*, 'looking,' 'spying'; on record in the *Erfurt-Corpus* as well as in the *Epinal;* the *Erfurt* has (*C. G. L.*, V. 392, 48) *senon cearricae;* while the *Corpus* exhibits (S 277) *senon . cearricge;* the *Epinal* comes nearer to what there originally must have been, with its *senon cearruccae*, i.e. *Seon ceannunccae = Sion sceauungae*. Cp. *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 389, 36), *seon germen inutile siue specula.* Sweet just exhibits the gloss. Perhaps a strong past participle of *sceáwian* is hidden in the *seuuin* glossing *probum*, *Corpus Glossary*, P 572; it would be substitute for a Latin *spectatum*. Cp. *ibid.* S 460, *spectatus probatus.*

54) *haen*, 'hen'; on record in the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 390, 11), *scarpinat scripithaen*, which is mutilated and corrupted from *scalpurit gallina scrifith haen.*

55) *bridd-raest*, 'chicken-roost,' 'perch'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, P 188, *partica . reodnaesc*, i.e. *particaaresdraest = partica uredd raest = pertica bridd raest*; cp. *C. G. L.*, V. 130, 20, . . . *dicitur et patibulum trames* (= *traues* =

trabes = trabs) . *id partica in qua* PULLI DORMIENTES *adprensi sunt.*

56) *bęcc* = OHG. *bęcchi*, 'basin'; on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, J 465, *incatamo inbęce*, i.e. *in catino in bęcce*; cp. Codex Bezae Matt. 26, 23, ο ευβαπτομενοσ την χειρα μετ εμου εισ το τρυβαλιον ουτοσ με παραδωσει, *qu*[*i*] [*i*]*ntinguet manum mecum in parapside hic me tradit;* Ahd. Gl. I. 721, 16, *parabsis kebita ł catinus ł acetabulum maius.* Perhaps also *Ld.* 23, *labrum ambonem haet*, represents *labrum ambonem ł baec = bęcc; ambo* is Greek, ἄμβων, 'a raised (projecting) rim'; *labrum* would then appear in its twofold significance, meaning either 'rim' or 'basin'; on *n* mixed up with *h* cp. Hessels' *Corpus Glossary*, Introd. XXXII.; on *n* mixed up with *u*, ibid. XXXI.; on *u* with *b*, ibid. XXXVII.   Cp. also *Ahd. Gl.* II. 670, 38, *labris pechinun.* To think *Ld.* 23 of 'hat,' as Sweet, *OET*, p. 481[a], has done, is just as impossible as to explain *bęcc* by 'back' (Sweet, *OET*, p. 477[b]), unless we take 'back' in the dialect sense of 'basin.'

57) *stoepan*, 'to steep' = German (Berlin) *stippen = eintauchen;* on record in the *Corpus Glossary*, J 466, *initiatum . gestoepid; initiatum* either developed from *initictum = intinctum*, or was explained by *intinctum*, for which the Old English *gestoepid* was substituted.   Sweet, *OET*, p. 651, explains *stoepan* wrongly as meaning to 'begin.'   *Corpus Glossary*, J 465 and 466, are probably closely connected.

58) *swearmian*, 'to form swarms'; on record in the *Epinal-Corpus* as well as in the *Erfurt.*   The *Epinal* (*C. G. L.*, V. 350, 45) has *coaluissent suornodun;* the *Corpus*, C 591, with a slight change, *coaluissent suornadun;* the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.*, V. 350, 45) alone has *coaluissent suarnadun.*   As the reference is undoubtedly to Orosius, V. 11, 2, *namque cum per totam Africam immensae lucustarum multitudines* COALUISSENT . . ., it is easy to see that *suornadun* (*suarnadun*) must represent a *suormadun* (*suarmadun*); on *n* interchanging with *m*, cp. *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* X.[2] p. 195.   Sweet, *OET*, p. 576[a], takes the word as meaning 'coagulate.'

59) *scyrf-haga* = German *Schürf-Hacke* = 'hoe'; on record in the *Ld.* 43, *ligones ferrum fusorium* (i.e. *fossorium*) *tyr-*

fahga ; the gloss refers to Joel 3, 10, and is also exhibited by Steinmeyer-Sievers, *Ahd. Gl.* I. 678, 1 ; *scyrf,* having become *styrf,* could easily lose its *s* ; cp. *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* l.l.

60) *wurpul,* 'inclined to throw the rider ' ; on record in the *Corpus Glossary,* S 575, *stenax* (= *sternax*) *wurpul ;* it refers to Virgil's *Æn.,* 12, 364.

The prototype of Scotch *fleech,* ' to wheedle, coax,' seems to be hidden away in what we read in the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 373, 8), *mulcet friad,* where *friad* may represent a *flicca∂ ;* the *Epinal* has *mulcet friat* and the *Corpus Glossary,* M 350, *mulcet . lenit . friat.* On *r* for *l* cp. WW 357, 14, where *anses raestras* probably stands for *ansas haeftlas ;* it is even possible that these two glosses have been conflated, viz. *amites raeftras* and *ansas haeftlas ; haeftl* would correspond to German *Heftel.* · Compare also *Corpus Glossary,* B 138, *bipertitum herbid = healfid.* Also of *broiden,* 'interwoven, plaited, braided,' the Old English prototype may be extant in the *bordan* on record in *Corpus Glossary,* M 175, *melito . meditor . meadrobordan.* That these two glosses have been crowded on one line, is quite evident, viz.:

    1) *melito* (=μελετῶ) . *meditor* and
    2) *meādro . bordan* = *maeandro brogdaen ?*

The reference would be to the ' cunningly woven ' border of the *chlamys* given to the victor, which Virgil, *Æn.* V, 250–51, speaks of : *Victori chlamydem auratam quam plurima circum* | *purpura Maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit.* Compare also *Beda, Hom.* II, No. 29, p. 394, *spyrte bi∂, swa swa ʒe sylfe witon, of rixum gebrôden o∂∂e of palmtwŷgum.* On the disappearance of *g,* cp. *C. G. L.,* V. 372, 29, *maostratus* (= *magistratus*) *senatus.* Probably to *Æn.* III. 516, *Arcturum pluuiasque Hyadas geminosque Triones* is to be referred what we find in the *Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 365, 34), *hyadas red gaesram,* which in the *Epinal-Corpus* reads *hyadas raedgaesram* (*Epinal : raed gaesram*). I should say *raedgaesram* developed from *raēdsaeran = rãegscaerran = regnsteorran,* the ' rain-stars.' Cp. Jean Paul's *Regengestirn* (see Grimm, *Deutsch. Wtb.* s.v.).

Is Old English *hindan* represented by *inter* glossing *pos* in

the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 322, 24)?   The entire gloss reads
pos inter superfluum conpositum opere quadratum.   The pre-
ceding one is *portentosus pigmentum.*   It seems plain that
there is some disturbance of the proper arrangement.   May
be that we have to restore the proper order this way:

1) *portentosus supernaturalis*
2) *pos hindan*
3) *pigmentum conpositio*
4) . . . *opere quadratum*

A very puzzling gloss is *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 295, 4)
filistrus fimbria.   Remembering how often these glosses
have been inverted, we may get at a proper understanding
by applying the remedy of inversion.   Then we would have
fimbria filistrus; as *a* has the tendency to become *i, fili* may
represent *fila*, and *s = s̄*, abbreviation of *siue.*   So there re-
sults *fimbria fila siue trus.*   Now, *trus* reminds us strongly
of *ðres* glossing *limbus* (*Corpus Glossary*, L 243, *limbus . ðres .
liste*), or *oresta* (that is *ora t lista*), *ibid.* O 229.   As *a* and *u*
are continually mixed up, *trus* would stand for *tras*, and that
for *thraes.*   However, I am loth to accept *thraes* as final,
though Sweet has given it a place in his *Dictionary.*   Juvencus,
when paraphrasing the well-known passage of Matthew (14,
36, *et rogabant eum ut uel fimbriam uestimenti eius tangerent*),
expresses it by saying (*Evang. Hist.* III. 130) *uestisque
attingere* FILA | EXTREMA *exoptant.*   Hence it would seem
probable that the common Latin interpretation of *fimbria*
was *extrema fila.*   Then *thraes*, representing *fila*, may stand
for *thraec = thraet*[1] *= thraed.*   The probability of this view
seems to be strengthened by the synonym *liste*, appearing
side by side with *ðraes*, to explain *limbus.*   *Liste* = German
Leiste = English *list* (in the phrase 'to enter the lists'), is, as
far as I can see, nothing but the Anglicized Latin *lista*, which
is a derivative of *lic-ium*, 'thread.'   To enter the 'lists'
means, accordingly, to get inside the 'cord' marking off the
arena.   Also an English word may be concealed in *autem*,

---

[1] *t* is represented by *s* in the *Erfurt, C. G. L.*, V. 319, 44, *pede septim caute
sensim = pedetēptim = pedetemptim.*

the apparently Latin interpretation of *caraxatus, Erfurt,*[2] V. 275, 23. I think *caraxatus = charaxatus* was interpreted by Latin *scriptus.* Then *autem* must represent *uuten = uuuten uuriten.* It is also possible to read *charaxatis writum.*

Words wrongly explained by Sweet.

OET, p. 578[a], '*haeðcole,* sí. "a plant." *Cp.* 570, *haetcolae colomata.*' Read *calymmata haeccolae,* i.e. *haecole = haecile.* Cp. the German name of Wodan, *Hackelberg.* Probably with the same word we have to do in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.,* V. 227, 45), *racana huitil sãx ; huitil,* if all right, can hardly mean anything else but 'white garment'; and I don't see how *racana* can be made to agree with that. *Racana* occurs in the Epistles of St. Gregory (XI. 1, *propterea misimus laenas* XV., *rachanas* XXX., *lectos* XV.), and as according to *Georges* there is also a byform *raga* or *raca,* the word may be connected with ON. *rǫgg,* 'rough (goat's) hair.' It would then seem that it signifies a coarse cloak or blanket, like the Italic *sagum.* In fact, *sagum* is explained by *hwetel,* WW 158, 10.

OET, p. 595[a], Sweet infers a *haeþ,* sn. 'heath,' from *Ef.* 269, *haeth* (*calomacus*). *Cp. haet,* Ld. *het,* Ep. 1007, *haeth, Ef. haedth, Cp. haet.* Now, the *Leyden* (Sweet's *Ld.* 162) reads plainly *calomaucus het,* and that points rather to the 'hat' than to the 'heath.' Cp. *C. G. L.,* V. 458, 24, *galerum pylleum* (i.e. *pileum*) *pastorum deiunco factum ; ibid.* V. 458, 25, *galeros calamaucos. Calamaucus* is to be connected with late Greek καλυμαύκιον, also by metathesis καμηλαύκιον, shortened to καμηλαύκι in modern Greek. The word probably developed from καλυμμάτιον. In modern Greek it signifies a monk's cap.

OET, p. 478[b], we read *staeg,* s. 'pond, pool,' on the strength of *Ep.* 962, *staeg uel meri* (*stagnum*). In the dictionary Sweet would make it appear that *staeg* represents a Latin *stagnum ;* but in fact it is but misreading of *scaeg = saeg,* 'sea, lake.'

OET, p. 550[a], *oem-seten* is explained as 'shoot, slip'; but

the *Corpus Glossary's* (A 534) *amtes . oemsetinne wiingeardes*
does surely not justify such an explanation.   We have again
to do here with ⸢ delta ⸣, misread for *o; oemsetinne* has sprung from
enisetinne = endisetinne, and *endisetinne wiingeardes* is sub-
stitute for a former Latin *extremi ordines uineae.*   Cp. *C. G. L.*,
V. 265, 46, *antes extrimi ordinesuinearum.*   It means, then,
the 'end-rows of the vineyard.'   Cp. *Ahd. Gl.* II. 364, 39,
antes enti, a gloss referring to *Phocae Ars.* 428, 6.   In his
dictionary Sweet exhibits *ocmseten = + ymbseten*, 'shoot,'
and again '*ymb-seten**', vE. (= very early) *ocmseten*, f. 'shoot,
slip.'

I wonder what Sweet's idea of the composition of '*faer-
bena ~ u* [for *o*]' is, that he can explain it by '*sailor.*'   I
have not been able to find a trace of the word in his glossary
to the texts, but he exhibits it as *very early* in his dictionary.
It occurs in the *Erfurt*[2] (*C. G. L.*, V. 290, 27), *epifates
faerbenu.*   Now, *epifates* is very likely corrupted from
epiuates = epibates, and that is not a 'sailor,' but a 'pas-
senger,' 'a man paying for his passage on board ship,' as
it is explained in the *Leyden* (*C. G. L.*, V. 423, 11): *epi-
batis qui peruenient et dant nabulum pro nauigatione.*   As
nabulum (i.e. *naulum*) is explained in the *Corpus Glossary*,
N 47, by *ferescaet* = German *Fahr-schatz*, 'fare,' it would
seem natural that the man paying his 'fare' might be called
ferescaetta ; and it is possible that this word is hidden in the
faerbenu on record.   *Faerbenu* may represent a former *faeru-
ena*, which may have developed from *faerccecca = faerscecca
= faerscetta = fersceatta.*

As first quotation for OE. *forð* = 'forth,' Sweet prints,
OET, p. 575[b], the *Epinal* gloss, 529, *a fordh (in dies)* = Ef.
a forthe, Cp. *a forht.*   If we turn to the *Corpus Glossariorum
Latinorum*, we find (V. 366, 41) the *Erfurt* gloss exhibited
this way : *indies crudesceret aforthe*, while the *Epinal* reads,
indies crudesceret a fordh ; the *Corpus Glossary* has, *in dies
crudesceret aforht.*   Now Sweet assumed that the Old English
interpretation was to explain *in dies.*   He was probably led
to think so by remembering German *hinfort (fort-an).*   But
surely *in dies* cannot mean 'in the future,' and no Latin

glossator can ever have thought of explaining it by *in* (*tempus*) *posterum* (cp. WW 84, 23, *in posterum forð on*), for which *a forð* would have to be considered the substitute. And how are we then to explain the reading of the *Erfurt aforthE?* There is a way to account for it, if we take the interpretation as referring to the whole phrase; that is to say, if we conceive that the Old English glossator found a Latin interpretation like *acrior fieret.* For this he put his *afror uuearth.* If that was written *afror uárth,* it could — owing to the custom of the scribes to indiscriminately use *u* and *f* — easily turn to *afror farthe,* and then to *afor forthe,* which, when written as one word, could give rise to the intentional or inadvertent dropping of one *for.* The gloss refers (as I have shown in the *Archiv f. Lat. Lex.* X.[3]) to Oros. IV. 3, 5, *cum pestilentia in dies crudesceret, auctores suasere pontifices ut ludi scaenici diis expetentibus ederentur.*

Also to Orosius (III. 12, 21) refers the *Epinal-Erfurt* gloss, 736 = *C. G. L.,* V. 378, 15, *piraticam uuicing sceadae* (*Ef.*) *piraticum uuicing sceadan* (*Ep.*). The *Corpus Glossary* (P 391) concurs with the *Erfurt* in reading *piraticAm,* and so we find, Oros. III. 12, 21, *piraticam quoque exercere instituit.* Hence Sweet cannot be right in assuming, *OET,* p. 462[a], a *scaða,* sm. 'thief.' Very likely the glossator found as Latin interpretation *maritimum latrocinium,* for which the *Erfurt* glossator put the nominative *uuicing sceadae = sceað(a)e,* while the *Epinal-Corpus* glossators, having reference to the case of the lemma, put the accusative *sceaðan.* Right here I will remark that in a goodly number of instances the reading of the *Corpus* is concurrent with that of the *Epinal.* Just what the relations of the *Corpus-Epinal* and the *Erfurt* are, we shall be able to decide only when the supplement to the *Corpus Glossariorum* shall have been issued.

OET, p. 620, Sweet quotes '*sniŏ-streo,* s.' from *Ep.* 973, *snid* ~ (*sisca*); *Ef.* ~ *streu, Cp.* 13, *snithstreo* (*gacila*). He does not offer there any explanation, but in his dictionary he doubtingly suggests (Bosworth-Toller's) 'carline-thistle.' It seems to me quite plain that the word means exactly what its component parts imply, viz. 'cut-up straw' = German

' *Schnitt-stroh*' = ' *Häcksel*' ; *sisca* probably represents *psista*
= ψηστά, while *gacila* is = *g acila* = *graece acira* = ἄχυρα.

From *Ep.* 157 (= *C. G. L.*, V. 348, 7) *bona scaet* = *Ef.* =
Cp., Sweet *OET*, p. 481ᵃ, infers a *scaett* ' sm. payment, tribute.'
That any Latin glossator could have explained *bona* in such
a manner as to enable the Old English glossator to substitute
his *scaett* for it, is in itself very improbable and becomes the
more so when we find such glosses as *boi scaettas*, WW 195,
10, and *bona scet*, WW 358, 22 ; *bon scettas*, WW 358, 23.
What we have to understand by them may be seen from
WW 195, 7, *boia arcus uel geoc; ibid.*, 195, 8, *boias catenas
sweorcopsas uel handcopsas ; bona scaet* is then misreading for
boiia scaec ; boiia represents a Greek βόεια which neuter plural
turned into a Latin feminine singular; the Latin interpretation
probably read *catena*, for which the Old English *scaec* stands
(cp. Low Saxon *schâke*, ' link of a chain '); derivative of this
is *sceacul* glossing *columbar*, WW 107, 10, from which sprung
modern English 'shackle'; apparently the same word occurs
WW 517, 2, *plectra sceacelas ;* but the first *c* of that is mis-
reading for *t*, which itself is corruption of *l*, so that we have
to restore *sleacelas* = German ' *Schlägel*.' Sweet, in his dic-
tionary, refers to this corrupted *sceacelas*, when under *scacol*
he gives as second meaning of the word : (*!*)*plectrum. Boias*
corrupted to *balus* we read in the *Epinal-Erfurt, C. G. L.*,
V. 346, 55 ; the Old English interpretation is there *isaern
fetor*, ' iron fetter ' ; the *Corpus* (B 38) reads *balus . isernfeotor.*

OET, p. 554ᵃ, Sweet quotes a noun *wulluc* from *Ep.* 557,
uuluc (*inuolutus*) = *Ef.* = *Cp.* ; *Ld.* 112, *uuluc* (*inuolucrus*).
He does not explain the word, but, it would seem, he refers
to it, when exhibiting in his dictionary *wullic*, ' woolly.'
However, the gloss in question refers to Ezek. 27, 24, to
which the reading *inuolucrus* of the *Leyden Glossary* clearly
points. We read there in the Vulgate : *ipsi negotiatores tui
multifariam* INVOLUCRIS *hyacinthi et polymitorum gazarumque
pretiosarum quae obuolutae et astrictae erant funibus, cedros
quoque habebant in negotiationibus tuis.* That we rightly
refer the word there, is clearly proven by the Old English
gloss, which Steinmeyer exhibits l.l. *Ahd. Gl.* I. 640, 15, 16,

inuoluclis dicitur quando inuoluitur uestimentum .i. vulluch;
uulluc is then what the German would call a _Wickel-Tuch,_
'a shawl.'

On the strength of _Ep._ 402 _feormat_ (fouit) = _Cp.-Ef._
*_caeormad,_ Sweet exhibits, _OET,_ p. 529[b], a verb _feormian,_
'support, cherish,' but we can confidently say that this ought
to be _weormian = wearmian,_ 'to warm,' which is the usual
rendering of _fouere; f_ and _u_ interchange constantly. — Ac-
cording to Sweet, there is an Old English _bord-rima_ meaning
'rim.' So he states, _OET,_ p. 509[b], on the strength of _Ld._ 112
bordremum (_rimis_). As that is a gloss taken from Gregory's
Dialogues (3, 36, p. 357), which occurs again _Ld._ 117 (_rimis_
cinum), we shall say that _bordremum_ must be misreading for
bordsemum = bordsaemum = bordseamum, 'board-seams,' 'fis-
sures in boards.' The gloss is also exhibited _Ahd. Gl._ II. 246,
45. The word to be posited is then _bord-seam._ Probably,
instead of _toð-rima,_ 'gums,' which Sweet infers from _Lr._ 39
toðreomum (_gingis_), we should read _toð-goma._

Nor can I have any faith in the _gebind_ that Sweet, _OET,_
p. 509[b], posits on account of _Ld._ 83 _ebind_ (_tenacitas uentris_).
He does not explain it there, but the meaning of _costiveness,_
assigned among others to _gebind_ in his dictionary, evidently
reproduces the above _tenacitas uentris._ As _tenere_ with its
derivatives appears usually explained by _hębban_ with its deri-
vatives, we shall hardly go amiss when supposing that _ebind_
stands for _hebind,_ which may represent a _hebcnðð = hebtnod =_
haeftnoð. — Why the Anglo-Saxon should have called the
Parca a _burg-run,_ 'a magic being of the burg,' is not plain.
True, we know of castle-haunting 'white ladies,' but they
are rather an invention of the late Middle Ages. The cur-
rent idea of a _Parca_ was surely that of 'fate.' Such, in
fact, is the explanation of _Parce_ we find (_C. G. L._, V. 318,
47) in the _Erfurt_[2]: _Parce facta_ (i.e. _fata_) _uel fortune meliores_
(_i.e. mulieres_), 'die Schicksals-Frauen,' as the German would
say. If, therefore, we find _Ep._ 761 _parcas burgrunae = Ef. =_
Cp. burgrune, we shall not with Sweet, _OET,_ p. 636 , posit a
burg-run, 'sorceress,' but rather a _uurdrun = uuyrd-run,_ 'a
weird sister.' On _d_ for _g_ cp. _C. G. L._, V. 114, 22, _lurdo_ .

gloto = lurgo = lurco glutto ; V. 268, 1, *impendit = impingit.*
Wroht-spitel, on record in *Cp.* 1943 (*susurio*) and explained by
Sweet, *OET,* p. 514ᵃ, as slandering, is not to be connected with
spittan, as he would make us believe in his *Dictionary,* but
with *sweg;* we ought to read *wroht-swigel = wroht-swegel* (*accu-
sationes sonans*), 'scandal-whisperer' = German 'Ohrenbläser.'

According to Sweet, *OET,* p. 488ᵃ, the *galluc* glossing
galla, Epinal 466 (= *Erf.* = *Cp.*), refers to a plant we now
call 'comfrey.' This he gives also in his *Student's Dictionary
of Anglo-Saxon* as the meaning of the word. His authority
for it is Bosworth, who, in turn, relies on Somner. Now
Somner, in his *Dictionary,* quotes, in the first place, a *galloc,*
to which, sure enough, he assigns the meaning of 'comfrey'
among others. He records, however, also a *galluc, 'Galla
D.* and MS., a fruit called gaules, also an oak-apple.' The
entry *galloc* is probably identical with the *sinfitum gallac* we
meet with, WW 298, 20. At any rate, Somner gives by the
side of 'comfrey' also 'wall-wort' as further meaning, and
that would fit with *symphyton.* The entry *galluc* is con-
fessedly based on the gloss *galla galluc* of the Cotton MS.
Cleopatra A III., printed WW 412, 38, a glossary that in
its essentials coincides with the *Corpus Glossary.* If, there-
fore, we are to follow Somner's authority in explaining *galluc,*
we must assign to it the meaning of 'gall-nut' or 'oak-apple.'
And, in fact, we shall not go amiss by doing so, inasmuch as
the gloss in question is Virgilian, taken from *Georg.* IV. 267,
proderit et tunsum gallac admiscere saporem. As to the gloss
sinfitum gallac, apparently referring to a plant called 'com-
frey' or 'wall-wort,' it would seem very probable that *gallac
= galluc* has been wrongly joined to *sinfitum.* Let us sup-
pose that the latter word was written *sīfitū;* then there was
surely occasion for a scribe, while copying, to mix it up with
a neighboring *sisita = cicida = κηκίδα.* For this was the
word in common use instead of the literary *galla,* as we
learn from *C. G. L.,* V. 297, 48, *galla zizuca rusticae =*
V. 337, 27, *zizuga rustice galla,* wherewith compare V. 204,
9, *galla genus pigment; quo[d] greci cecidam dicunt.* This
vulgar name *cicida* is also hidden away in the *adriatica*

(WW 133, 20), or *adriaca* (WW 322, 14), appearing as lemma
of *galluc.* For WW 133, 20, *adriatica uel malum terrae
galluc* is mutilated from *galla id* [*est*] *cicida uel malum cerri
galluc,* as is also WW 322, 14, *adriaca galluc,* nothing but
[*galla*] *id* [*est*] *cicida galluc. Malum cerri* corresponds ex-
actly to English ' oak-apple,' while *galluc* is Anglicized *galla,*
formed on the pattern of *bealluc* and the like. *Malum terra
= malum cerri* is the lemma of *galloc,* WW 451, 8.

OET, p. 598[b], Sweet quotes from *Cp.* 1872 (*sinopede rede-
stan*), a noun *rede-stān,* without trying to explain it. In his
Student's Dictionary he has, however, ' *rede-stān* m. once
synophites (precious stone), *Gl.*' I do not know of any
precious stone called *synophites,* but even if there is anything
like that, *redestan* cannot refer to it. Isidore, *Etym.* XIX.
17, 3, tells us plainly of a red stone called *sinopis* that took
its name from the town of Sinope, in the neighborhood of
which it was dug. There were three species of it, he says,
' *rubra et minus rubra et inter has media.' Redestān* is then
a stone to make red with, and answers to German *Rötel.*
The gloss is evidently taken from Jerem. 22, 14, *facit laque-
aria pingitque sinopede,* to which passage also belongs the gloss
pingit faehit (Epinal-Corpus). Here it is again to be noted
that *Epinal* and *Corpus* concur in reading *faehit,* while the
Erfurt has *faethit = faechit.* Concerning *redestan,* compare
Ahd. Gl. I. 630, 68, *sinopide rothsteine ł ogre.*

On the strength of such a gloss as *Epinal* (*C. G. L.,* V.
349, 14), *buccula bucc = Corpus Glossary,* B 223, *buccula buuc
= Erfurt* (*C. G. L.,* V. 349, 14), *buccula bua,* Sweet posits a
bucc m. ' beaver of helmet.' That *bucc* was the Old English
expression for the beaver of a helmet is a gratuitous assump-
tion, and yet Sweet exhibits the word in his *Dictionary* with-
out even hinting at its doubtfulness. As the *Corpus Glossary*
plainly reads *buuc,* and as in the *Erfurt* [2] (*C. G. L.,* V. 318, 2)
we find *patera fiola uel bucula calicis,* one might be inclined
to think we had to do here with *būc,* ' bulky vessel,' ' pitcher.'
But we meet *C. G. L.,* IV. 314, 45, with *buccula bucca* in a
glossary where there is no idea of Old English interpretation ;
again we find IV. 27, 3, *bucula bacca,* and IV. 489, 32, *bucula*

uacca dimitiue = V. 272, 29 (*Erfurt*[2]), *bacula uaccadiminu-tiuae*, wherewith compare IV. 212, 40, *bucala uaccula.* Hence it would appear that neither a pitcher nor a beaver, but a cow, is meant.   Read then *bucula uacca*, following the traces of *Erfurt*.

Shall we with Sweet (*OET*, p. 641) assign the meaning of 'eel' to *bool*, glossing *murenula*, *Cp.* 1337 = *Corpus Glossary*, M 302?   I think it is safer to say that *murenula* refers to the ornament mentioned in the Vulgate, Num. 31. 50, Cant. 1, 10. Isa. 3. 20.   Then *bool* may stand for *becl* = *begl* = German *Bügel*, which ought to be spelled *Biegel;* cp. the expression *geschniegelt und gebiegelt* = 'dressed up like a very dude.'

As to the *Corpus* gloss, *Cp.* 907 = *Corpus Glossary*, F 293, *foras . bolcan.*   Sweet's explanation (*OET*, p. 578[b]), *bolca,* 'sm. gangway in a ship,' seems to be corroborated by the OHG. gloss *agiauia* (= *agia uia*) *bolchin*, on record in Heinrici *Summarium, Ahd. Gl.* III. 164, 19.   As *foras*, not *foros*, is the lemma of *bolcan*, I had formerly been inclined to think that *foras . bolcan* was truncation of *egerere foras . bolcan*, 'to belch forth, to vomit,' and I referred the gloss to Oros. V. 6, 5, *clausa undique mari* (the talk is about Sicily) *egerere foras non facile potest intestinum malum.*

To Deut. 23. 12 probably refers the *Corpus* gloss, A 328, *aegesta . gors*, which Sweet, *OET*, p. 578[a], explains as *gorst*, 'sm. gorse, furze.'   But it is rather *gorr* = *gōr*, 'dung,' as is plain from *egesta humo operies*, 'cover up your excrements with earth.'   Wrong gemination of consonants is frequent.

HARTFORD HIGH SCHOOL.   OTTO B. SCHLUTTER.

NOTES ON THE OLD ENGLISH *CHRIST*
(320, 952).

CHRIST 317-325 contains a paraphrase of Ezek. 44. 2.
The passage runs:

> Ic þē mæg secgan þæt sōð gewearð
> þæt ðās gyldnan gatu gīet sume sīþe
> God sylf wile, gæstes mægne,
> gefǣlsian, Fæder ælmihtig,
> ond, þurh þā fæstan locu, foldan nēosan
> ond hīo þonne æfter him ēce stondað
> simle singāles swā beclȳsed
> þæt nǣnig ōþer, nymþe Nergend God,
> hȳ ǣfre mā eft onlūceð.

Various commentators before the time of Cynewulf had
interpreted the verse of Ezekiel to apply to the Virgin
Mary. This view is represented by Ælfric, *Homilies* I.
194: '"Þis geat ne bið nānum menn geopenod, ac se Hlāford
āna færð inn þurh þæt geat, and eft ūt færð, and hit bið be-
locen on ēcnysse." Þæt beclȳsede geat on Godes hūse
getācnode þone hālgan mæigðhād þǣre ēadigan Marian. Se
Hlāford, ealra hlāforda Hlāford, þæt is Crīst, becōm on hire
innoð, and ðurh hī on menniscnysse wearð ācenned, and þæt
geat bið belocen on ēcnysse; þæt is, þæt Maria wæs mǣden
ǣr ðǣre cenninge, and mǣden on ðǣre cenninge, and mǣden
æfter ðǣre cenninge.'

The point to be here considered is the meaning to be
assigned to v. 320, and this is dependent upon the interpre-
tation of *gefǣlsian*. Thorpe translates it by 'make pure';
Grein (*Dichtungen*), by 'verherlichen'; Gollancz, by 'glorify'
(*Cynewulf's Christ*) and 'make resplendent' (*Exeter Book*).

In the *Sprachschatz*, Grein assigns to *gefǣlsian* the meanings 'lustrare, expiare, mundare, purificare, clarificare.'

Professor Bright, of the Johns Hopkins University, in a communication to me, proposes to read *gefǣstnian* for *gefǣlsian*. He says: '*Gefǣstnian*, taken with *fǣstan* of the next line, reflects in a striking way the special emphasis of the original passage: "This gate shall be *shut* . . . therefore it shall be shut"; cf. also ll. 251–2, which shows that the *closed* gates were particularly in mind.' These lines are:

> Ond þā gyldnan geatu, þe in gēardagum
> ful longe ǣr bilocen stōdan.

I propose to retain *gefǣlsian*, and to translate it by 'pass through.'

That Grein is correct in assigning to *gefǣlsian* (and also to *fǣlsian*) the meaning 'lustrare' is shown by a comparison with the Wright-Wülcker *Vocabularies*, where (438 28) we have: 'lustrans, fælsende.' This, however, does not determine the meaning of *fælsende*, since *lustrare* has various definitions. Of these, the commonest in the Vulgate is 'pass through,' 'go through.' Thus, too, in the *Vocabularies* (434 3): 'lustrata, geondhworfen,' and (438 39): 'lustraturus, geondfēr-ende.' Since it has been shown that the well-known Latin meaning of 'lustrare' as 'traverse,' 'pass through,' must have been familiar to OE. scholars through the Vulgate, and is unmistakably recognized in OE. itself; and since, as we have seen, *fǣlsian* is used in OE. as an equivalent of *lustrare*, we need not hesitate to assign to the OE. verb in our line the meaning of 'traverse,' 'pass through,' if the context appears to demand it.

That the context does demand it is, I think, evident: v. 321 is the gloss on *gefǣlsian;* 'ðās gyldnan gatu . . . God . . . wile . . . gefǣlsian' is thus corroborated, explained, and expanded by 'þurh þā fæstan locu foldan nēosan.'

So far as *action* is concerned, there is no question any-where of the shutting of the gate; the gate is conceived as already shut, and attention is directed to the passage through (cf. the 'færð inn' and 'ūt færð' of Ælfric). That this is true

may be seen from the comment of Ambrose (*Ep.* I. 7): 'Quæ est illa porta sanctuarii, porta illa exterior ad orientem, quæ *manet clausa*, et nemo, inquit, *pertransibit* per eam, nisi solus Deus Israel? Nonne hæc porta Maria est, per quam in hunc mundum Redemptor *intravit?*' Professor Bright's proposed change to *gefæstnian*, so far from giving a better sense, would merely weaken the *fæstan* of the next line: the gate which has just been fastened has not, to the imagination, the same character of impermeability as that which has long been locked (cf. the 'ful longe ǣr' of v. 252, if that passage is to be connected with this). And why should the 'Father Almighty' fasten the gates in order that immediately, in the next line, he may pass through them? This is neither Scripture nor poetry.

Cynewulf, in describing the end of the world, mentions the voice of the celestial trumpet, and the winds that blow from seven quarters, rousing and devastating the world with tempest. These winds, then, according to the received text of the *Christ* (v. 952),

> fyllað mid fēore foldan gesceafte.

Thorpe translates:

> With their breath shall fell the earth's creation.

Grein translates (apparently after Ettmüller):

> Und füllen all mit Feuer die Fluren dieser Erde.

Gollancz renders (*Christ*):

> O'erthrowing all creation with their breath ;

(*Exeter Book*):

> And with their breath o'erthrow the earth's creation.

Ettmüller (*Scopas and Boceras*) emends *fēore* to *fȳre*. Grein, apparently accepting this in his *Dichtungen* (see above), afterwards interprets *fēore* as the abl. 'vita' (*Germania* X. 420), comparing v. 974:

> Fylleð on foldwong fȳres egsan.

As against the rendering of Thorpe and Gollancz, 'breath,' it may be urged that, though *feorh* is of frequent occurrence in the poetry, this meaning is nowhere found. As against Ettmüller's emendation, there is no suggestion of fire in this context, but only of wind, uproar, and tempest. As against Grein's later rendering, 'life,' the word has here no pertinence; do these winds fill the creatures of the earth with *life*? A mere glance at the passage will show the absurdity of such a hypothesis.

I would make the simplest sort of emendation, and read *fēre* (Anglian for *fǣre*). This involves only the suppression of a single letter, which, owing to the relative frequency of *feorh* in this poem (*feorh* : *fēr* :: 11 : 2; in all but one instance in an oblique case, and so without *h*), might easily have intruded; it is supported by the *mid fēre* of 867; and in the latter passage it is again *gesceafte*, appositional with *fold-būende*, which is the object of the verb. If this is accepted, *fyllað* means, of course, 'fill.'

As for the use of *fēr* (*fǣr*) in the modern sense of 'fear,' we might compare the use of *tremor* in the *Dies Iræ*:

> Quantus *tremor* est futurus
> Quando iudex est venturus,
> Cuncta stricte discussurus!
>
> Tuba, mirum spargens sonum, etc.

In the *Christ* (cf. 941 ff.), as in the *Dies Iræ*, the coming of the Judge (*Ælmihtig, folca Weard*), inspires *terror*, expressed by *egsan þrēa*, 946; in both the mention of the Lord, and of the effect of his appearance, is immediately followed by that of the trumpet.

ALBERT S. COOK.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

AN UNNOTED SOURCE OF CHAPMAN'S
ALL FOOLS.

IN Koeppel's study[1] of Chapman one of the sources of
All Fools has unaccountably escaped mention. The two
sources given for the play are: for the main plot, the *Heau-
tontimorumenos* of Terence; for the Cornelio-Gazetta episodes,
Shakespeare's Master Ford in *The Merry Wives of Windsor.*
The connection with Shakespeare can hardly be considered
proved, but there is no doubt that for the bulk of his play
Chapman's original was the *Heautontimorumenos.* The equiv-
alent characters are: Gostanzo = Chremes, Valerio = Clitipho,
Marc Antonio = Menedemus, Fortunio = Clinia, Rinaldo =
Syrus, Gratiana = Bacchus, Bellanora = Antiphila. But such
a table of correspondences must be understood as based
mainly on the outer activity of the persons and their respec-
tive shares in the plot, not on their individual characters,
except in so far as these are determined by the plot.

Especially is this true of Gostanzo and Valerio. These
two may, indeed, as regards their value in the action, rightly
be considered as equivalent respectively to Chremes and
Clitipho, but in their characterization Chapman certainly
took his suggestion, not from the *Heautontimorumenos,* but
from the *Adelphi.* It may be well to recapitulate enough of
this comedy to show the points of likeness. Demea, an old
Athenian, with conservative notions as to the education of
young men, has two sons. One of these, Æschinus, he gives
to his brother, Micio, to be adopted. The other son, Ctesipho,
Demea keeps and brings up on his farm just outside the city.
He keeps the young man busy at farm-work under the strict-
est supervision, gives him warnings many and solemn against

---

[1] E. Koeppel: *Quellen-studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip
Massinger's und John Ford's.* Strassburg, 1897.

the temptations of the city, and thinks that by these means
he has formed a model youth. Æschinus, on the other hand,
lives in Athens with his uncle and adopted father, Micio, a
man of quite different type from Demea. Micio is burdened
with no strict moral code ; his chief desire is to win and hold
Æschinus' affection and confidence, and to this end he gives
his adopted son entire freedom, provides him with money for
every indulgence, and condones every offence. Demea, com-
ing to town, reproaches his brother for this course, which he
declares is ruining the boy, and holds up for imitation his
own way of bringing up Ctesipho, on the farm, away from
temptation. Now the actual fact is that this supposed model
young farmer has in reality slipped away to the city, and,
aided by his more expert city brother, is indulging in all the
excesses that Demea has been inveighing against. It is not,
however, until the end of the play that Demea finds all this
out, and throughout the five acts he continues to praise his
son's steadiness, and his own wisdom as an educator of youth.

From this brief *résumé* it will be apparent how close is the
parallel between Demea and Ctesipho on the one hand, and
Gostanzo and Valerio on the other — a parallel too complex
to be accidental. The resemblance — in spirit even more
than in words — extends to some of the dialogue. Take, for
example, the following passage, where the slave Syrus, who
is in the young men's confidence, encourages Demea in his
complacent error : —

[They are talking of the city youth's latest bit of miscon-
duct.]

Syr. Would you indeed have suffered that son of yours to act
thus ?

Dem. I, suffer him? Would I not have smelt it out six months
before he attempted it?

Syr. Need I be told by you of your foresight?

Dem. I pray he may only continue the same he is at present !

Syr. Just as each person wishes his son to be, so he turns out.

Dem. What news of him? Have you seen him to-day?

Syr. What, your son? [*Aside.*] I'll pack him off into the coun-
try. [*To Demea.*] I fancy he's busy at the farm long before this.

Dem. Are you quite sure he is there?

Syr. What! — when I saw him part of the way myself —

Dem. Very good. I was afraid he might be loitering here.

Syr. And extremely angry, too.

Dem. Why so?

Syr. He attacked his brother in the Forum with strong language about this music-girl.

Dem. Do you really say so?

Syr. Oh dear, he didn't at all mince the matter; for just as the money was being counted out, the gentleman came upon us by chance, and began exclaiming, 'Oh Æschinus, that you should perpetrate these enormities! that you should be guilty of actions so disgraceful to our family!'

Dem. Oh, I shall weep for joy.

*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*

May he be preserved to me! I trust he will be like his forefathers. [*Weeping.*]

Syr. [*Aside.*] Heyday!

Dem. Syrus, he is full of these maxims.

*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*

I do everything I can; I spare no pains; I train him up to it; etc.

—*Adelphi*, III. 4.

Compare with this the conversation between Rinaldo and Gostanzo: —

[They are talking of Valerio.]

Gos. Indeed, he's one can tell his tale, I tell you,
　　　　And for his husbandry —

Rin.　　　　　　　　　Oh, sir, had you heard
　　　　What thrifty discipline he gave my brother,
　　　　For making choice without my father's knowledge,
　　　　And without riches, you would have admired him.

Gos. Nay, nay, I know him well; but what was it?

*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*　　*

Gos.　　　　　　　　And like enough
　　　　Your silly father, too, will put it up;
　　　　An honest knight, but much too much indulgent
　　　　To his presuming children.

Rin.   What a difference
                  Doth interpose itself 'twixt him and you,
                  Had your son used you thus?
Gos.   My son — alas !
                  I hope to bring him up in other fashion —
                  Follows my husbandry, sets early foot
                  Into the world ; he comes not at the city,
                  Nor knows the city arts, etc.   —*All Fools*, I. 1.

It will, I think, be apparent from the above, that while the *Heautontimorumenos* is the chief source of *All Fools*, it is not the only source.   Two persons in Chapman's play, Gostanzo and Valerio, must be taken as having, so to speak, a double source : considered with respect to their activity in the plot, they correspond to Chremes and Clitipho of the *Heautontimorumenos ;* considered with respect to certain phases of their characterization, they are to be referred to the *Adelphi*.

Yale University.   Elisabeth Woodbridge.

G. *SKALKS*, NHG. *SCHALK*, ETC., G. *KALKJO*, ON. *SKÆKJA*, OHG. *KARL*, NHG. *KERL*, *KEGEL*, ETC.

IT is the object of this paper to associate etymologically certain Germanic words of like meaning whose kinship has not, so far as I am aware, been suspected. Gothic *kalkjo* and MHG. *kekel* are usually designated as "dunklen Ursprungs"; no one has succeeded in tracing in other Indo-European languages the roots of the group represented by German *karl* and *kerl* and English *churl*; and I do not know that any one has explained ON. *skækja*. It will be simplest to place the words in a table:

| G. *skalks* | ON. *skalkr* | OE. *scealc* | OHG. *scalc*, etc. |
| | | ME. *schalk* | MHG. *schalc* |

'serf,' 'menial,' 'churl.'

| G. *kalkjo* | ON. *skækja* | OE. *scielcen* | OHG. *scelchin* |
| | Dan. *sköge* | ME. *schelchene* | MHG. *schelkinne* |

'harlot'　　　　　　　　　　　'lady's maid,' 'young woman of easy virtue'

OHG. *kar(a)l*	ON. *karl*	OE. *cearl ceorl*
MHG. *karl*	OE. *carl*	ME. *cherl*
NHG. *Karl* (name)	MnE. *carl*	MnE. *churl*

'man of low birth,' 'serf,' 'churl,' 'sweetheart,' etc.

| MHG. *schelkel* | MHG. *kekel kegel* | Du. & LG. *ker(e)l* | Friz. *tzerl* |
| | | NHG. *Kerl* | |

'child of a churl'　　'child of a mistress'　　'man of low birth,' 'fellow'

NHG. (Goethe) *Kegel*

'little fellow'

| OHG. *karlo* | OHG. *scalkilo* | NHG. (dialect) *Kerle* |
| MHG. *karle* | | |

'man,' 'sweetheart'　　'child of a churl'　　　　　　'fellow'

For the lack of *s* in *kalkjo*, *kekel*, *Kerl*, *churl*, etc., see Brugmann, I. § 589, 3 end, p. 487, etc., Noreen, *Urgermanische Lautlehre*, § 57, and the literature he gives. As the *sk* varies with *k* and not *h*, it is evident that the variation arose in Germanic, not Indo-European, times. There is a similar case in Modern German, which was possible only after Gc. *t* > HG. *s*. Thus, by the side of *Stapfe stapfen*, we have *Tapfe tapfen*, due to the frequent compound *Fusstapfe*, now *Fufstapfe*, cf. Kluge's *Dictionary* and my *German Orthography and Phonology*, § 156, 3. The loss of *s-* in *kalkjo* etc. is probably due to the occurrence of the word in some such compound, most likely **hūs-(s)kalkjo* (formed without stem vowel, like *gud-hūs* etc., see Braune, *Gotische Grammatik*, § 88 *a*), cf. ON. *hūs-karl*, OE. *hūs-carl* 'domestic,' OHG. *hūs-man* 'domestic,' 'janitor,' MHG. *hūs-kneht* and *hūs-meit* 'domestic,' *hūs-volc* 'domestics.' It should also be observed that as a fem. noun that frequently occurs both in the singular and in the plural, and that denotes an object that can belong to another, Gothic *(s)kalkjo* in particular very frequently followed a word ending in *-s*: (1) nom. and acc. pl. *gōdōs (s)kalkjōns*, *þōs (s)kalkjōns*, and so after *meinōs*, *þeinōs*, *seinōs*, *unsarōs*, *izwavōs*; (2) gen. sg. *gōdaizōs (s)kalkjōns* and so after the article and pronouns *þizōs*, *sumaizōs*, *meinaizōs*, *þeinaizōs*, *seinaizōs*, *unsaraizōs*, *izwaraizōs*; (3) in all cases of both singular and plural after *is* 'his,' *izōs*, *hvis*, *hvizōs*. For the change of ON. **skalkja* > *skækja*, cf. ON. *kialke* and *kiæke*, dialectic Norwegian *kjake*, and see Noreen, *Urgermanische Lautlehre*, p. 222, 5.

It is important to observe that in the matter of the feminine derivatives the Gothic and Old Norse go together, while, on the other hand, the West Germanic languages harmonize; and this is true both in the matter of the suffix and as regards the meaning. The Gothic and Old Norse forms are *-jōn*-stems (Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre*, § 38) and have a meaning showing considerable development. *Kalkinassus* etc., correspond to πορνεία 'fornication' as distinguished from μοιχεία 'adultery.' Throughout Matthew, Mark, and Luke, πορνεία etc., are rendered by *kalkinassus* etc., and μοιχεία

etc., by *horinassus* etc.   From John on, I find μοιχεία but twice (Romans 7. 3), and it is there translated as usual by *horinassus*, but in these books *horinassus* is also the usual translation of πορνεία; *kalkinassus* occurs but twice (1 Thes. 4. 3; Gal. 5. 19), both times to translate πορνεία, but in Gal. 5. 19 both *kalkinassus* and *horinassus* are used to translate πορνεία.[1]   That is, *kalkinassus* means 'fornication,' and *horinassus* designates both 'harlotry' and 'adultery.'   *Kalkjo skækja*, then, originally designated a young serf woman who was the concubine of her master, though it later got the meaning of 'prostitute.'   There are, of course, numerous cases of similar development of meaning, cf. German *kebse kebsweib* originally 'slave,' 'handmaid,' *dirne* : *þiwa-* 'serf,' *harlot*, originally 'person of low birth,' 'servant,' etc., and see Kluge's Dictionary under *kebse*.

The forms that we find in West Germanic were made with the later feminine suffix *-ini* (Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre*, § 41, Wilmanns, II. § 240) and show but slight divergence of meaning ('maid,' 'young woman of questionable character') from their primitive *skalk* 'serf'; they are, therefore, doubtless much later formations.

The diminutive forms show both *-l-* and *-il-* (Wilmanns, II. § 205 ff. 212), and weak as well as strong declension (*id* § 205, 3).   There are also extended diminutives like *schęlkelīn*, *kęrlīn* (*id.* § 212 end), *Kerlchen*, etc.   The two *k*'s of the stem, together with the *l* of the stem and the *l* of the ending, made the word unusually susceptible to the working of those

---

[1] Very interesting, as bearing on the relations of the texts, is the order of the words in Mark 7. 21 :

GREEK.	GOTHIC.	VULGATE.
πορνεῖαι ——	kalkinassjus	adulteria
κλοπαί	horinassjus	fornicationes
φόνοι	maurþra	—— homicidia
μοιχεῖαι	þiubja	—— furta

The same compared with the Greek and Latin in Matthew 15. 19:

MARK.	MATTHEW.	
πορνεῖαι	φόνοι	—— homicidia
κλοπαί	μοιχεῖαι	—— adulteria
φόνοι	πορνεῖαι	—— fornicationes
μοιχεῖαι	κλοπαί	—— furta

tendencies that we designate by the term dissimilation (cf. Paul's *Principien*, p. 59 etc., Meringer, *Versprechen und Verlesen*, p. 176 etc., Wilmanns[2], I. p. 141, Brugman cf. the index). That is, one of the *l*'s disappears or becomes *r*; one of the *k*'s disappears or becomes *g*.

1) The most common diminutive is in -*l*-: it is found in the whole Germanic territory except Gothic and Low German; in the latter the -*il*- form takes its place. Everywhere the -*l*- forms, and in Low German the -*il*- forms, have lost their diminutive force, cf. the use of 'boys' and 'lads' for 'men,' also the originally diminutive *swine*, *chicken*, etc. This crowding out of *kalk* was probably aided by the introduction of the foreign word *kalk* 'lime,' 'chalk,' < Latin *calx*.

$$*kalkl\text{-}$$
$$*karkl\text{-}$$
$$(*kargl\text{-})$$

OHG.	$\begin{cases} karl \\ karal \end{cases}$	OE.	$\begin{cases} cearl \\ ceorl \end{cases}$	ON.	karl
				OE.	
MHG.	karl	ME.	cherl	ME.	$\}$ carl
NHG.	Karl	MnE.	churl	MnE.	

For the dissimilation $l - l > r - l$, cf. Lat. *palliolum* > MHG. *phellel* > *pheller*, and ἀλγαλέος > ἀργαλέος, Meyer's *Griechische Grammatik*[2], p. 293. The loss of one *k* may be due entirely to dissimilation, or dissimilation may only have changed one *k* to *g*, as in *kekel kegel* below, and the loss of *g* is due to its untenable position between the two sonorous consonants *r* and *l*. The oldest High German texts still have the primitive *karl*; for *karal* see Wilmanns[2], I. § 301; for later *karl* see Braune, *Ahd. Grammatik*, § 66 A2. The original OE. form *cearl* occurs among the names in Bede's *History* (cf. Sweet's OET.); the change to *ceorl* was due to the frequent association with *eorl*. (Similarly *earl* for *eorl* is due to the influence of *cearl* rather than, as usually stated, to that of ON. *jarl*.) Hitherto OE. *ceorl* has been explained as from *cerl*, due to a questionable gradation with *carl*, and the same explanation was offered for the Low German forms with *e*, for which see below.

2) The -*il*- forms appear only in continental West Germanic. In Low German, dissimilation changed one *l* and one *k*; in High German it caused the loss of one *l* and later changed one *k*. It is important to observe that LG. *kẹr(e)l* is the geographical counterpart of HG. *kegel*. As stated above, the LG. *kẹr(e)l* takes the place of the *karl* of other Germanic territory, so far as meaning is concerned.

	skalkil		*kalkil*
MHG. *schẹlkel* (*a*)	HG. *kakil*	(*b*)LG. *karkil*	
	MHG. { *kẹkel* / *kẹgel*	(*kargil*)	*karil*
	NHG. *Kegel* Du. & LG. *kẹrel*	LG. *kẹrl* Friz. *tzẹrl*	
		NHG. *Kerl*	

For *l — l* > — *l*, cf. German *Fliege fliegen* but *Vogel*, and German *Flügelmann* > English *fugleman*. Association of MHG. *schẹlkel* with *schalk*, and *schẹlkinne* prevented the loss of the *l*. The *s*-less forms did not have this restraining influence in *kalk*, (1) because *kalk* was very early displaced by *karl*, and (2) because of the early introduction of the foreign word *kalk* < Latin *calx*, cf. above. For the dissimilation of *k — k* > *k — g* in *kẹkel kẹgel* and *karkil* *kargil*, cf. ON. *skœkja* > Danish *skøge* above; but *Kegel* 'ninepin' may also have had influence in the case of the former. The loss of *g* in *kar(g)il* > *kẹrel* is regular, cf. Wilmanns[2], I. § 81. Still, as stated above for *karkl-*, dissimilation alone may be responsible for the loss of one of the *k*'s of *karkil*.

3) Weak diminutives too occur only in continental West Germanic.

kalklo	OHG. *skalkilo*	*kalkilo*
karklo		*karkilo*
(*karglo*)		*kar(g)ilo*
OHG. *karlo*		Dialectic } *Kerle*
MHG. *karle*		NHG. }

The development of the chief meanings of the diminutives would appear to have been : —

(1) A 'child of a serf woman,' whether by a serf man or by her master. The latter idea prevailed in *kẹkel kẹgel*; but

it should be observed that a *kekel* was an illegitimate child, not a whoreson, and was cared for by his father, cf. *mit kind und kegel* 'with the whole family,' though, to be sure, the original meaning of *kegel* is now no longer generally known.

(2) A 'person of low birth,' a 'churl.'

(3) A 'fellow' or 'man.'

(4) A 'lover' or 'husband,' cf. OE. *ceorlīan* 'take a husband,' 'marry.'

(5) A 'male,' cf. OE. *carl-cat, carl-fugel,* and even 'carl-man.'

For *skalks* itself I should like to revive the old suggestion that it, like *skulan sollen,* is derived from the root *skal.* It appears to be an old *g*-derivative (Wilmanns, II. § 284) and to have designated those that 'owed' service, etc.

<div align="right">GEORGE HEMPL.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
ANN ARBOR.

1. GERMAN *GIPFEL*.

KLUGE (in Davis' translation) makes the following entry for this word : '"summit, top, climax" from the equivalent late MHG. *gipfel* m.; the primitive word cannot be discovered; *Gipfel* is scarcely an intensive form of *Giebel;* MHG. *gupf, gupfe,* "point, summit" is still less closely allied, and is rather a variant of *Kuppe.*'

In spite of all this, there must be a kinship between these words, proceeding by the illegitimate or morganatic way, void in phonetic law. *Gipfel* is a synonym of *Zipfel,* Eng. *tip,* and, to use the phraseology of Professor Bloomfield, we may well look upon it as a 'blend' of *Zipfel* with either *Giebel,* or *gupf,* or both.

2. ENGLISH *SQUAWK*.

This colloquial word is, I suggest, a 'blend' of *squall* and *squeak,* with a 'dash' perhaps of *quack.*

LEXINGTON, VA.   <div align="right">EDWIN W. FAY.</div>

GOETHE AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF
SCHOPENHAUER.

'WER hat es nicht erfahren, dass die flüchtige Lesung eines Buches, das ihn unwiderstehlich fortriss, auf sein ganzes Leben den grössten Einfluss hatte, und schon die Wirkung entschied, zu der Wiederlesen und ernstliches Betrachten kaum in der Folge mehr hinzuthun konnte? So ging es einst mir mit der Sakuntala, und geht es uns mit bedeutenden Menschen nicht gleicher Weise?'
—Goethe (*Wahrheit u. Dichtung*).

The influence, which Goethe in all probability wielded over Schopenhauer, still offers an attractive field for an historical examination.

It has rightly been asserted that the first filaments of which the fabric of Schopenhauerism was woven, issued from Fichte. This must be understood to mean that Fichte's teaching goaded the vigorous spirit of his erstwhile disciple into a systematic confutation.

I shall seek to show, first, that Goethe and Schopenhauer held each other's personality in exceedingly high regard, secondly, that in some important respects their world-views were strikingly alike ; and I shall produce, from their writings and their lives, such evidence as may establish the validity of my assumption : that Goethe was one of the determinative factors in the construction of Neo-Pessimism.

Goethe's friendship with Johanna Schopenhauer, mother of the philosopher and one of the popular novelists of her time, is well known. In Frau Schopenhauer's drawing-room, for many years the assembling-place of Weimar's *beaux-esprits*, young Arthur became acquainted with Goethe. In the winter of 1813–14 Goethe often engaged in philosophic conversation with the disillusionized youth whose moroseness and

unsociability invited unfavorable comment on many sides, not least from his own mother. He initiated him into his pet theory, the anti-Newtonian 'Farbenlehre,' and on this subject the two afterwards kept up a lively correspondence. On many occasions Goethe expressed praise and admiration for the young scholar who, he said, 'will outgrow us all some fine day.'

Under the head of 1816, we read in *Tag- u. Jahreshefte* this notice, which refers back to the winter of 1813–14: 'Dr. Schopenhauer joined me as a well-disposed friend. We were of the same opinion on many subjects, but in the end a certain division became inevitable: as when two friends, who have so far wandered in company, shake hands because one of them wants to go North, the other South, with the result that they must quickly lose sight of each other.' When they parted, in May, 1814, Goethe wrote in his young friend's album a dedication, than which he could have selected none more appropriate :

Willst du dich deines Wertes freu'n,
So musst der Welt du Wert verleih'n.
Im Gefolg und zum Andenken an manch vertrauliches Gespräch.

— Goethe.

In 1819, Goethe makes the following entry in his annals :
'A visit from Dr. Schopenhauer, a man understood by very few, but in truth not easy to understand, brought me pleasurable excitement and resulted in mutual enlightenment.'

Goethe watched Schopenhauer's career with keen interest. He knew *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* and wrote at length about it to Schopenhauer's sister. He was especially pleased with the explanations given there of congenital and acquired character. The beautiful allegory of the setting sun, which he used in one of his conversations with Eckermann, was a reminiscence of this reading.[1]

Conversely, Goethe is probably the only contemporary for whom Schopenhauer had a feeling of unalloyed reverence.

[1] Rob. v. Hornstein: *Erinnerungen an Arthur Schopenhauer*. *Neue Freie Presse*, Nov. 15, 1884.

Never modest enough to hold a lower opinion of himself than his powers justified, he liked to couple his name with Goethe's. In *Parerga und Paralipomena*, § 261, he places Kant, Goethe, and himself on a level, as it were.

Already in 1809, long before he had a personal acquaintance with the poet, he adorned his room with a portrait of Goethe.

Schopenhauer sometimes makes Goethe's utterances, which he is excessively fond of quoting, the starting-point of his argumentation.[1] Or he caps his own argument with a passage from Goethe,[2] appealing to him as a last authority, after having spent all his acrimonious scorn upon the frailty and depravation of man. As when he deplores the habitual obscurity of true greatness, the blame for which he lays at the door of human jealousy, and invokes Goethe's confirmation:

> Denn es ist kein Anerkennen
> Weder Vieler noch des Einen,
> Wenn es nicht am Tage fördert,
> Wo man selbst was möchte scheinen.
>
> —*Westöstl. Divan.*

Schopenhauer makes the assertion that the works of all truly great men reflect the same consistent world-view. Undeniably Schopenhauer's and Goethe's philosophies have a great deal in common. And the works of both authors possess this inherent quality of greatness that, by their immediateness of expression, they convey, even in the fragment, the flavor of absolute originality. In order to understand Goethe, it is not necessary to put together everything he has written. His philosophy reveals itself in every one of his creations. Hardly one of his poems but breathes the singleness of his Olympian mind.

Schopenhauer considered it a prerequisite for the understanding of his work that every line he had written should

---

[1] Cf. *Parerga und Paralipomena*, § 496, with Goethe's: ' Nur die Lumpe sind bescheiden.'

[2] Cf. *Par. u. Paral.*, § 266, which contains an excellent exegesis of *Faust*, I, 682–685. It is to be regretted that Goethe's editors have not made use of Schopenhauer's keen and racy comments.

be studied.   It may be that his doctrine cannot be fully
appreciated without such labor.   But because he, like Goethe
and all the greatest writers, reflects his individuality in a style
of crystal-like limpidity, therefore we may forego the attempt
at grasping the intricacies of his speculative scheme, and yet
obtain a glimpse of his likeness — *le style c'est l'homme* — in
any one of his books.[1]   For, like Goethe, the great meta-
physician, too, is naïve : the *naïveté* of a genius may well be
consistent with the reflective nature of his work.

It is one of Goethe's titles to immortality that his eye
penetrated through *things* to *types ;* that his omnipotent art
divested all objects of that which is merely transitory, laying
bare the essential.   Like every true artist, Goethe is some-
thing of a seer ; he guides us safely from specific distinctions
to generic ones.   It is the mission of serious art to present
things as they are when the veil of superficialities is removed.
If this is not the æsthetic gospel of which Goethe is the great
missionary, then I have misunderstood the meaning of his
works.

Schopenhauer proclaims it to be the sole office of phi-
losophy to disclose, not the world's origin or destination, but
its nature.[2]   To this implicit declaration that philosophy is
an art, as well as a science, he adds an explicit one,[3] leaving
us to infer that, conversely, poetry is also a science, as well
as an art.   According to his belief, the object of the several
sciences is to demonstrate how the will acts under definite
conditions.   Chemistry, for instance, teaches how the will
behaves when the latent qualities of substances are free to
act.   Anatomy and physiology show how the will conducts
itself, in order to produce and sustain for a while the phe-
nomenon of life.   Poetry shows how the will acts when
prompted by reflection and emotion.

---

[1] ' Denn überall ist es stets die Allgegenwart des Geistes in allen Teilen, welche
die Werke des Genies charakterisiert : sie ist der von Lichtenberg bemerkten
Allgegenwart der Seele Garricks in allen Muskeln seines Körpers analog.'

— Schopenhauer, *Ueber Schriftstellerei, etc.*

[2] *Welt als Wille u. Vorstellung*, I. 322.
[3] *Welt als Wille u. Vorstellung*, II. 89.

Goethe also maintains art and science to be one. There can be little doubt that he concurred in Schopenhauer's opinion of the purpose of all philosophy, and also in his bold conception of the oneness of science. *Wahlverwandtschaften* testifies to Goethe's recognition of the operation of natural laws in the domain of human destiny. The leading theme of the novel is the question whether man's will is free or not.

Schopenhauer tells us that the point of view from which he regarded science was also the vantage-ground of the Goethean spirit.[1] 'This,' he adds, 'is evident from his writings, but I know it still better from his personal utterances.' He is referring, of course, to the 'vertrauliche Gespräche' of 1813 and 1814. Certainly the spectacle of a poet whose chief interest in life is bound up with scientific research, is an uncommon one at all times. It was especially so at the time of Germany's national awakening. But no less uncommon was the sight of a metaphysician who disciplined himself incessantly in the rigorous school of the laboratory.

Both Goethe and Schopenhauer were cosmopolitans in the world of science. As such, they discountenanced any attempt at setting up unscalable walls around the several branches of knowledge. They recognized the correlation and interdependence of all disciplines, the universality of science. Since Schopenhauer, metaphysics has ceased to be the antonym of science. From Goethe and Schopenhauer the Germans have learned that true science is comparative, and that the propædeutics of genuinely scientific endeavor is physics in its largest acceptation.

It goes without saying that, with all its raciness, Schopenhauer's diction was, in a measure, modeled upon Goethe's. Goethe, too, has said many pessimistic things, and at times the similitude of thoughts and terms is so great that mere formal analysis might be deceived into crediting Schopenhauer with Goethe's words. Nevertheless, I think that this comparison should not be pushed beyond the limits of stylis-

[1] *Welt als Wille u. Vorstellung*, II. 337.

tical considerations.   That is to say, we should not let
Goethe's occasional pessimistic explosions affect our idea of
his general mental complexion.   There are few things in
heaven and on earth that might not be proved or disproved
from the thirty-six volumes of Goethe's works.   I shall limit
myself to a few quotations, all of which show forth the poet's
unflattering opinion of the unfeathered biped.

'Man kann von den Menschen nichts verlangen, ohne sie zum
Besten zu haben und ihrem Eigensinne zu schmeicheln; man macht
sich unversöhnliche Feinde, wenn man die Albernen aufklären, die
Nachtwandler aufwecken, und die Verirrten zurechtweisen will.'

<div style="text-align:right">— Elpenor.</div>

> Dümmer ist nichts zu ertragen,
> Als wenn Dumme sagen den Weisen,
> Dass sie sich in grossen Tagen
> Sollen bescheidentlich erweisen.[1]

<div style="text-align:right">— Westöstl. Divan.</div>

'Ausgezeichnete Personen sind in einer Hinsicht übler dran als
andern; da man nämlich sich mit ihnen nicht vergleicht, so passt
man ihnen auf.'   — *Hefte über Kunst u. Alterthum.*

'Das Menschenpack fürchtet sich vor nichts mehr als vor dem
Verstande.   Vor der Dummheit sollten sie sich fürchten, wenn sie
begriffen, was fürchterlich ist; aber jener ist unbequem, und man
muss ihn bei Seite schaffen; diese ist nur verderblich, und das kann
man abwarten.'   —*Wilh. Meister's Lehrjahre.*

'Nichts ist unendlich als die Albernheit.'[2]

<div style="text-align:right">—*Wilh. Meister's Wanderjahre.*</div>

Ob die Menschen im Ganzen sich bessern?   Ich glaub' es, denn
    einzeln
Suche man, wie man auch will, sieht man doch gar nichts davon.

<div style="text-align:right">— *Xenien*, No. 143 (32).</div>

---

[1] Cf. Schopenhauer, *Psychologische Bemerkungen*, § 355: 'Bescheidenheit bei
mittelmässigen Fähigkeiten ist blosse Ehrlichkeit: bei grossen Talenten ist sie
Heuchelei.   Darum ist diesen offen ausgesprochenes Selbstgefühl und unver-
hohlenes Bewusstsein ungewöhnlicher Kräfte gerade so wohlanständig, als jenen
ihre Bescheidenheit.'

[2] Cf. Schop. *Werke*, II. pp. 504 ff.

Wundern kann es mich nicht, dass Menschen die Hunde so lieben ;
Denn ein erbärmlicher Schuft ist, wie der Mensch, so der Hund.[1]
<div align="right">— *Venetianische Epigramme*, No. 24.</div>

Many other similarly detractory sentiments can be found,
especially in *Werther* and *Faust.* Of course, these dark-
colored bits from the great kaleidoscope signify nothing for
Goethe's temperament beyond this, that he saw *all sides* of
nature, including human nature. But as for Schopenhauer,
we may well conceive how deeply such pessimistic utterances,
coming from an idolized man, may have taken root in a mind
constitutionally predisposed to pessimism. So that even a
direct, though unintentional, influence is not excluded.

It is in place to add that the general drift of Goethe's
philosophy, the resultant of the parallelogram of his tenden-
cies, is not in a line with the pessimism to be deduced from
the above selections. The case of *homo sapiens*, which seemed
a desperate one to Schopenhauer, was not hopeless to Goethe.
He saw all things moving onwards to a better future. ' Man
sieht die Blumen welken und die Blätter fallen, aber man
sieht auch Früchte reifen und neue Knospen keimen.'[2] And
he firmly believed in the redeeming power of Love. What
a contrast there is between these two sentences, and what
light they shed on their authors!

' Gegen Verdienste giebt es zwei Verhaltungsweisen : entweder
welche zu haben, oder keine gelten zu lassen. Die letztere wird,
wegen grösserer Bequemlichkeit, meistens vorgezogen.'[3]

' Gegen grosse Vorzüge eines anderen giebt es kein Rettungsmittel
als die Liebe.'[4]

The key to the present inquiry is furnished by Schopen-
hauer's correspondence.

The first part of *Faust* contains a passage over which most

---

[1] To which Schopenhauer made this antistrophe :

    Wundern darf es mich nicht, dass manche die Hunde verläumden;
    Denn es beschämet zu oft leider den Menschen der Hund.

[2] *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre.*
[3] Schopenhauer, *Ueber Urteil, Kritik, Beifall, und Ruhm, Werke,* VI.
[4] Goethe, *Wahlverwandtschaften.*

of the busy commentators glide glibly on, albeit it is of vast importance for the understanding of the poem, being a concise self-definition of the most complex and puzzling of the *dramatis personæ*:

> Ich bin ein Teil der Kraft,
> Die stets das Böse will und stets das Gute schafft.

While most Faust-expounders have evaded the difficulty of these lines, a few have honestly tried to explain away the inconsistency they appear to contain.   Schröer, for example, interprets :

'Mephistopheles' assertion that he furthers God's design and ushers in the advent of the reign of goodness, ascribes to two opposing powers the oscillation of all things between the poles of Birth and Death, and designates as Evil the devil's dominion, the second of these powers, that which makes for death.   That Mephisto himself should call destruction evil and creation good, would evince an insight far beyond his compass.   But the words : "und stets das Gute schafft" are in his mouth nothing but a phrase which is upset by the sequel of the speech, beginning v. 1339.'

I cannot consent to the proposition that the self-definition of Mephisto be taken as a meaningless phrase.   The context in which it appears leaves no doubt as to its importance for the interpretation of Mephisto's character.   This feeling, which no attentive reader will escape, is confirmed when the gravity of the lines is enhanced by appropriate delivery on the stage.   That Mephisto's discernment overrides the limitations prescribed by his part, need not disturb us.   For does he not repeatedly deliver himself *extra partem* in order to proclaim, now intuitive truths, now specifically Goethean wisdom ?   Take as an instance his tirade on the suppression of the Rights of Man, or observe how he sides with Nature against the impotency of scholastic logic.   Kreyssig has well pointed out that young Goethe and the Goettingen geniuses would have cheerfully subscribed Mephisto's invectives against the 'Faculties,' and that the devil's character, as it appears in the 'Urfaust,' is not devoid of a certain some-

what sentientious respectability, wherefore considerable truth inheres in his utterances.

Calvin Thomas offers a very bold exegesis, which unfortunately contains a glaring paralogism : 'Mephistopheles means that in doing what men call the bad, he is doing what is, in his own opinion, a good and rational work. He must by no means be understood as admitting that his mischief-making is overruled for good by a higher power.' I, for one, could not withhold my compassion from the devil, if he plied his arduous vocation from a misdirected sense of general benevolence. To me, the explanation offered by Hermann Schreyer is entirely satisfactory; in particular his definition of Mephisto's nihilism as a pessimistic world-view taking on a practical form in his endeavor to undo whatever on earth is good. In the rather perplexing addition, 'und stets das Gute schafft,' Schreyer finds a surpassing expressiveness. The futility of his enterprise lashes Mephisto's malignity into a terrible fury. This explanation wholly accords with the suggestion of the Prologue in Heaven : Mephisto is, in the long run, only an agent, directed by the hand of Providence for the bestowal of benefits on man. Already in his Shakespeare oration of 1771 Goethe said that what we call the bad is only the other side of the good.[1]

But it is interesting to learn that, in the opinion of one of Goethe's intimates, these lines may possibly be fraught with a meaning diametrically opposed to this optimistic contemplation of life.

In January, 1860, Schopenhauer received a letter from Clemens Rainer,[2] a well-known actor of Oldenburg. Rainer felt that he owed Schopenhauer a great intellectual debt, because the latter's theories had assisted him in gaining a clearer perception of the principles underlying his art. He had performed the part of Mephistopheles with great success, but not to his own satisfaction. So he turned to the philosopher with the request that he give him the benefit of his

---

[1] For an ingenious exposition of our lines see also Laurence Fossler, *Goethe's Philosophy* (pamphlet), pp. 15 ff.

[2] Twinner, *Schopenhauers Leben*, pp. 601 ff.

opinion of this difficult character and its organic relation to the whole work: '. . . You state that the allurements and seductions which defeat Will-negation by assiduously obstructing its way with an ever-varying obstacle, have been personified as the devil. Mythical tradition shows him up as the real cause of the elusoriness, or at best the uncertainty, of our ultimate redemption. According to Seydelmann, Goethe, in his wonderful work, made use of that well-known devil. But he invested him with this additional property, that he now acts as a sort of leaven and thus exercises a wholesome function. Honestly as I have striven to fathom your teachings, it is still a secret to me how much of this modification must be attributed to Goethe's Hellenism. . . . To me Mephisto is the incarnation of loveless selfishness, which, biased in all stages of objectivation by the *principium objectivationis*, mocks and mortifies itself throughout the succession of phenomena, . . . but through the grievous suffering of which it furnishes both illustrations and experience, hastens the ultimate triumph of the intellect by stripping the mask off the *principium objectivationis*.'

Schopenhauer wrote in reply:[1] '. . . Whether the words, "und muss als Teufel schaffen" *be imputable to a certain Hellenism*, or even optimism of Goethe's mind, or whether, indeed, the devil (as the author of evil and affliction) was conceived by the poet as superinducing the negation of will, and thus, indirectly, salvation, this I cannot say any more than you can.'

This reply is worthy of notice, because Schopenhauer, who guarded with jealous eyes the claim of priority for his philosophy, suggests the possibility of Goethe's having made the negation of life through the will the subject of an allegory.

A shaping influence of Schopenhauer upon Goethe's *Faust* is excluded by chronological reasons. It is probable, on the other hand, that Goethe unintentionally helped Schopenhauer to formulate his pessimistic quietism.

Schopenhauer's acquaintance with Indian philosophy dates from his sojourn at Weimar in the winter of 1813–14. Nir-

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 602 f.

vana and world-contempt had no place in his philosophy
previous to that time.   Goethe's friend Friedrich Majer, an
Orientalist of great attainments, introduced Schopenhauer to
the literature of the Hindoos, for which the young doctor
conceived a boundless admiration.   From now on Schopen-
hauer's own mode of reflection assumes forms resembling
Brahmanism and Buddhism.

Goethe, too, was absorbed in Oriental studies in 1813.   His
interest in the treasure-store of Indian poetry had been
aroused by F. Schlegel in 1808.   Now, in 1813, he devoted
himself chiefly to Persian and Arabian poetry.   Von Loeper
holds that the *Westöstlicher Divan*, the greater part of which
was writen in 1814, was in nowise influenced by Hindoo lore,
and it must be conceded that the tenor of the *Divan* is widely
different from the austere spirit which breathes in the writ-
ings of the Hindoos.   But v. Loeper admits that he has pur-
posely refrained from 'den oft nahe liegenden Hinweisungen
auf indische Poesie.'   And in one instance he did not refrain
from drawing a parallel with the *Mahabharata*.[1]

Before Schopenhauer came to Weimar, he had not elabo-
rated any philosophical system.   In 1813, while yet in Berlin,
a short time previous to that intimacy with Goethe which I
regard as so momentous, he compared himself with a mother
who cannot comprehend the mystery of the new life to which
she is to give birth.   He knows that a mental growth is going
on within him, but as to its character he is yet entirely in the
dark.   Here we have the inception of Schopenhauer's phi-
losophy.   And one year later, he tells us, all the tenets of
his doctrine were established.   In 1814 he began work on
his *chef-d'œuvre*.   In 1818 *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstell-
ung* was given to the publisher.   In considering this amaz-
ing culmination of Schopenhauer's faculties, shall we disregard
the powerful influence which emanates from a great person-
ality like Goethe's?

It was said in an earlier portion of this paper that dissent
from Fichte's dogmas incited in Schopenhauer a productive

---

[1] Goethe, *Westöstl. Divan*, ed. v. Loeper, p. 224 (Goethe's *Works*, Hempel, IV.).

counteraction.   For Schopenhauer was one of the rare men in whom critical genius, as in Lessing, rises to a creative function.   During the time of his intimacy with Goethe he was deeply absorbed in Indian philosophy.   It is safe to assume that whenever Goethe and Schopenhauer came together, they, instead of wasting many words upon neighborly gossip, exchanged opinions on the grave problems in which their minds were engrossed.   Goethe could not always win his young friend over to his side, but he never failed to stimulate him.   Goethe's *Farbenlehre* called forth Schopenhauer's *Ueber das Sehen und die Farben*, which was composed in 1815, and the manuscript of which Goethe carried with him on his Rhine journey.   Undoubtedly many of the 'familiar talks' to which Goethe refers in Schopenhauer's album, turned on the poet's scientific hobby, but it is not likely that two other matters were passed over which occupied the foreground of Schopenhauer's interest: the religions of the East on the one hand, and, on the other, the great spectacular drama for whose scenic investiture Napoleon Bonaparte required all Europe.

The *Book of Timur*, written in 1814 and 1815, contains Goethe's thoughts of Napoleon's greatness and fall, although 'The winter and Timur' is a translation from the Arabic,[1] and by no means a 'Gelegenheitsgedicht' called forth by Bonaparte's disastrous campaign in Russia.

It is significant that in 1814, shortly after the battle of Leipsic, Schopenhauer writes of Napoleon in words which all but anticipate Rainer's letter of 1860.   He says of the usurper: 'Those who believe in retribution after death would fain have Bonaparte pay with unspeakable torments for the incalculable sorrow of which he has been the cause. But he is no more culpable than others who are possessed of the same will, but lack his power.   Being endowed with extraordinary power, he has fully revealed the malignity of the human will.   And the consequent sufferings of his generation reveal the misery which is inseparably linked with the

---

[1] Of Ibn Arabschah.   *Vide* Goethe, *Westöstl. Divan*, ed. v. Loeper, p. 118 (*Werke*, Hempel, IV.).

evil will whose consummate manifestation is the world. But it is the world's intention to make known the nameless woe with which the will of life is bound up and is, in reality, one. Bonaparte's personality conduces largely to this end. It is not intended that the world be a dull Utopia, but rather that it be a tragedy wherein the will of life might see itself reflected and turn to self-annulment. Bonaparte is a powerful mirror of the will of life.'[1]

In conclusion, I would say that I am very far from believing that *Faust* was ever meant to be a poetical apology of a pessimistic world-view. *Faust* is, on the whole, the work of an optimist. But, as Fichte had done before him, so Goethe threw a strong ferment into Schopenhauer's mind. It seems certain to me, therefore, that he played a part in the construction of modern pessimism. Just in what way his influence took hold of Schopenhauer is largely a matter of speculation. I have tried to show that in all probability Goethe's philosophy and German Buddhism are *indirectly* related ; that Goethe himself, like his Mephisto, 'reizte und wirkte,' by provoking the young philosopher — his junior by thirty-nine years — into a systematic opposition.

<div align="right">Otto Heller.</div>

Washington University,
St. Louis, Mo.

[1] Frauenstaedt, *Memorabilien*, p. 304.

REVIEWS.

A History of English Poetry, Vol. II.   W. J. Courthope, M.A.
Macmillan & Co.: New York and London, 1897.   Pp.
xxviii, 429.

THE reigning Professor of Poetry at Oxford, who in this work has
set himself to surpass Warton and to complete the plan of Gray, must
rightly be judged by a rigorous standard.   To say that Mr. Courthope
has altogether attained his ambition would be saying too much ; the
work as it has progressed thus far is in many senses a disappointment.
But in other respects it is a considerable contribution.   In this second
volume especially, in treating of the progress of English Poetry from
Skelton to Shakespeare, the author of the prize-essay on the Genius
of Spenser evidently feels that he is approaching his own ground, and
begins to speak with the authority of a master.   The real, although
somewhat one-sided, philosophic grasp and power of historical gener-
alization, which mark the author's mind, are here applied to better
purpose than in the first volume.   The author writes in the spirit of
that neo-classicism of the nineteenth century of which Matthew Arnold
was another and somewhat different exponent.   Mr. Courthope is
an editor and admirer of Pope ; constant appeals to the authority of
Horace are scattered through this volume ; among Elizabethan
critics he praises the formal, courtly, and elaborate Puttenham ; his
chief concern, as for example in his study of the *Faerie Queene*, is
with questions of structure, form, and unity.   He has thus the defects
of his qualities.   Like many other critics of a classical bias he is
better in historical generalization and in the analysis of style than in
sympathetic insight or poetic appreciation.   At the same time the
volume is curiously unequal, and there is much in its historical
generalization which is open to question.   I cannot feel that Mr.
Courthope has thoroughly penetrated into the history and culture
of the first half of the century which this volume covers.   The
account of the introduction into England of the combined (or con-

trasted) Renaissance and Reformation influences seems to me inade-
quate.   The presentation of the part which Erasmus played among
these influences is certainly superficial and slurring.   The account of
Wyatt and Surrey and the study of their work is better, although no
improvement essentially on Ten Brink's excellent chapter in the last
volume of his *History of English Literature*.   Errors of detail, some
of which will be afterwards noted, occur here, as too frequently in
other portions of this work.   Indeed the volume as a whole is much
better in outline than in detail, and should have been subjected to
more thorough and careful revision.   The author, with all his talents
and learning, does not command sufficiently the contributions of
recent scholarship within his field.   The last half of the volume
offers more that is new and valuable than the first half, although here
also the treatment is very unequal.   The discussion of Sidney's
Arcadia is excellent; the estimate of Greene is more judicious and
temperate than that of some recent eulogists, such as Mr. Churton
Collins; while justice is done to the minor poetic qualities of George
Peele, a predecessor of Shakespeare who has recently been too much
neglected and disparaged.   The chapter on Spenser and the *Faerie
Queene* on the whole is a disappointment; the treatment is too
rambling and discursive, and lacks originality and distinction; the
point of view is conventional; and, while the emphasis placed upon
the study of the structure of Spenser's masterpiece is safe, scholastic,
and academic, it fails to help the reader to enter into the secret of
Spenser's poetic character.   The newest and most suggestive passage
in the book is doubtless the section dealing with the origin and early
growth of Elizabethan tragedy.   Finally, after all the admirable
appreciation of Marlowe which the criticism of the last half-century
has produced, it is a performance of no mean credit to have written
so fresh and discriminating an account of this great poet and drama-
tist as is embodied in the last half of Mr. Courthope's concluding
chapter.

In style the volume is good but not remarkable.   Too many traces
of the lecture style of exposition remain to suit well with a final
history of English poetry.   On pages 88, 219, and 376 there is some
confusion in the use of the personal pronouns.   We trust that full
bibliographical and subject indexes are to follow with a later volume.
At present, even with the full analytical table of contents, the volume,
lacking such indexes, is shorn of half its value as a work of reference.

In matters of detail there is much in the volume that is open to

criticism.   In discussing the influence of Machiavelli in the sixteenth century, the author is led into the statement and defense of a singularly crude Machiavellian maxim (p. 26).   If rulers are sometimes exempt from the 'universal laws of morality and religion,' obviously those laws in so far fail of being universal.   With a different phrasing, the idea in the author's mind might have been made much more acceptable and to the point.

Until the matter is settled by the discovery of more definite evidence, it is unjust to the memory of Sir Thomas More to accuse him of *burning* Schismatics, in the face of his own explicit statement to the contrary (p. 38).

Mr. Courthope seems still to entertain doubts as to Wyatt's Italian journey (p. 45).   The fact that Wyatt made at least one and probably two such journeys is pretty well established by the researches of Mr. W. E. Simonds in his volume on Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Poems (pp. 16 ff.).

It is doubtful if Wyatt was 'the first to combine the Alexandrine with the verse of seven accents and fourteen syllables ' — the so-called ' poulter's measure ' (p. 65).   Schipper and others are of the opinion that this combination was in use in the Middle English period, although its use in the cases referred to seems to have been altogether irregular or sporadic.   Mr. Courthope, who, in reaction from the faithful credulity of Dr. Grosart, presses to the last extreme of scepticism the theory that most of the amatory and lyric poetry of the sixteenth century consisted merely of verse-exercises on set themes, with hardly ever a basis of real feeling or experience, nevertheless readily adopts the Geraldine theory, and asserts that ' that Elizabeth FitzGerald is the subject of many, if not of all, Surrey's love poems is certain ' (p. 78).   It is certainly not certain, and it certainly remains to be proved.   One sonnet is hers without a doubt, and another in all probability.   The rest are doubtful, although the probability in most of them is in her favor.   The dangers and uncertainties of conjectural criticism are well illustrated from the case in point.   On the one hand we have Mr. Courthope arguing that the age of the Fair Geraldine (she was born in 1528) 'who is celebrated in them [Surrey's sonnets], makes it certain that they cannot have been written earlier than 1540.'   On the other hand we have Professor Flügel (*Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, p. 384) arguing that, since from all the circumstances of Surrey's life it is probable these sonnets were written *circa* 1533, the tender age of the lady at that date makes it likely that she

is the subject of very few of them. Meanwhile the question still remains conjectural.

The statement on p. 184 that Surrey, the inventor of English blank verse, 'made no attempt to . . . invent new metres' seems to be without meaning.

Mr. Courthope takes up again the question of the origin of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, the facts in regard to which have perhaps already been sufficiently explained by Haslewood in his edition of 1815, and more recently by Minto (*Characteristics of English Poets*, pp. 143 ff.). Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, seems to have fallen into a careless statement in attributing the original plan of the work to Sackville, although it should be noticed that in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen* (ed. of 1807, vol. II. 101 *n.*) he states the matter correctly, giving Baldwin due credit as the first editor, and describing Sackville's afterthought, unhappily uncompleted, to reconstruct the whole plan himself and make extensive additions to it. This idea of Sackville's, according to Haslewood (vol. I. p. XI), is given apparently on Baldwin's own authority in the 'intermediate dialogue' preceding Sackville's Induction in the edition of 1563. Moreover, I do not find wherein the preface of Niccols, the later editor, is inconsistent with this 'intermediate dialogue,' or that he anywhere 'asserted confidently that Sackville was the originator of the whole work,' as Mr. Courthope claims.

The constant thesis of this volume is that most of the Elizabethan sonnet-sequences are not the reflex of real experience and emotion, but are at best mere Petrarchan exercises on consecrated motives. The author states his case with a great deal of cogency, and his main contention will be generally admitted. At the same time, in the case of Sidney he lapses into a style of special pleading which defeats his own end; and he fails to account for the foundation of the artistic stimulus to poetic expression in real experience which probably always exists in the case of poetry strenuous and fervent enough in accent to produce the impression of reality upon competent readers,— as Sidney has done in the case of Lamb and of J. A. Symonds, for example. It is unfortunate that the author should have admitted (p. 227) the insinuation he does against Lady Rich, whose later career was wretched enough, and whose youth for that very reason, if no other, should be left the credit and honor of the pure friendship and love (as love it possibly was) of the chivalrous Sidney. To assume also (p. 228) that the language of these sonnets indicates

Sidney's 'readiness to blazon abroad his illicit relations with Stella,' provided we believe, with Lamb and Symonds, 'that his passion was sincere,' is certainly a method of literary interpretation whose crudeness is unworthy of the Professor of Poetry at Oxford. To reason from Pope to Sidney, as Mr. Courthope a little later does (p. 230), and to explain the genesis of the *Astrophel and Stella* series by the analogy of Pope's *Elegy on an Unfortunate Lady* will seem to many readers like reasoning from Bacon to Shakespeare and explaining *Hamlet* by the Essays *On Revenge* and *On Delays*, and the *Sonnets* by the Essay *On Love*. Not all poets deal alike with the materials of experience (as has been shown in a series of interesting studies in Werner's *Lyrik und Lyriker*), and it is not likely that the spiritual methods of Sidney and Pope possess much in common.

In the treatment of Spenser there is something to censure, and much to commend. Further proof that it was from Gabriel Harvey that Spenser 'probably derived his predilection for Platonism' (p. 236) would be interesting, although as proof that Harvey in his earlier years had gone a-Platonizing, Mr. Courthope might have referred us to a passage in Harvey's pamphlet entitled *Pierce's Supererogation* (in Grosart's edition of Harvey's works, vol. II. p. 45). The conjecture is perhaps more likely that it was from Sidney or (perhaps indirectly) from Giordano Bruno ; or better yet, perhaps Spenser himself was the scholar who went to the sources, and set his friends in the track of such studies and speculations. It is noteworthy, at least, whatever the possible relations of the two men, that there are one or two curious coincidences between passages in Bruno's *Heroic Enthusiasts* and Spenser's *Four Hymns*.

That 'with the exception of the famous lines in *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, and a casual mention of his disappointments in the *Prothalamion*, there is scarcely a passage in Spenser's poetry which can be regarded as an immediate revelation of his inward life' (p. 238) is certainly an over-statement. Many of the sonnets answer this description, as do portions of the introductory stanzas preceding each book of the *Faerie Queene*, and passages here and there in the *Epithalamion* and in other of the minor poems. At the same time, as Mr. Courthope writes, allegory is generally of the very essence of his thought, and is seldom lacking in his poetry. On the subject of Spenser's Allegory (pp. 239 ff.) Mr. Courthope is generally sound. The discussion of the unity of the *Faerie Queene*, however, although it is interesting, is one-sided and scholastic. Poe has argued that

there is no such thing as a long poem ; every poem apparently such is in reality a series of shorter poems.   And the paradox has its value, for the essence of the poetical does not lie in structure and unity, important as structure and unity are for certain purposes.' The *Faerie Queene* is the poem of a peculiar fairyland or dream-world, and it is useless to try to fit it to other standards.   The base-less fabric of a vision is likely to fare ill at the hands of Aristotelian criticism.   And so, too, the long comparison of Spenser with Ariosto (pp. 259 ff.) seems somewhat formal and disproportionate.   The two poets are too disparate to make the comparison profitable.   The criticism of the *Faerie Queene* throughout is too negative.   A historian of poetry should try to show with more economy of effort what Spenser has positively, and should be less occupied with showing what Ariosto has and Spenser lacks, and what the epic demands and the *Faerie Queene* fails to offer.   Mr. Courthope is too much con-cerned with his categories.   Spenser's ' subject-matter ' causes him undue trouble, and his repeated attempts to make Spenser fit into a compartment as ' the poet of chivalry ' and the ' poet of Mediæval Allegory ' [1] lead him astray.   Again it is hardly exact to say (p. 285) that ' All that is learned . . . in the *Faery Queen* . . . is drawn from the rich treasure-house of Scholastic Theology.'   Spenser's mythology and his Platonism do not come from that treasure-house.   The gist of what is helpful in the chapter on Spenser is given in the two con-cluding pages (pp. 286, 287).

With the strictly minor writers of the Elizabethan period the author's method is often capricious.   Thomas Watson is treated with undue severity.   Historically he deserved something better. Barnabe Barnes too is treated with exemplary harshness, — which morally perhaps he deserves ; but nevertheless as a poeticule, ' this affected fool ' (p. 304) is not without his tiny quantum of merit, which is by no means fairly represented by the grotesque and ridicu-lous specimen of his verse here quoted.   Even the manly taste of a historian of literature should not allow itself to be betrayed into outbursts of unhistorical disgust over the pettiness of petty writers, who in their way too are significant of the times and of the poetic art of the times.   The ' unutterably tedious ' quality of portions of Lyly's comedies a little later (p. 362) betrays our author again into splenetic and unsympathetic judgment.   On the other hand, Sir

---

[1] This last Spenser was *not*.   He was however in a measure the poet of Renaissance Allegory, as Bunyan is the poet (*i.e.* maker) of Puritan Allegory.

Edward Dyer perhaps is overprized (p. 307), as is the late morality known as *The Three Ladies of London* (p. 350).

In treating of Raleigh's Poetry (p. 310) the fact that a portion of Sir Walter's lost poem of *Cynthia* has been recovered seems to have been overlooked.

Gammer Gurton's Needle (p. 357) in all probability was *not* written by John Still, as the article by Mr. C. H. Ross in a recent number of *Anglia* seems to prove.

The account of that highly perplexing subject, the genesis of Elizabethan Tragedy (pp. 363 ff.), while still incomplete, is highly suggestive and valuable. It would perhaps have been less incomplete had it reckoned with and taken advantage of Fischer's important study on the ' Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie.' The statement of Mr. J. A. Symonds' theory of the rise of English tragedy (on p. 364) is, I think, not quite fair to that ingenious author. In describing the Italian Farsa, and likening it in parts to the Elizabethan Romantic Drama, Mr. Symonds, I take it, had in mind the drama of Marlowe and his successors rather than that intermediate drama between the Morality and Marlowe, almost every specimen of which, as Mr. Courthope says, ' is of a type utterly unlike either the tragedies or the tragi-comedies of Shakespeare.' The hypothesis, however, that a new conception of tragedy, involving the use of the horrible rather than the terrible as a tragic motive (a tendency furthered by the later Senecan revival), and leading to the revived idea of Justice and Free-Will in tragedy, had been growing up during the century, and that in these intermediate and transitional dramas ' the line that divides genuine tragic composition from comedy is very faintly drawn, and the public regarded what was exhibited to them merely as a variety of the moral entertainment to which they had been for generations accustomed,' — this hypothesis, while extremely valuable and important, does not suffice to explain all the phenomena in the formation of the tragedy of Marlowe and Shakespeare. There is still something to be ascribed to other causes, such as the self-originating power of individual genius, and such as foreign influences working in several ways, notably in diction, form, and technique, in the choice of subject-matter, and in the method of handling subject-matter suggested by its inner potentialities and requirements. The actual transition from the intermediate national drama to the drama of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and the University Wits is still left unexplained.

The discussion of Marlowe (pp. 403–422) is perhaps the best

thing in the book.   An acute and subtle qualification of J. A. Symonds'
taking phrase for explaining the motive of Marlowe's compositions —
' L'amour de l'impossible ' — is suggested (pp. 404–405) : ' So far
from loving grandiosity and extravagance for their own sake, the
violence of his conceptions springs from a belief of what is possible
to the resolved and daring soul.'   The appreciation of *Faustus,*
finally, is adequate and enlightening.

I subjoin a list of a few errors, typographical and other, which
should be corrected in a second edition :

In the Table preceding page 1, read ' Daurat ' or ' Dorat' instead
of ' Daucrat.'

Page 7, Caxton did not set up his Press in England in 1471.   Read
' 1476 ' or ' 1477.'

Page 55, line 9, for ' dotting' read ' doting.'

Page 104, line 3, David Lyndsay, the poet, was the son of David,
not William, Lyndsay of Garmylton.

Page 211, line 9, for ' the' read ' their.'

Page 255, line 5 from bottom, for ' deplincten' read ' depeincten.'

Page 284, line 6 from bottom, for ' Flonmel ' read ' Florimel.'

FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,
    July, 1897.

---

*Some Questions of Good English examined in Controversies
    with Dr. Fitzedward Hall.*   By Ralph Olmsted Williams.
Henry Holt & Co. : New York, 1897.   Pp. viii, 233.

WHEN Mr. Williams' previous book, *Our Dictionaries and Other
English Language Topics,* appeared (New York, 1890), I said of it :
' There is a lightness of touch, a reserve of manner, a crispness of
style, a seasoning of humor, an absence of hammering, which ought
to make the book much more popular than I dreamed a book on
such a subject could be, without suffering some species of degrada-
tion.'   In the present book these qualities are equally marked, while
the controversial tone will enliven it for some readers.

This is a collection of papers originally published in the *Dial*
and *Modern Language Notes,* in the course of the years 1893, '94,
'95, '96, on various points of English usage, or rather on alleged
differences between English and American usage.   Among the locu-
tions discussed by the two contestants are such as ' known to,' ' none

but they,' ' is being built,' ' to part from ' and ' to part with.'   Mr.
Williams says in his preface, and apparently with justice : ' That
certainty in regard to some points once questionable has been
reached can, I think, be fairly claimed.'   The examples quoted are
numerous, and the indexes of authors, and of words and phrases, are
very full.   In the latter I have noted but one omission.

Perhaps the difference in polemical tone between the two writers
can best be brought out by a quotation from each.   On pp. 150–151,
Dr. Hall says : ' It [the conclusion] would be, summarily, that my
critic's citations, from English books, of passages parallel to those
which I have given from Mr. ——, in no way whatever affect my
argument ; that he has not detected me in a single error ; and that
his indictment of me for fatuity recoils on himself.'

Now let us hear Mr. Williams (p. 70) upon another topic : ' " My
memory," Dr. Hall adds, " though I seldom trust to it, seldom plays
me false."   He then proves the trustworthiness of his memory by
bringing forward quotations from letters published nineteen years
after his memory had rendered the service specified.   The quota-
tions would be pertinent if offered by Dr. Hall as evidence of his
clairvoyance.'

It should be stated that the publication of these papers in book
form was recommended by Professors Hill, of Harvard ; Phelps, of
Yale ; Matthews, of Columbia ; Hunt, of Princeton ; Hart, of Cornell ;
and Scott, of the University of Michigan ; and by myself.

Yale University.   Albert S. Cook.

An Elementary Old English Grammar (Early West Saxon).
By A. J. Wyatt, M.A.   University Press : Cambridge,
1897.   Pp. ix, 160.

Mr. Wyatt, who is already known to students of Old English by
his edition of the Beowulf, now offers them a Grammar of Early
West Saxon, the method of which, as we are told in the preface, is
more or less novel, being a compromise between Sievers and Sweet,
an attempt to hit the happy mean between a scientific classification,
which can be used in the study of other tongues of the Group and
the treatment of English as an aggregation of phenomena, without
system and without perspective.

If a reviewer has a right to object to a method which the author has deliberately chosen, we could wish that the author's plan had been *less* novel rather than *more*. A compromise between a scientific classification and no classification can be defended only on the theory that the former is a hindrance to the beginner, — a theory which seems to be held by many writers of grammars, but is, in our opinion, utterly false. Sievers' Angelsächsische Grammatik is not difficult for English and American students because of its scientific arrangement, but because it assumes a knowledge of Gothic and Old High German on the part of the student, a knowledge seldom possessed by the beginner in England or America.

It must be said, however, that Mr. Wyatt's 'happy mean' lies very close to Sievers, and only occasionally approaches the other extreme. He adds, to be sure, to the various classes of the verbs Sweet's nicknames, 'Shine,' 'Shake,' 'Bear,' etc., but keeps in general the numbering of the Paul-Braune grammars. Such a compromise is not of much moment. In the classification of the declensions it is less defensible. It is very doubtful whether any safe middle ground can be found between a strict classification by stems and a loose one based on external resemblances. Mr. Wyatt classifies the 'strong' nouns into 'A. Ordinary Declension,' sub-classified according to gender, and 'B. Minor Declensions,' under which he places the U-, R-, ND-, and 'Other' stems. It is hard to see, however, wherein this arrangement makes the task of the learner easier. Under any plan, there will be many anomalies in a language like English, and 'exceptions' must occur. The problem of the grammarian is to make these as few as possible and to offer a rational explanation of them. Possibly, in view of the strong influence of gender in shaping the inflection of Old English nouns, a classification of the vowel-stems under masculines, feminines, and neuters might be defensible, but mere external resemblances, when used as a basis for arrangement, can result only in bewildering the pupil.

If we accept Mr. Wyatt's plan of treating the grammar of Old English, we can say little in regard to its execution, except in approval. As only Early West Saxon is professedly treated, it would not be a just criticism to complain of the meagreness of the notes that deal with Later West Saxon forms. But it is surely time for a Grammar that will enable the student to read Ælfric and the poetical texts. Monographs enough have now been published to enable some one to compile such a book, and it is certainly an anomaly that our

Readers are almost entirely made up of selections from the later writers, from the poets, and in some cases even from dialects, while the grammars limit themselves to Early West Saxon prose. A student looks in vain for *weseð* (Phœnix), *wese* (Bl. Hom.), for the acc. sg. masc. in *-e*, several instances of which occur in the *Beowulf*, and for the explanation of various other forms that meet his eyes at the very beginning of his study.

The author's apology for not adding a treatment of the syntax may properly be accepted in view of the present status of this department of English Grammar, but there is one omission for which he offers no apology and for which none could be offered, — the failure to add a full index. In the haste and pressure of modern study, the student has a right to demand that the author of a handbook of any kind shall not compel him to waste time in any case where it can be saved. This defect and a number of minor ones, which we have passed by as of little significance, can easily be remedied in a second edition, if the experience of teachers and students should show that the compromise plan proves successful in teaching Old English. But this is, after all, the crucial question. The execution of the book is painstaking and, in general, accurate, and minor errors may be dealt with in the class.

<div style="text-align: right">F. A. BLACKBURN.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus. By Christopher Marlowe. Edited with a Preface, Notes, and Glossary, by Israel Gollancz, M.A. Macmillan and Co.: N.Y., 1897. Pp. xii, 112.

MARLOWE'S *Faustus* was very properly chosen for inclusion in this neat and inexpensive series of reprints of the best Elizabethan and later plays. The previous volumes have been marked by a handsome typographical appearance ; the introductions and notes have been sufficiently informing to meet the requirements of the general reader, and, their text being trustworthy, they are well adapted for class use in high schools and colleges.

As is well known, few modern English works have come down to us with so unsatisfactory a text as the *Dr. Faustus* of Marlowe, the authorship of its parts and the relations between its variants being

veritables cruces to editor and critic. The two chief versions are the printed quartos of 1604 and 1616 ; all intermediate and succeeding editions of the play are reprints of, or based upon, one or the other of these *editiones principes.* These two texts, however, differ in the most remarkable manner, and a half century of critical study has failed to clear up all the difficulties to which this difference has given rise. To the 1616 quarto entirely new scenes were added ; some of the earlier ones were rewritten, and lines and passages of the 1604 text altered, made over, and frequently omitted, others being substituted. The consensus of critical opinion with regard to this strange variance assigns as a reason for it that both quartos were printed from imperfect and interpolated playhouse copies. In all probability neither represents the author's final revision. As to the authorship of the play, it is agreed that both editions contain passages and scenes which certainly cannot be ascribed to Marlowe. It is possible that the doubtful portions of the 1604 text are by Dekker, as Mr. Fleay believes, and the additions to the quarto of 1616 may fairly be assumed to be the ' adicyones in Docter Fostes ' for making which William Bird and Samuel Rowley received £4 in 1602 from Henslowe.

Previous editors, almost without exception, have regarded the 1604 text as in all likelihood the one nearest to and best representing Marlowe's original. Professor Ward, in the exhaustive introduction to his edition of the play, says, ' the additions of the 1616 text have been unhesitatingly excluded ; . . . *Dr. Faustus* has been reprinted from the text of the first extant quarto.' [1] Fleay, in an appendix to the same work, states that ' the separation of the work of the author of these " additions " is not difficult, but has no interest for the reader of an edition which (rightly in my opinion) discards them altogether.' [2] Havelock Ellis, editor of the Marlowe volume in the Mermaid Series, took the same view, saying in his preface, ' the text here given is that of 1604, with some readings adopted from the edition of 1616, in general agreement with the texts of Dyce and Bullen.' [3] Recognizing that for any thorough study of the play both texts are absolutely necessary, Dyce, the first critical editor of Marlowe, printed the two in his edition of the Complete Works of the poet,[4] and his example was followed by Lt. Col. Cunningham.[5] Professor H. Breymann rendered his edition of the play invaluable by

---

[1] Introd., p. ci, 2d ed., 1887.   [3] Page 171, ed. 1893.   [5] London, 1870.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. cxxix.   [4] 3 vols., London, 1850.

printing the two quartos on opposite pages,[1] while Wagner in his Critical Commentary gives a careful comparison of the two.[2]

Mr. Gollancz has, in the present edition, followed neither of these methods, which, in the nature of the case, should have been the only alternatives open to him. He has undertaken to construct a text of his own along lines never ventured upon by his predecessors. The effort has resulted in signal failure. In his preface the editor thus apologetically explains his method : ' the play of *Dr. Faustus*, as here set forth, represents an attempt to blend the two versions of the quartos of 1604 and 1616 ; it follows neither the one text nor the other, but results from a " contamination " of both ' ; and he adds, ' it cannot be hoped that the experiment has been wholly successful, but the present issue is perhaps more satisfactory than a mere reprint of any one of the quartos, with bulky appendices of the omitted or additional passages.' On this latter point we cannot at all agree with the editor.

After a careful reading of the two quartos and the text as printed by Mr. Gollancz, we are convinced that his new departure is both unwise and uncritical. In amalgamating the texts of 1604 and 1616 he has overstepped the bounds of the editorial province. In an edition like the present it was his plain duty to choose one or the other, and preferably that which carried in its favor the greatest weight of critical opinion. As this version bears no resemblance, as an entity, to either of the two best extant texts, it cannot be considered a faithful representation of the play. Instead of the *Faustus* of Marlowe, we have a compilation omitting much of its best text, and including the greater portion of that one known to be filled with interpolations and additions by other hands than Marlowe's. The confusion bound to result from such a proceeding is far greater than any which might arise from reprinting ' bulky appendices,' even had these been necessary.

Mr. Gollancz divides the play into twenty scenes, somewhat arbitrarily chosen and arranged. The parts taken from the edition of 1616 are printed in italic type. This type appears at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of the portions of the 1604 text included, and the type which represents the latter occurs in the same manner, though not so profusely, in the midst of the 1616 readings. The only possible way of reading this new edition intelligently is to do so with both the quarto texts open beside it. Perhaps the most striking instance of the confusion into which the editor's method has

---

[1] Heilbronn, 1889.   [2] London, 2d ed., 1885.

led him is his Scene 7. This follows the text of Act. II, Sc. 3, of the 1616 edition, and has the stage direction, ' *Enter Robin with a book.*' The note on this line says, ' this scene is in nowise represented in A ' (the 1604 quarto). Coming to Scene 9 of the present text, we have the stage direction, ' *Near an inn. Enter Robin the Ostler, with a book in his hand,*' and then follows the entire Scene 8 of the 1604 quarto (which was not divided into acts). To this the editor appends the note, ' this Scene is omitted in B ' (the 1616 quarto). Naturally enough it is omitted, because his Scene 7 is the 1616 revision of it, and *is* the representative in that edition of the earlier quarto's Scene 8. In effect, the editor prints two versions of the same scene, represents them as being distinct and separate scenes, and then states that neither exists. A reader or student taking up the play for the first time, coming upon such notes as these, might with some reason feel confused. Scenes 1 to 6 are taken from the 1604 quarto ;. Scene 8 is made up of about one-third 1604 and two-thirds 1616 ; the remaining Scenes are almost entirely from the 1616 edition, with fragments of the earlier inserted and patched on. In the passages printed from the 1604 quarto we have noted frequent omissions, without explanation in the notes. By what rules of inclusion and exclusion the editor has been guided, it is impossible to discover.

Briefly summarizing, it must be said that this latest version of *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus* is not a text in the sense generally understood by that word. It has no value for class-room purposes, since it gives neither of the original texts in their entirety, and furnishes no facilities for their comparative study. The rearrangement of the scenes is awkward and ill-ordered ; it involves repetition, and brings about that very overloading the editor wished to avoid. It is a great pity he could not have decided simply to reprint the 1604 edition, and include in the notes those passages of the 1616 quarto which are undoubtedly earlier than corresponding ones in the 1604, together with the later lines having the true Marlowe ring. The deprecatory tone of his preface shows that Mr. Gollancz was dissatisfied with the result of his experiment in textual innovation, and this feeling of itself should have induced him to forego the publication of a work which he could not himself thoroughly approve.

Like its predecessors, the volume is a model of typographic neatness, and the etched frontispiece is a reproduction of Rembrandt's ' Doctor Faustus.'

WILLIAM NEWNHAM CARLTON.

WATKINSON LIBRARY,
HARTFORD, CONN.

*Historia D. Johannis Fausti des Zauberers nach der Wolfen-
bütteler handschrift nebst dem nachweis eines teils ihrer
quellen herausgegeben von Gustav Milchsack.*   Julius Zwis-
sler: Wolfenbüttel, 1892.[1]   Pp. cccxciv, 124.

ANOTHER Faust-book, older and more archaic than the Frankfort
print of 1587, differing from the latter mainly in matters of form, yet
enough to have an independent value of its own in questions of
textual criticism, and yielding some significant criteria as to the
character of the original.   And, together with this precious find of
his, the learned librarian of Wolfenbüttel presents us with an investi-
gation into the origin and the purpose of the Faust-book.   His
discovery of its sources, and his minute discussion of the cultural
and religious basis of its composition, overthrow our time-honored
opinions concerning a Faust-legend, and place the Faust-story in a
new light.

Milchsack found the new manuscript text in his Wolfenbüttel
library some eight years ago ; the printing seems to have begun
soon after, but continued research, rewarded by new results, caused
the publication to be deferred from year to year.   The book shows
the marks of this application of the *nonum prematur in annum* —
and also of its extension to the *imprimatur :* it is over-rich in con-
tents, but the arrangement of the matter, and the development of
the arguments, have been somewhat disturbed by the fact that new
sources were found when the chapters into which the material would
have properly belonged were already in type.   This feature, while
certainly undesirable, has yet helped to give the work a certain
refreshing spontaneousness : we are not, as it were, reading a well-
planned traveller's guide, but are accompanying a scholarly explorer
upon a successful expedition.

The direction in which the new exploration should proceed had
been indicated years ago by the work of another pathfinder.   Erich
Schmidt had, in 1883, in his study, ' Faust und das XVIte Jahrhundert,
Goethe-Jahrbuch III,' pointed out the curious fact that, in the wisdom
to which, upon his request, Faust is treated by the devil, our Faust-
book in no way represents the knowledge of the sixteenth century,
but is entirely behind its own times.   Milchsack, therefore, started
out to look for the sources of the author's information in the literature
of the fifteenth century ; we shall see immediately with what result.

[1] Appeared in 1897.

His treatise consists of two main parts, one on the sources of the Faust-book, the other on its character and tendency, each preceded by a brief historical sketch of the views that have been held by other scholars ; and variegated, indeed, are the pictures our author has to draw, for on both subjects almost every possible theory has been advanced. One point, however, was generally conceded, namely, that the narrative of the Faust-book was in the main the precipitate of popular stories, or even of a more or less well defined Faust-legend. How could it be otherwise? Real history, of course, this ghost story could not represent ; and when, during the last ten years, through a continuous accumulation of historical evidence,[1] the life of the real Dr. Faustus came to be known more and more accurately, it appeared that the author of the book cared little even for well-authenticated details ; his tale did not agree with the facts at all. Where, then, did he gather his material? It was found by Ellinger, Szamatolski, Bauer, and others, that in some details he had followed earlier or contemporary works of the sixteenth century ; but this only served to illustrate more clearly his own literary helplessness, his lack of imagination and creative power. The shapelessness of his report showed him to be a clumsy compiler rather than an author. The subject-matter, on the other hand, revealed an austere grandeur and a profound suggestiveness which made it at once, and for centuries to come, one of the most fascinating and fruitful literary topics. Surely this story could not have been invented by this writer ; the subject must be older than the man ; it must be the product of a nation's strivings, the German legend, the Magus-saga of the sixteenth century. And how did this legend, or legendary material, come to be? Was it, directly or indirectly, the reflex of older legends? or was it an original German creation, an outgrowth of the religious struggles of the Reformation? And, if so, was it the voice of Lutheran or of Catholic tendencies? And to what extent did the renascence of classical ideals, and the new-born spirit of freedom in scientific research, enter into the formation of the legend? No agreement could be reached as to these questions ; but that the mysterious Faust-legend existed, and that it was the chief source of the Faust-book, nobody doubted. Now, however, Milchsack shows that a large portion of the book, practically the whole report on Faust's

---

[1] Now gathered and presented with admirable lucidity by G. Witkowski, 'Der historische Faust,' in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, Neue Folge, I, pp. 298–350.

travels, as well as several other passages, have been copied next to *verbatim* from Schedel's *Buch der Chronicken*, a cosmogonic and historical treatise which first appeared in 1493.

The discovery of this and other, minor sources reduces the extent of a possible legendary influence considerably. But what is especially important from the point of view of literary criticism, Milchsack further shows that the author of the Faust-book has carefully studied Milichius' *Zauberteufel*, first edition, 1503, a popular and, for its time, liberal work on the various kinds of witchcraft. It is in accordance with Milichius' opinions that he has modeled his own magician, Dr. Faustus, selecting and ascribing to his hero such adventures as Milichius himself relates, or as, according to him, might be expected of a nigromant.

Evidently, in the light of this discovery, the character of our writer changes: he remains a clumsy story-teller; he compiles his material from various sources, adding but little of his own invention; but what he gives is not a naive, indiscriminate repetition of popular Faust-stories. It is according to certain general dæmonological theories — older than Faust or a possible Faust-legend — that he admits, modifies, or rejects his material, regardless of what he might have heard or read about Faust. We must remember here that the belief in witchcraft was still universal in his time; there was nothing unique in an agreement with the devil; in fact, few men of any prominence escaped the suspicion of some mysterious connections; [1] raw material for his story, therefore, readily presented itself to our writer. But was there a specific Faust-legend worthy of that name, and how far, then, may it have influenced the Faust-book?

These questions are still debatable. Milchsack, while not denying the possible existence of legendary material, is inclined to consider the Faust-legend a myth, and he looks at the whole Faust-book as the work of an individual author, which, like every literary product, will be best understood when judged from the point of view of its *milieu* and main purpose. Here, to be sure, the old question would seem to open again: What was this purpose? Milchsack, supported by the mass of material discovered by himself, has done a great deal towards clearing up the problem; and, though we may not accept some of his conclusions, it is sure that in the main his results will stand.

[1] Cp. Witkowski, *l.c.*, and, concerning Cornelius Agrippa, especially Anton Reichl, 'Goethe's Faust und Agrippa von Nettesheim,' in *Euphorion*, Bd. IV, pp. 287–301.

He considers the Faust-book as thoroughly Lutheran, but from the chief previous exponents of this view he differs in that he considers the epical part — the plot of the story itself with its various happenings and incidents — mainly as a sort of framework prepared by the writer for the purpose of bringing out more clearly, as its real message, the idea that the devil's teaching is *Catholic* teaching. The disputations, then, between Faust and his ghost, those chapters which the unsuspecting reader, and, indeed, nearly all critics,[1] have hitherto considered as mere bywork, a mystifying jungle of popular superstitions, suddenly appear to be of the greatest importance. What Mephisto tells Faust about the fall of Lucifer and his angels, about the gradations in his hierarchy, is more than the Bible teaches; it is un-Lutheran, Catholic church-tradition. And especially Mephisto's endeavor to keep Faust in a state of gloomy hopelessness, because his repentance comes too late and cannot be satisfactory, is, as Milchsack says, the Catholic doctrine of penitence and contrition, as against Luther's teaching of faith in the divine mercy, of trusting return to God. And, in order to make the reader understand at the outset that all the devilish talk is really Catholic 'fallacy, he presents the devil as a monk, and introduces rather clumsily the motive of marriage, so that Mephisto may have a special opportunity of emphasizing his monkish aversion to it.

Just what the anonymous author's own position with regard to certain religious questions is, does not seem to appear with certainty. In the main, he strictly adheres to Luther's own teachings, as Milchsack shows by a large number of quotations from Luther's works; but there seems to be a mild touch of Melanchthonian synergism about him, while on the other hand he appears to be a believer in predestination, a motive which, in a modified form, Marlowe also has introduced into his tragedy, where the idea that *Stipendium peccati mors est; si pecasse negamus fallimus et nulla est in nobis veritas* is one of those that lead up to Faust's contract with Mephostophilis. Within the limits of Protestantism, the anonymous author of the Faust-book seems to make allowance for differences of opinion; a

[1] About the only one who took these chapters seriously was Erich Schmidt, cp. above, p. 375, and especially his last study on the subject: 'Faust und Luther,' in *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch., Philos.-histor. Kl.,* Bd. 25, Berlin, 1896, pp. 567–591. In this pamphlet, which appeared a few months before Milchsack's book was published, Erich Schmidt shows that the author of the Volksbuch shares Luther's views on reason, ambition, conscience, repentance, the right way of treating the devil, and similar topics.

passage in his preface indicates that he belonged to a minority. Among the more incidental results of Milchsack's investigations, we may mention that the influence of the Simon Magus legend upon the Faust-book is established beyond a doubt, and with it also the *provenance* of the Helena episode is ascertained. It is, after all, the Helen of Tyre, the paramour of Simon Magus, that originally suggested the introduction of Helena into the Faust-book, not Helen of Troy, although the latter, of course, finally served as prototype.

From what has been said so far, it will have become apparent that Milchsack's work furnishes us with a new and solid basis for the study of the Faust-book. A number of important questions are treated exhaustively and definitely; a number of others suggest themselves or appear in a different light. If the Faust-book was so thoroughly anti-Catholic, so especially planned to serve the Lutheran interests, why was it then such a complete failure as a polemical tract? It never received the indorsement of its party; for years it remained practically unknown. When, in 1587, it was printed, it was given out as a Christian warning against the dangers of witchcraft; soon it was unmercifully scored by a Lutheran of high standing; in order to be made into an organ of Lutheran partisanship, it had to be completely remodeled; in fact, the original purpose of this campaign document was not recognized until three centuries later. The fact is, we must be careful not to misunderstand the nature of the Lutheran elements of the Faust-book.

They are not exactly incidental; the devil is not 'confessionslos,' as some critics have said; this appears clearly from Milchsack's discoveries. Moreover, in the sixteenth century there was no such thing as a non-sectarian, simply Christian treatment of any subject that was at all connected with religion. People are either Lutheran or Catholic; the fierce struggle is general, and the whole literature rings with its echo; it is either anti-Catholic or anti-Lutheran.

From this point of view the Faust-book must be judged. If it is Lutheran, it is not incidentally but thoroughly so. Its devil, far from being non-sectarian, is entirely Lutheran; he appears in the shape and garb of a monk; he indorses the institution of celibacy as a monkish scheme for the promotion of immorality, and, as Milchsack shows, he preaches Catholicism to Faust throughout. But does all this prove that the whole story was written for the purpose of exposing Catholic heresy? Certainly not. It is a story of witchcraft told by a Lutheran minister in the spirit of his creed and time; it

is therefore naturally Lutheran, but it is not primarily planned for polemical purposes. The religious war-tracts of the sixteenth century speak a different language ; they strike right from the shoulder ; it does not take 'a subtle disputant on creeds' to understand what they are aiming at. As compared with them, our Faust-book is a tame affair ; strong as its invectives may seem to us, they were trite at the time of the hottest combat. But we must go further than that : if the Faust-book could claim but little merit as a campaign document, it might, on account of its meekness and involved clumsiness, have been ignored by the party at large, while a few would surely have referred to it as a well-meant effort. Instead, nobody has a word of recognition for it ; and Lercheimer severely censures it on account of its contents. Milchsack insists that he simply disapproves of the *printing* of the book, but that would be all the more significant : the book is not fit for publicity ; it is dangerous. The author has transferred Faust and his scandalous doings to Wittenberg,[1] the city of Luther, against historical truth, as Lercheimer says, against all considerations of tact, as he implies. Much has been written about this feature of the Faust-book. Erich Schmidt, in his *Faust und Luther*, says, — and Witkowski agrees with him, — that the two years which the historical Faust spent in Wittenberg, together with the general concentration of religious interests about Wittenberg, sufficiently accounts for it. Again, Scherer and others have seen in it one of the points of analogy, by which the profound and pious legend makes Faust appear as a counterpart of Luther. This view is unhistorical. Whatever resemblance there may be between Faust and Luther in the Faust-book, it certainly is not the product of Lutheran tradition. Popular legends do not celebrate their heroes by picturing caricatures of the same. Nor could the author of the Faust-book think of wilfully inviting any comparisons between Dr. Martinus and the wretch whose ruin he describes. He wrote for the *people*, whose reverence for Luther must not be shocked, and whose intellect must not be deceived into mistaking similarity for likeness. But without in the least thinking of Luther himself, our

---

[1] How did the form *Wertenberg* get into Marlowe's text, when otherwise he follows the version of our Volksbuch?

> Now is he born, his parents base of stock,
> In Germany, within a town called Rhodes ;
> Of riper years to Wertenberg he went,
> Whereas his kinsmen chiefly brought him up.

author may well have considered Wittenberg the proper place for his 'young student,' because the latter, to be misled by the demon monk, must of course be originally a Lutheran.

This is quite apparent from the Faust-book, even if we cannot go, with Milchsack, so far as to admit the allegorical character and polemical purpose of the whole story. To *any* Lutheran clergyman writing, for the edification of his flock, a story of temptation and ruin, a Catholic would hardly have seemed a fit object for the devil's special effort, being, as he was, at the outset, ensnared by fatal heresies. Hence Wittenberg, the Lutheran university, the home of the young theologian. It was, however, decidedly a diplomatic blunder which our good minister made there. That such awful things could happen to a bright young student at Wittenberg was liable to throw an unfavorable light upon the influence of life there, and the character and strength of the academic teaching. Moreover, to the enemy, Wittenberg, as well as Faust's desire to get married, could easily suggest some odious comparisons indeed. Luther's marriage with the former nun was considered by Catholics no sacred union ; it was of the same nature as Faust's execrable connection with Helena. These considerations lead me to believe that our author did not invent and introduce, on his own responsibility, this double-edged Wittenberg motive, but that he, rather inadvertently, accepted it from elsewhere. His source is as yet unknown. If it was popular tradition, it was certainly not circulating among the friends of Wittenberg ; it was anti-Lutheran.

How far we may, after Milchsack's discoveries, believe in the existence and influence of popular Faust-traditions is still, as we said above, a matter of speculation. The anecdotes added later to the novel, and those recently discovered by W. Meyer, were perhaps partly elicited by the Faust-book itself. Milchsack is inclined to think the same even of some of the epistolary and other historical reports concerning Faust. There is, however, no reason for suspecting the spontaneousness of any of them. These references to his adventurous career, as they have come to light lately, have taught us more and more to recognize in him the charlatan, to be sure, but one of enormous self-reliance and courage. It is quite plausible, then, that a man like him might soon become a favorite object of popular stories. But it is also sure that no well-defined Faust-legend could develop in the few years between Faust's life and the date of the original Faust-book, especially when the latter, as we shall see

below, was apparently a good deal older than either of the two versions extant. Besides, no popular legend is so variegated in its details as the story of the Faust-book, and yet at the same time limited to one version of such details. Popular traditions vary from place to place, containing here, there, and elsewhere, other elements, and they adapt themselves in religious and general significance to the people who tell them.

If there were Lutheran there surely were also Catholic Faust-traditions, and it is quite plausible to assume that some of the latter, such as the Wittenberg motive and perhaps even the desire of the theologian to get married, slipped into the report of our author, who, in his Lutheran single-mindedness, easily interpreted and modified them in his own way without noticing the direction in which they were originally pointed.

Concerning the *text* of the Wolfenbüttel (W.) MS. and its relative value in questions of textual criticism, the editor says but little. He conducts his investigation on the basis of W., indicating thereby that it represents a better version than the Frankfort print of 1587 (S.), and he also shows in one or two instances why the latter deviates from the original in the arrangement of the subject-matter. A minute study of the whole Faust-book material would probably lead to better results now than could be gotten so far when it all seemed to depend upon the one Frankfort text. For the passages which have been copied from Schedel, and the other sources discovered by Milchsack, we have now a solid basis of comparison. From an examination of the same it appears that while, on the whole, W. has the better text, there are also a large number of passages which S. has better preserved, showing that neither of the two is a copy of the other, but that both, independently of each other, go back to some older manuscript (X.). And the latter cannot have been the original, because it apparently contained several deviations from the author's sources, some of which cannot be accounted for as being due to his own ignorance or carelessness. We cannot here offer all the material that would prove this, but a few illustrations may be given. In chapter 26 of S., Braune's edition, p. 59, it reads : ' Item, viel Seulen, Steigbogen, etc., welches alles zu erzehlen zu lang were.' W. has here *Schwibogen;* the common source of the two may have had *steigbogen* or some other entirely senseless form, which both found it necessary to change. Schedel, however, from whom the passage was copied, has *sigpogen,* and the author of the Volksbuch could

not misunderstand this form, because Schedel says explicitly : 'vnder den etwen die Römischen Keyser nach irer überwindung der feind in die stat Rom mit früden gefürt warden' (Milchsack, p. xxxi).   On the other hand, the learned editor of the Frankfort print would not have substituted his *Steigbogen* if he had seen the correct form in his original.   Some other scribe or scribes must therefore have had something to do with this passage.   Similarly, in the description of Venice both W. and S. read *Kaufmannschaft*, while the original read *Kaufmannschatz*.   Such and many other considerations make it sure that the text must have passed through the hands of several scribes, and this indicates that the original was written considerably earlier than either of the two versions extant.

The editor calls our attention to an interesting passage in W. ; Faust promises, in his contract, that he will be Mephisto's 'wann ich des, so jch von jm beger, genuegsam gesettiget bin, vnnd Vierundzwaintzig jar verlauffen, geendt vnnd kommen sein.'   Milchsack compares, in a footnote, Goethe's 'Kannst die mich mit Genuss betrügen.'   Is there really any connection between the two passages ? I believe not; the *wann* of the Volksbuch is not conditional, but purely temporal.   No reference to any such condition is made anywhere else in the book ; the contract was a matter of sale and purchase, not a wager.

Gustaf E. Karsten.

University of Indiana.

Ernst Zupitza, *Die germanischen Gutturale.*   (*Schriften zur germanischen Philologie* herausgegeben von Max Roediger, achtes Heft.)   Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung 1896. 262 S. gr. 8°.

Das vorliegende Buch, das sich durch Sorgfalt und Gründlichkeit in der Sammlung des Materials und durch eine für eine Erstlingsarbeit ungewöhnliche Weite der Kenntnisse auszeichnet, verfolgt die Aufgabe die Vertretungsformen der aus der indogermanischen Ursprache überkommenen Gutturalreihen in den germanischen Sprachen darzulegen, sucht also auf ihrem Gebiete dasselbe zu leisten, was im Jahre 1885 Bersu mit seiner Schrift : *die Gutturalen und ihre Verbindung mit v im Lateinischen* für diese Sprache unternommen hatte. Freilich haben sich Ausgangspunkt und Ziel einer derartigen Unter-

suchung in der Zwischenzeit nicht unbeträchtlich verschoben.   In den siebziger und achtziger Fahren schrieb man der Ursprache zwei Gutturalreihen zu, eine palatale, deren Angehörige in den arischen und slavolettischen Sprachen als Zischlaute, und eine velare, deren Glieder dort als gutturale Verschlusslaute oder aus diesen unter bestimmten Bedingungen hervorgegangene Zischlaute, die aber von jenen ersten Zischlauten fast durchweg verschieden sind, erscheinen. Wenn die westeuropäischen Sprachen (das Griechische, die italischen, keltischen und germanischen Sprachen) als Vertreter der velaren Reihe teils reine Gutturale (lat. *c*), teils Gutturale mit labialem Nachklang (lat. *qu*) oder aus solchen hervorgegangene Laute, besonders Labiale (gr. π, oskisch-umbrisch *p* u. s. w.), aufweisen, so sah man darin eine verhältnismäsig junge, jedenfalls erst nach Auflösung der indogermanischen Spracheinheit vollzogene Spaltung und bemühte sich deren Gründe aufzudecken, d. h. ausfindig zu machen, unter. welchen Bedingungen, sei es einzelsprachlich, sei es in gemeinwesteuropäischer Periode, die labiale Affektion der Gutturale sich entwickelt habe, unter welchen sie unterblieben sei oder, wenn man diese als bereits in der Ursprache vorhanden ansah, unter welchen Bedingungen sie sich erhalten habe, unter welchen sie geschwunden sei.   Als der am systematischsten durchgeführte Versuch in dieser Richtung kann eben die Arbeit Bersus gelten.   Er führte zu keinem Resultat, und wesentlich die Folge dieses Misslingens war es, dass um das Jahr 1890 unabhängig von einander Bezzenberger und Osthoff den Gegensatz in der Vertretung der Velaren, der die westeuropäischen Sprachen beherrscht, nicht mehr als jung, sondern vielmehr als aus der Ursprache ererbt hinstellten, für diese also anstatt der bisherigen zwei drei Gutturalreihen ansetzten : die Palatalen, die reinen Velaren und die Velaren mit labialem Nachklang oder Labiovelaren ; in dem Ostflügel der indogermanischen Sprachen, so lehren sie, sind die zweite und dritte, in dem Westflügel die erste und zweite Reihe zusammengefallen.   Zupitza stellt sich rückhaltslos auf den Boden dieser neuen Lehre, er lehnt es ab nach den Beziehungen zu forschen, die etwa zwischen zweien der drei Reihen bestehen könnten, und will nur zeigen, wie die Angehörigen jeder von ihnen in den germanischen Sprachen vertreten sind.   Er tut das in zwei, ihrem Umfang wie ihrem Inhalt nach sehr verschiedenen Abschnitten : der erste, kürzere, wesentlich negative Teil (S. 3–47) enthält eine Kritik der Lehre vom Wandel idg. labiovelarer Geräuschlaute in germanische reine Labiale, der zweite, umfangreichere, positive

Teil (S. 48–218) giebt einen Überblick über die wirkliche Vertretung
der idg. Gutturale im Germanischen.

In dem ersten Teil gelangt der Verfasser zu dem Ergebnis, dass
eine lautmechanische Ersetzung idg. Labiovelare durch germanische
reine Labiale in keinem einzigen Falle stattgefunden habe.   Man
hatte eine solche bisher vielfach angenommen, und namentlich Fick
und Bezzenberger und ihre Schüler waren darin ziemlich weit ge-
gangen ; nur Bartholomae hatte sie grundsätzlich bestritten (*Stud.
z. idg. Sprachgesch.* II 13 ff. Anm. 2).   Zupitza sucht zu zeigen,
dass die Etymologien, die auf dieser Voraussetzung beruhen, zum
grossen Teil entweder bessere, die ohne sie auskommen, neben sich
haben oder wenigstens nicht überzeugend sind.   In einigen Bei-
spielen, wo germanischer Labial zweifellos auf Labiovelar beruhe, sei
er nicht lautlich, sondern durch Analogiewirkung entstanden (got.
fidwōr z. B. = ai. *catvāras*, lat. *quattuor* verdanke sein *f* der Anleh-
nung an *fimf* = ai. *páñca*, gr. πέντε).   In nicht wenigen Fällen end-
lich, wo der Wechsel zwischen Guttural und Labial nicht bezweifelt
werden könne und zum grossen Teil noch innerhalb der germanischen
Sprachen selbst vorliege, wie in aisl. *huiskra*, ae. *hwiscrian* ' flüstern '
neben ae. *hwisprian*, ahd. (*h*)*wispalon* ' wispern ' ; ae. *torht*, ahd.
zoraht ' hell ' neben ahd. *zorft* ' hell ', sei der Labial nicht auf ger-
manischem Boden aus dem Guttural hervorgegangen (oft genug ist
dieser Guttural gar nicht labiovelar, sondern gehört einer der beiden
anderen Reihen an), sondern es handle sich um seit Urzeiten ver-
schiedene Wurzelformen mit Variation des Auslautes (vgl. zu *zorf*
neben *zoraht* gr. δρωπάζω ' sehe ', ai. *darpaṇa-* ' Spiegel ' neben gr.
δέρκομαι, ai. *dṛç-*) ; das Germanische habe derartige ' Alternationen ',
wie sie der Verfasser nennt, in einigen Mustern ererbt, aus diesen
aber ' ein wirkliches Prinzip abstrahiert und dasselbe zum Range des
consonantischen Correlats zum Ablaut erhoben ', also eine Fülle von
Neubildungen herüber und hinüber geschaffen.   Ich halte den Be-
weisgang des Verfassers im ganzen für gelungen und glaube, dass dem
Gedanken der ' Alternation ' etwas Richtiges zu grunde liegt.   Frei-
lich wünschte man, um ganz überzeugt zu werden, dass der Verfasser
genauer dargelegt hätte, wie das Germanische die ' Alternation ' zum
Prinzip erheben konnte, dass er die Muster, von denen die Erschei-
nung ihren Ausgang nehmen konnte, im einzelnen aufgezeigt und
die Entwicklung der letzteren, so weit als möglich, historisch ver-
folgt hätte, während in seinen Sammlungen Ältestes und Jüngstes
in buntem Wechsel durch einander steht.   Aber ich bin auf der

anderen Seite überzeugt, dass er in der Skepsis denn doch zu
weit gegangen ist und dass wir in Fällen wie got. *fidwōr fimf
wulfs wairpan* rein lautliche Entstehung des Labials aus Labiovelar
werden anerkennen müssen.   Zupitza selbst erklärt das zweite *f* von
fimf als durch Assimilation an das erste hervorgegangen (S. 7).
fidwōr soll, wie bemerkt, sein *f* von *fimf* bezogen haben (ib.).
wulfs soll nicht gleich ai. *vr̥kas*, lit. *wilkas* 'Wolf' u. s. w. sein, son-
dern zu lat. *vulpes* 'Fuchs', lit. *wilpiszȳs* 'wilde Katze' gehören ; dass
ai. *vr̥kas* labiovelares *ku̯* habe, sei eine haltlose Vermutung (S. 16 f.).
Aber die letzte Behauptung ist ein Irrtum : lat. *lupus* mit seinem *p*
und höchst wahrscheinlich auch gr. λύκος mit seinem aus dem Mini-
malvocal entwickelten *v* deuten mit zwingender Notwendigkeit auf
Labiovelar.   Und wer wird sich entschliessen aisl. *ulfr* 'Wolf' von
ylgr 'Wölfin' vollständig loszureissen, wie dies der Verfasser tun
muss?   Endlich *wairpan* soll nach S. 30 nicht mit Fick zu dem
gleichbedeutenden altslav. *vrŭga*, sondern mit Noreen zu lat. *verbero*
'schlage' (Noreen und Zupitza schreiben, es ist nicht ersichtlich
warum, *verberor*) zu stellen sein.   Aber *verbero* ist von dem Sub-
stantivum **verbus verberis*, Plur. *verbera* 'Rute, Peitsche, Prügel,
Schläge '[1] abgeleitet und dieses nicht von *verbēna* 'heiliger Zweig,
heilige Rute' zu trennen ; als Grundbedeutung der Sippe ergiebt
sich also fürs Lateinische ' Reis, Rute ', und diese weist die Wörter
in eine ganz andere etymologische Verwantschaft, nämlich zu lit.
virbas ' Rute, Zweig ', altslav. *vrŭba* 'Weide ', gr. ῥάβδος aus *ϝράβ-δος
' Rute, Stab ', wie zuerst Lottner, *Kuhns Ztschr.* VII 190, gesehen
hat.   Mich dünkt, wenn man jene vier Beispiele der Vertretung
eines idg. Labiovelars durch germanischen Labial unbefangen be-
trachtet, so wird man schliesslich doch wohl Kluges Vermutung
Recht geben (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. d. Spr. u. Litt.* XI 560. *Pauls
Grundriss* I 331 f.), dass sie an einen in der Nachbarschaft befind-
lichen Labial gebunden und als eine Art Assimilationsprocess an
diesen zu betrachten sei.   Nur sehe ich kein genügend sicheres
Beispiel dafür, dass auch vorhergehendes *u* eine solche assimilierende
Wirkung ausgeübt habe, wie Kluge meint, und möchte deshalb die
Erscheinung dahin formulieren : der Übergang des Labiovelars in

---

[1] Unsere Wörterbücher und Grammatiken (auch noch Stolz, *Hist. Gramm.
d. lat. Spr.* I 505) geben den Nominativ Sing. als *verber*. Belegt sind aber von
den Singularcasus nur der Gen. und Abl., und dass der Nom. vielmehr als **ver-
bus* anzusetzen ist, machen das von Festus angeführte *subverbustus* und *verbēna*
aus **verbes-na* wahrscheinlich (s. Skutsch, *de nominibus latinis suffixi -no- ope
formatis observationes variae*, Breslau 1890, S. 7 f.).

Labial findet statt, wenn im Beginn einer vorhergehenden oder nachfolgenden Silbe ein labialer Consonant steht und der Labiovelar selbst einen Vocal nach sich hat; vor Consonant nämlich, abgesehen von Nasalen und Liquiden — ein Fall, der für unsere Regel, so viel ich sehe, nicht in Betracht kommt —, verlor der Labiovelar den labialen Nachklang (Zupitza, S. 72 f.) und damit die Fähigkeit zur Labialisation. Diesen Bedingungen genügt auch got. *twa-lif* = lit. *dwý-lika*, und in *ain-lif* = lit. *wĕnŭ̃'-lika* lässt sich der Labial als von dem folgenden Zahlwort übernommen begreifen; wir können dann der an sich nicht unmöglichen, aber immerhin etwas gekünstelten Erklärung dieser Wörter entraten, die Zupitza, S. 12, vorträgt. Wenn der Verfasser, S. 3 f., sagt, Kauffmann und Johansson hätten klar dargetan, dass Kluges Regeln einen grossen Rest liessen, somit mindestens zu eng gefasst seien, so hat er für den Überschuss, der bei der obigen Formulierung verbleibt, selbst die Erklärung gegeben. Von einem durchgreifenden Lautgesetz dürfen wir allerdings wohl nicht reden: es giebt Wörter, die unter den gleichen Bedingungen stehen und doch den Labiovelar nicht in den Labial verwandelt, sondern als Guttural *u̯* erhalten haben; got. *fairƕus*, ae. *hwéol hweowol hweohl hweogul hweogl* u. s. w., got: *af-swaggwjan;* aisl. *vǫkr* acc. *vǫkuan*, got. *wraiqs*, um von unsichreren Fällen und solchen, wo es sich um ursprüngliche Media aspirata der labiovelaren Reihe handelt, zu schweigen. Ich glaube aber, dass wir bei derartigen Assimilationsprocessen wie dem in Rede stehenden principiell nicht berechtigt sind ausnahmslose Wirkung des 'Lautgesetzes' zu erwarten und zu fordern.

Der zweite Hauptabschnitt erörtert von lautgeschichtlichen Problemen insbesondere die Frage, unter welchen Umständen bei den Labiovelaren die labiale Affektion im Germanischen verloren geht. Von der bisher, wie es scheint, herrschenden Anschauung weicht der Verfasser insofern ab, als er bei folgendem Vocal diesen Verlust nur vor *u* anerkennt, vor *ă* aus idg. *ŏ* und vor *ō* aus idg. *ō* leugnet. Auch hier bin ich nicht überzeugt. Ich gebe zu, dass er bei der Mehrzahl der Fälle, die man für den Schwund des *u̯* in dieser Lage angeführt hat, zeigt, dass sie unrichtig beurteilt oder unsicher sind. Mit allen ist er indess nicht fertig geworden. Ich habe dabei insbesondere asächs. *kō*, ahd. *chō kuo* 'Kuh' = ai. *gāus*, gr. βοῦς im Auge. Nach S. 80 soll der labiale Nachschlag in der Stammform **gū-* geschwunden sein, die nordisch und westgermanisch in der Deklination mit **gō-* gewechselt habe (aisl. *kýr*, ae. *cú*), und von

da aus das einfache *k* in die andere Stammform eingedrungen sein. Aber jene Form mit *ū* ist dem Niederdeutschen und Hochdeutschen völlig fremd und auf das Nordische und Anglofriesische beschränkt, und sie stellt nicht etwa eine gemeingermanische Nebenform der anderen dar, sondern beruht auf einer diesen Sprachzweigen specifisch eigenthümlichen lautlichen Entwicklung des gemeingerm. *ō* ; dabei ist es hier gleichgültig, ob dieser Wandel von *ō* zu *ū* im absoluten Wortauslaut vor sich gegangen ist, wie Mahlow (*lange Vocale*, S. 61), van Helten (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. d. Sprache und Litt.* XV. 478 Anm. 2) und Streitberg (*z. german. Sprachgesch.*, S. 61) meinen, oder im Wortinnern vor Vocal, wie Bremer in meinen *Studien zur latein. Lautgesch.*, S. 156, annimmt.[1] Sodann got. *tuggō*. Alle anderen Sprachen, die das Wort kennen, sprechen für ursprüngliches *u* oder *u̯* nach dem Guttural: lat. *dingua*, altslav. *języ-kŭ*, preuss. *insuw-is*, ai. *jihvā*, avest. *hizu̯ā-*, in welchen letzteren beiden, mag auch das Verhältnis der zwei ersten Laute zu der ersten Silbe der europäischen Wörter unklar sein,[2] doch jedenfalls der Schlussteil in irgend welcher historischen Verwantschaft mit den entsprechenden Lauten auf europäischer Seite steht. Zupitza meint nun (S. 101 f.), *tuggō* habe kein *w* verloren, sondern verhalte sich zu *dingua* u. s. w. etwa wie lat. *gena* 'Wange' zu ai. *hánu-*, gr. γένυς. Allein *genă* ist zweifellos erst im Sonderdasein des Lateinischen aus der *u*-Classe in die *ā*-Flexion übergetreten: auch die keltischen Sprachen weisen die *u*-Formation auf (urkeltisch **genus* 'Mund' nach Stokes in Ficks *Wörterbuch* II[4], 111 ; anders allerdings Zupitza, S. 203), und das Lateinische selbst zeigt die alte Stammbildung noch in dem abgeleiteten Adjectivum *genu-īnus dens* 'Backenzahn.' Vermutlich hat sich *gena* nach dem in der Bedeutung sehr nahe stehenden *māla* 'Kinnbacke, Wange' gerichtet, und die *u*-form ist aufgegeben worden, weil sie in vielen Casus mit *genu* 'Knie' zusammenfiel. Ist es ferner wahrscheinlich, dass got. *kalbō* 'Kalb' nicht direkt zu gr. δέλφαξ 'Ferkel', δελφύς δολφός 'Gebärmutter' gehören, sondern jenes von einer Wurzel idg. **gelbh-*, diese von einer Wurzel idg.

---

[1] Bremers Vermutung (*a. a. O.*, 157 f.), der Wandel von *ō* zu *ū* sei gemeinwestgermanisch gewesen und in as. *kō*, ahd. *chuo* sei das *ō* des Nom. Voc. Sg. auf Kosten des *ū* der anderen Casus verallgemeinert worden, scheint mir nicht genügend begründet.

[2] Collitz' neueste Behandlung des Gegenstandes ist mir noch nicht zu Gesicht gekommen. [Collitz, *The Aryan Name of the Tongue. From the Proc. of the Oriental Club of Phila.*, 1894, pp. 11, 17 sq.: Skt. *jihvá* < **dihvá* (cf. *jihma* 'slanting' < **dihmá* = Gk. δοχμός) < IE. **dlenghvā̆*. — ED.]

gʷelbh- kommen sollen (S. 77 f.)? Zupitza wird zu der Trennung namentlich durch got. *kilþei* 'Mutterleib', *in-kilþō* 'schwanger', ae. *cild* 'Kind' veranlasst. Aber gr. δέλτα · αἰδοῖον γυναικεῖον, das er ni⌐ht erwähnt, macht doch sehr wahrscheinlich, dass auch in diesen das *k* auf ursprünglichen Labiovelar zurückgeht und den *u̯*-Nachschlag erst sekundär verloren hat, vermutlich unter der Einwirkung der in aschwed. *Kolder* 'junge Brut' erscheinenden Ablautsform, die Zupitza erst S. 211 beibringt. Vielleicht darf man für die Bedeutungsnüance, die in ae. *cild* vorliegt, auch an den Einfluss von *kinda-* 'Kind' denken, von Wurzel *ǵen-* 'gebären, zeugen, abstammen.' Ist es wahrscheinlich, dass ahd. *nahho* 'Nachen' gegenüber anord. *nǫkkue* den Verlust des *w* vom Instrum. Plur. *nakumiz* aus verallgemeinert haben soll (S. 92)? Zupitza ruft auch noch die Casus zu Hülfe, wo *g* unmittelbar vor *n* stand, also den Gen. Acc. Plur. (vgl. got. *auhsnē auhsnuns*); allein die Zahl der Wörter, die diese Art der Stammabstufung bewahrt haben, ist in den germanischen Sprachen so gering, dass wir füglich mit ihr nicht rechnen dürfen. Endlich führt der Standpunkt des Verfassers ihn bei der labiovelaren Media aspirata zu Ergebnissen, die wenig glaubhaft sind. Im Anlaut, heisst es S. 98, hat idg. *gu̯h* die Labialisation durchweg aufgegeben, im Inlaut, S. 101, bleibt urgerm. ʒu̯ = idg. *gu̯h* (ausser vor *j* und *u*) unverändert nach Nasalen, verliert es die Labialisation nach unmittelbar vorhergehendem (resp. nur durch *r* getrenntem) betontem Vocal, fällt es nach unbetontem Vocal ohne Rücksicht auf die Umgebung mit ʒu̯ = ku̯- zusammen, d. h. verliert die Labialisation bei folgendem Vocal nur vor *u*. Darin stecken zwei starke physiologische Unwahrscheinlichkeiten : man sieht nicht ein, wie der vor dem Guttural stehende Nasal auf den hinter demselben befindlichen labialen Nachklang erhaltend einwirken konnte und wie der Accent, wenn er auf das ʒu̯ folgte, das *u̯* vor Lauten schützen konnte, vor denen es schwand, wenn er dem ʒu̯ vorherging. Ich glaube, bei der bisherigen Annahme, dass die Labialisation vor Vocalen bei *u* und idg. *ō̆* verloren ging, sind die germanischen Fortsetzungen von idg. *gu̯h* ganz in Ordnung; die Etymologien der beiden einzigen nicht dazu stimmenden Wörter, die Zupitza anführt, sind durchaus unsicher : wegen got. *fra-gildan* und seines Verhältnisses zu ir. *gell* 'Pfand', gr. τέλος 'Abgabe' verweise ich auf Osthoff, *Idg. Forsch.* IV, 268 ff., und die Zusammenstellung des ersten Bestandteiles von ahd. *egi-dehsa*, asächs. *ewi-thessa* 'Eidechse' mit gr. ὄφις schwebt so lange in der Luft, als die zweite Hälfte unaufge-

klärt ist; übrigens lässt Kluge an der vom Verf. angezogenen Stelle
auch andere Deutungen offen, und neben gr. ὄφις steht ἔχις. Auch
bei der idg. Tenuis und Media der labiovelaren Reihe scheinen mir
die Schwierigkeiten, die die bisherige Auffassung lässt, geringer, als
diejenigen sind, die durch die Annahmen des Verf. geschaffen
werden.   Neben ae. *á-hwǽnan* 'plagen, quälen' (S. 53) führt er
selbst aschwed. *hwin* 'molestia' an.   In ae. *awel awul* (S. 63) und
ae. *hweowol* (S. 65), die er als unzweideutige Fälle bezeichnet, in
denen der labiale Nachschlag vor dem *o* der idg. Suffixform *-olo-*
geblieben sei, könnte sich die Erhaltung aus Nebenformen mit *-elo-*
erklären; man vergleiche aisl. *nokkueðr* mit *-weð-* neben got. *naqaþs*,
aisl. *nǫkkueðr* mit *-waðr-* nach S. 92 und viele andere Fälle derartigen
Vocalwechsels in suffixalen Silben im Germanischen.   Ae. *cwéad*
'Kot', wie S. 80 anstatt des bisher üblichen *cwead* angesetzt wird,
würde ich mich nicht entschliessen von ae. *cwéd*, ahd. *quāt* und
ihrer Sippe (S. 86) gänzlich zu trennen: entweder ist *cwéd* sekundär
zu *cwéad* umgestaltet worden oder, wenn des Verfassers Etymologie
für das letztere richtig, es also seiner Herkunft nach von *cwéd* ver-
schieden ist, so kann es doch wenigstens sein *cw* diesem verdanken.
Aschwed. *kwaster* 'Besen', mhd. *quast* 'Laubbüschel', das Zupitza
S. 80 mit Froehde dem gr. βόστρυχος gleichsetzt, hat aisl. *kuistr*
'Zweig' neben sich, das Kluge, *Wtb.*[5] S. 291, wie ich glaube, mit
Recht dazu stellt (vgl. auch Noreen, *aisl. Gramm.*[2] § 184, 4).   Gr.
βόστρυχος nämlich heisst nicht ohne weiteres Laubbüschel, wie
Zupitza angiebt; erst in sehr später Litteratur bedeutet es Laub,
in älterer Zeit durchweg Locke und βοστρύχιον daneben bei Aristo-
teles den Faden, die Ranke an Bohnen und ähnlichen Gewächsen,
bei Theophrast den Traubenstengel.   Als Grundvorstellung ergiebt
sich somit das Geringelte, Gewundene, und damit lässt sich 'Zweig'
gut vereinigen; die Herbeiziehung des lat. *vespices* 'Dickicht' da-
gegen scheint mir unsicher.   Endlich bei ae. *forcwolstan* 'hinunter-
schlucken' lässt der Verfasser selbst einen Zweifel an der Richtigkeit
der Überlieferung durchblicken (S. 88).

Im übrigen giebt Zupitza im zweiten Hauptteil sehr genaue Listen
der germanischen Wörter, die vorgermanischen Guttural enthalten,
und ihrer Entsprechungen in den verwanten Sprachen.   Er legt
dabei in der Auswahl der Etymologien im allgemeinen gesundes
Urteil und guten Takt an den Tag und bereichert die Summe der
bisher bekannten etymologischen Gleichungen durch manchen hüb-
schen neuen Fund, namentlich aus dem Gebiet der slavo-lettischen

und der keltischen Sprachen.   Seine Sammlungen bilden einen wert-
vollen Grundstock zu einem zukünftigen etymologischen Wörter-
buch der germanischen Sprachen.   Alles in allem genommen, hat
sich der Verfasser durch sein Buch, dessen Benutzung durch aus-
führliche Wortverzeichnisse am Schluss erleichtert wird, würdig des
klangvollen Namens, den er trägt, und der Schule, die er genossen
— die Arbeit ist Professor Johannes Schmidt gewidmet — in die
Wissenschaft eingeführt.

<div align="right">Felix Solmsen.</div>

Bonn, April, 1897.

----

*Latin Manuscripts, an Elementary Introduction to the Use
of Critical Editions for High School and College Classes.*
By Harold W. Johnston, Ph.D.   Scott, Foresman, & Co.:
Chicago, 1897.

The aim and scope of this book were determined, according to
the preface, by the fact that even in high school classes questions
frequently arise calling for at least an elementary knowledge of
palæography and criticism.   Indeed, a scholarly use of critical edi-
tions presupposes acquaintance with the general fortunes of manu-
scripts and the interior of a text-editor's workshop.   Such an
introduction to these philological disciplines must necessarily be
elementary ; it will have to be confined to an outline, which may,
of course, if adequate to the subject-matter, render valuable assist-
ance also to the more advanced student in getting his bearings on
entering upon the professional study of Latin Philology.

And to the student of Germanic Philology as well.   Training in
philological criticism is an essential element in his professional
education no less than in that of the student of Latin.   And if,
owing to various causes, the invention of printing for example, textual
criticism holds a less central position, while individual criticism is
found to be more limited in scope, and conjectural criticism on the
whole less frequently in danger of becoming picturesque guesswork
than is the case in Latin, the underlying principles are the same.
Equally desirable, if not always so indispensable, is a knowledge of
Latin Palæography, an introduction to which is at the same time an
introduction to mediæval Latin sources of various sorts, to Germanic
manuscripts, to the study of Runic and modern alphabets, and so on.

The mere mention, moreover, of such names as Lachmann and Moritz Haupt, reminds one sufficiently how closely the younger art of criticism is linked historically to the older, and of how much it owes to the latter. A special reason for calling the attention of the American student of Germanic Philology to Professor Johnston's handbook lies in the fact that a treatise in English approaching palæography and criticism — and hermeneutics — from the Germanic side is still a long-felt want. The beginner, whose knowledge of modern German is not always what it should be, will, therefore, extend a hearty welcome to everything that promises to facilitate orientation before entrance upon the study of such discussions of these subjects as Paul's *Methodenlehre* (*Grd.*, Vol. I.), Elze's *Grundriss der Englischen Philologie*, or Arndt's *Lateinische Schrift* (*P. Grd.*, Vol. I.), and Wattenbach's *Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*. In this connection should be mentioned Professor Hempl's excellent chapter on the German Alphabet in his *German Orthography and Phonology*, Ginn & Co., 1897.

The ground to be covered naturally divides itself into three parts : The History of Manuscripts, The Science of Palæography, The Science of Criticism. The first, which is very properly treated with greater fulness than either of the other two, gives an account, in four chapters, of the making of manuscripts, *volumina*, and *codices*, of the publication and distribution of books in ancient Rome, of their varying fates until the invention of printing made secure what had not been lost, and of the care and keeping of extant manuscripts in the libraries of Europe. Lists are also given of the most important collections and *editiones principes*. In Part II Professor Johnston gives a sketch of the differentiation and uses of styles of writing from the ancient Latin majuscules to the reintroduction of the Caroline minuscules by the Humanists, and then discusses and illustrates the errors of scribes, which are classified as unavoidable, intentional, and accidental. Part III introduces the student to the methodology of criticism, textual and individual.

The text of Parts I and II is interspersed with well-selected and well-executed illustrations more or less familiar ; special mention must be made of the sixteen excellent facsimile plates judiciously distributed over the work, and carefully described at the close. One of them, a page of the *Codex Romanus* of Catullus, discovered by Professor W. G. Hale, is here published for the first time ; the others, representing one or more manuscripts each of Cæsar, Cicero,

Horace, Sallust, Terence, and Vergil, are from Chatelain's *Paléo-graphie des Classiques Latins* (Paris, 1884, fol.).

The first thing the reader is likely to notice is the union of good taste, good sense, and good workmanship, shown in the external make-up. Paper and typography are above reproach, the margin has been left generously wide, everything pertaining to mechanical arrangement is of a kind to make reference easy and reading a pleasure. Attractive externally, this manual, all things considered, more than realizes the promise held out by the modest sub-title with reference to substance. The material has been selected with the judgment of one who knows whereof he speaks, and with the peda-gogical tact of a good teacher. The parts are well put together; the lines of the sketch meet. Simplicity and lucidity have generally been secured without loss of scholarly precision. By no means the least noteworthy characteristic is the concreteness due to skill in setting forth principles and methods by describing processes.

That the treatment is not uniform in this respect, and that some chapters become rather statistical here and there, *e.g.* the chapter on 'Errors of the Scribes,' can hardly be considered a fault in view of the legitimate secondary purpose of the book, to serve also as an outline for supplementary university lectures.

The same purpose, however, would have amply justified fuller references to authorities. To be sure, some of the most important sources of information are mentioned in the preface — not Watten-bach, however; others are referred to in the text, where attention is called also to the bibliographies in Müller's *Handbuch der Altertums-wissenschaft*. Nevertheless, more should have been done in this direction. Nor would classified lists of references at the end of each chapter have been at all out of keeping, in this case, with the more immediate purpose or with the nature of the subject-matter. They might stimulate and assist the teacher at least, and if they should happen to emphasize the necessity of a knowledge of German or French, so much the better for the college student. He needs to have this necessity brought home to him before it is too late.

Another criticism, of a similar nature, applies to the subject of hermeneutics. Are students and teachers of Latin so familiar with the meaning and principles of interpretation that the latter can be disposed of almost incidentally? Such statements as, 'When there-fore we take offense at a certain reading, it may well be that our knowledge of general usage or of the author's peculiar usage is at

fault, and not the traditional text,' do not really tell the student where interpretation ends and textual criticism begins. He must know more definitely just what is implied in such knowledge, and what has to be done in order to possess it. Besides, textual criticism is not a purely mechanical art. Greater stress should have been laid on this, that the would-be critic must first have read, thought, and felt his way into his author, must have reproduced him, as it were, within himself.

In a few instances, and these mainly collateral, misapprehension of the author's meaning is not only possible but probable ; as, for example, in the case of this cavalierly unphilological reference to the origin of the Romance languages : ' During this time Latin ceased to be a spoken language ; inflections were neglected, syntax ignored, sounds modified, and Spanish, French, and Italian began to be ' (p. 42). Equally misleading is the statement that the copying of the manuscripts of Latin authors, during the dark ages, ' was purely mechanical, a treadmill process,' the sole purpose being ' to keep the mind from carnal thoughts ' (p. 43). The paragraphs dealing with the dark ages stand in need of a revision.

The origin of the half-uncials is not explained by saying that they ' represent the last efforts of the book hand to differentiate itself from the improved business hand of the time ' (p. 70). By the way, would it not have been worth while, in connection with the reference to the ' Irish hand,' to call attention to the part played by Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the development of the half-uncial?

A qualifying word is needed in this sentence : ' Martial's first book . . . was sold at thirty cents, fifty cents, and one dollar ' (p. 31).

On ' Quill-pens are first mentioned by Isidorus ' (p. 17), see Arndt, *P. Grd.*, I. 255.

On page 23, Fig. 4 (misprint for 6) should be dated.

Would it not have been advisable to say a few words somewhere concerning the use to be made of this book in high school and college classes? The members of such classes can obviously not be regarded as prospective philologists in the narrower sense. In fact, if the gain to the student were likely to be limited even largely to ability to understand the notes in critical editions for school use, it would be contrary to the aim of secondary education not to defer the elucidation of such notes. Liberal culture no doubt includes a certain familiarity with the ways and means of obtaining results, but the emphasis should not be shifted prematurely to the instruments of

technical scholarship. Fortunately, the use of this volume can be recommended especially for its cultural value. It will help the student to lay hold of human life in ancient Roman days, and will give him a new kind of interest in the text he is studying. Instead of remaining a thing unrelated in time or space, the book in his hand has become intimately associated with the vicissitudes of the higher interests of mankind. He cannot help but realize that the Roman past has had a great deal to do with his present. Points of connection with the beginnings of modern literatures will at least be suggested to him, perhaps also the inquiry whether only Latin scholars make use of the principles and methods of palæography and criticism. If he does not look forward to philology as a life pursuit, he will at least have gained a truer estimate of the services rendered by scholarship to civilization ; if he does, the transition to the university point of view can easily be made.

<div align="right">Alexis F. Lange.</div>

University of California.

The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology.   By Alice Elizabeth Sawtelle, Ph.D. (Yale).   Silver, Burdett, & Co. : New York, Boston, Chicago, 1896.   Pp. 128.

There are at present various indications of a Spenser revival, and this is well. For, in a generation which professes to be Romantic in its tastes, the half-knowledge hitherto grudgingly vouchsafed to the most intensely poetical of all the Elizabethans has been a distressing paradox, not to say a reproach. Miss Sawtelle's book is, within its limits, a generous and praiseworthy effort to facilitate the study of her author. As far as I have been able to examine it, her treatment is both full and accurate.

In arrangement the book is an alphabetical lexicon, ranging from ' Acheron ' to ' Zephyrus.' By a skilful use of cross-references Miss Sawtelle is able to treat certain subjects with reasonable coherence. Thus, ' Actæa,' ' Euagore,' ' Euarna', etc., are referred to ' Nereids.' Other features of arrangement evince an orderly no less than a scholarly mind. In brief, one does not often meet with a book so thoroughly adapted to its specific object.

From Professor Cook's Prefatory Note the reader will learn that the book was undertaken as a Yale doctoral thesis. Objections have

been raised against this, on the ground that a ' thesis ' ought to formu-
late ' conclusions.' Such objections seem to me hypercritical, for
more reasons than one. In the first place, scholarship is scholarship,
in whatever form it be cast. The mere collection of data, carefully
ascertained, sifted from superfluous detail, procured from remote
quarters, is quite enough for most of us, with or without conclusions.
In the next place, conclusions — in literary study — are not always
possible, and are not infrequently unwise. For example, how many
' conclusions ' in English metre have we been forced to shake our
heads over in German theses of the past ten years !

As to Spenser's mythology in particular, I am persuaded that the
times are not yet ripe for theory. In justifying this view I must
dissent from Miss Sawtelle at the only point where she has ven-
tured to theorize. At p. 9 she says ' there is every evidence . . .
that he [Spenser] drew his inspiration directly from the fountain-
heads. . . . Although fascinated by Ovid, and under the spell of
Virgil, he is inspired none the less by the Greek authors, from Homer
and Hesiod down to Theocritus and Bion.' There is no rigorous
logical connection between these two sentences ; it is not perfectly
clear that the writer believes Spenser to have got his knowledge of
Homer and Hesiod, of Theocritus and Bion, directly from the
Greek. Yet this is her apparent meaning. If so, I would dissent ;
at least, I would hesitate as to Theocritus and Bion.[1] Is it likely that
Spenser's attention was directed to them in the original ? Were the
Greek texts even accessible to him ? I would remind Miss Sawtelle
of her own quotation, p. 44 *sub* ' Cupid,' from E. K. : ' But who lists
more at large to behold Cupids colours and furniture, let him reade
ether Propertius, or Moschus his Idyllion of winged love, being now
most excellently *translated into Latine* by the singuler learned man,
Angelus Politianus.'

The italics are mine ; the phrase makes one pause and hesitate.

---

[1] There were editions of Moschus and Bion together (to say nothing of earlier
editions with Theocritus), in 1565, 1570, 1579, 1584, and 1596 ; these were all
Greek, with Latin translation. The fine Stephanus edition of the principal Greek
poets appeared in 1566, and may well have been accessible to Spenser. E. K.'s
reference to the Latin translation might be for the benefit of comparatively un-
learned readers. As to the Elizabethan knowledge of Greek, note that H.
Stephanus dedicated his edition of Herodian to Sidney, with the remark that
unless court life had transformed him from what Stephanus had known him in
Germany and Austria, he would stand in no need of an interpreter (Gildersleeve,
in *Am. J. Phil.* XII. 385.) — A. S. C.

Not that I would deny to Spenser all knowledge of Greek at first hand. That would be absurd, in the light of Bryskett's well-known letter on Spenser, quoted in Dean Church's life of Spenser, ch. iv. But I cannot help suspecting, on the one hand, that Spenser was not familiar with the Greek minor poets in the original; on the other hand, that his knowledge of Greek was restricted to the usual school-texts, and to such philosophical writers as Plato. I question his knowledge at first hand of historians like Diodorus Siculus, and Ctesias (see 'Semiramis,' p. 110).

Again, did Spenser 'follow' Dares Phrygius (see 'Amazon,' p. 19)? Did he not rather follow one or other of the numerous mediæval adapters of Dares?

My sole motive in venturing upon these few criticisms is to show how dangerous the ground becomes, the moment one enters upon 'conclusions,' in our present state of knowledge — perhaps I might say, our present state of ignorance. For, at best, what do we truly *know* concerning classical studies in England in the days of Elizabeth? How much was genuine, native, original, how much derived through French and Italian scholars? How far was the Greek pure, how far was it colored in transmission through Latin?

Questions like these will not be answered until the entire Tudor period has been re-examined. We need more dry facts and fewer theories. And so far as Miss Sawtelle's book gives us the facts of Spenser's mythological lore, it is a valuable contribution.

In conclusion let me express a wish. Miss Sawtelle has demonstrated her capacity for this kind of work. May she not be induced to go on in it? I should gladly welcome a like book upon Milton,[1] and upon Chaucer. These three great writers, Chaucer, Spenser, Milton are the *points de repère* yet to be determined for all the study of our earlier literature. Shakespeare is already worked out, though even he might be systematized in this alphabetical arrangement. Further, I would remind Miss Sawtelle that not all Spenser's mythology is 'classical.' A good part, and a very interesting and difficult part, is Anglo-Keltic. How much of this is to be traced back to Geoffrey of Monmouth? Did Spenser get any in Ireland? We should never forget that not the least valuable side in Spenser's many-sidedness is his attitude towards Ireland. In truth, would the *Faery Queen* be quite what it is without the Keltic element?

J. M. Hart.

Cornell University.

---

[1] Milton and Shakespeare are now in hand. — A. S. C.

Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie, begründet von Julius Zacher, herausgegeben von Hugo Gering und Friedrich Kauffmann. Band XXIX.

Pp. 1–49. FRIEDRICH KAUFFMANN, *Metrische Studien.* 1. *Zur Reimtechnik des Alliterationsverses,* pp. 1–17, is largely directed against R. M. Meyer's *Alliterierende doppelkonsonanz im Heliand* (*Ztschr.* 26, 149 ff.). Meyer sets aside Snorri's rule, that the hauptstab governs the alliteration, by affirming that alliteration is probably progressive rather than regressive. He is charged with vague conceptions of the second staff and with contradictions. His wrong conclusions are attributed to the fact that he gives up the long line as technical unit. K.'s examination of the C-verses in the *Heliand* makes it very improbable that syllabic rhyme was the result of conscious effort on the part of the poet. His observations in regard to the occurrence of double alliteration in the first half-verse show that it is the favorite form at the conclusion of a direct dis-course, whether monologue or dialogue, and also especially before a strong pause in the cæsura, which fact might throw some light on the punctuation of those times as compared with that of our own. The pause in the cæsura was in all likelihood longer than that at the end of the verse, although the rhyme is not complete until we come to it. Numerous proof passages are given, also a list of "was als reimspiel gelten könnte," as far as the long line is concerned, collected from *Hildebrandslied, Muspilli, Wessobrunner Gebet, Merseburger Zauber-sprüche, Genesis,* and *Heliand.*

Meyer's hypothesis is further objected to on the ground that it would require the acceptance of a development of svarabhakti vls., unprecedented and not exemplified by traditional proof passages. Of interest is also footnote 2, p. 3, in regard to the first occurrence and use of the term *alliteration.*

2. *Dreihebige verse in Otfrid's Evangelienbuch.* The manner in which O.'s verses were recited is to be decided on the basis of the neumes found in the Mss. They were those used in the Latin church ; and Fleischer (*Abhandlungen über mittelalterliche gesangs-tonschriften, teil I.: über ursprung und entzifferung der Neumen,* Leipzig, 1895) has found the key to their interpretation in the *accentus ecclesiasticus.* O.'s object must have been to have his *lib. evang.* recited in the way in which it was customary to read the gos-pels and epistles from the New Testament. To this points also his

expression *hujus cantus lectio* (*ad Liutb.* 10), and the term *lectiones* (*Theodisce conscriptae*), which he repeatedly applies to his work. The only thing similar in character to the *accentus eccles.* is the recitation of the nursery rhyme, which shows the same melodic development of the cadences. In the rhyme poetry introduced by O. the rhythmic structure is musical (in the alliterative verse, oratorical, against Heusler, *Über altg. versbau*, p. 100 ff.), as proven by O.'s own testimony and by the passages for which the neumes exist. O. has taken from contemporary Latin rhyme practice the masculine and feminine rhyme. These essentially different forms of rhyme call for essentially different forms of verse. The verses with feminine rhyme are always complete (*voll*) ; those with masculine rhyme have either four or three arses (*stumpf*). The half-verses with masculine rhyme and having only one ictus are "stumpf." An examination of the complete material (the accentuator of P frequently differing from the one of V, and by his practice substantiating K.'s position) leads to the formulation of certain general fundamental rules, in practice not always strictly adhered to, for the verse accentuation in O.'s *Evangelienbuch :* 1. Accents are found only on full measures, and may stand initially or finally. 2. Full verses have one or two accents, verses with three arses (stumpfe) have one. 3. Of the two full measures, the one that concludes the verse may remain without accent if the two most heavily stressed syllables of the verse follow immediately upon each other. 4. Incomplete (stumpfe) measures remain without accent, measures bearing an accent are always full. 5. The rhythmical secondary icti are undesignated (frequent exceptions). 6. The accents fall upon the heavily stressed parts of the measure. 7. Full verses frequently have only one accent. This always lies upon the heavily stressed part of the first measure. 8. Incomplete verses have the accent on the heavily stressed part of the first measure if the verse concludes with the incomplete measure ; otherwise, 9, upon the heavily stressed part of the second measure if the verse commences with the incomplete measure.

This view of the rhythmical structure of O.'s verse is substantiated by proof material from other monuments. His verse of three arses is an integral part of his reform, and has continued valid as long as his long line continued to be used. A classical proof for this is the Nibelungen-strophe. K.'s results are valuable as furnishing a fixed historical starting-point for investigations dealing with this verse and

its descendants as appearing in later times. To be noted here and to be compared with K.'s results should be the contributions to the same subject by Fr. Saran, *Über vortragsweise und zweck des Evangelienbuchs Otfrieds von Weissenburg:* Halle, 1896; *Zur metrik Otfrids von Weissenburg,* pp. 179–204 of the *Phil. studien, festgabe für E. Sievers:* Halle, 1896.

Pp. 49–63. Hugo Gering emends seventeen passages from the *Lieder-Edda.*

Pp. 63–73, 510–531. E. Arens contributes *Studien zum Tatian.* Part I. is a clear presentation of the mistakes in Tatian. They are divided into three categories: 1. Those due to misreading. 2. Those due to carelessness, by far the greatest number, comprising mistakes in the use of case, number, gender, pronouns, tense, mode, conjunctions. Contamination of two forms also occurs; *e.g. her thô arstantenti inti nam,* 9, 3, from *arstantenti nam* and *arstuont inti nam.* 3. Those due to an insufficient knowledge of Latin. In Part II., *Mehrere übersetzer,* Arens refutes the Sievers-Steinmeyer hypothesis of ten, resp. twenty-four translators. Their criteria are not important enough. *Quedenti* and *sus quedenti* (= *dicens*) appear side by side in passages undoubtedly the work of one person. The same can be said of *antlingan* and *antuurten.* For the fact that in certain passages only the one or the other appears, A. adopts the explanation of W. Walther (*Die deutsche bibelübersetzung des mittelalters:* Braunschw., 1892, sp. 446). The translator had for the time being accustomed himself to the one form. At other times, again, he preferred a different rendering. In regard to the use of conjunctions, also one of S.-St.'s criteria, it can be said that they are frequently left untranslated throughout all the sections. A regularity in translating, strictly and uniformly adhered to, can nowhere be found; and as this is a presupposition to the theory of Steinmeyer and Sievers, their arguments fail to convince. According to A., the translation was made in sections, the parts that resemble interlinear translation most being made first (so the Prologus and perhaps 1, 1–4). The long section, 77–82, was undoubtedly translated without any connection with any other part, whether as the very first piece, or whether it was inserted later. The theory of *one* translator is favored also by the fact that in many passages the choice or form of the German words is clearly attributable to a definite purpose. Further, a fondness for alliterative expressions is evinced, found partly in standing formulas, partly they are obtained by adding some word for which

the Latin has no equivalent; and again an alliterating word is used instead of one otherwise more common in Tatian.

Pp. 73–86.   B. SINGER, *Die quellen von Heinrichs von Freiberg Tristan*, endeavors to show that H. not only used Ulrich von Türheim and Gottfried, but also Eilhart von Oberge, as against F. Wiegandt (*Heinrich von Freiberg in seinem verhältnis zu Eilhart und Ulrich:* Rostock, 1879) and a French Tristan romance, perhaps the lost one of Chrestien de Troies.

Pp. 87–98.   PRIEBSCH, *Der Krieg zwischen dem Lyb und der Seel*, gives the full text of this incomplete little poem (188 ll.), which he discovered some time ago in the British Museum in a Ms. written by Ludwig Sterner, and originally bound together with a printed copy of Gengenbach's *Der welsch Flusz*.   The author is Hentz von den Eychen (l. 183), a Swiss poet.   Vocabulary and rhyme argue for a Swiss home.   Its correct metrical structure and fluency of language assign it to a period not far remote from the blütezeit of MHG. poetry.

Pp. 98–109.   H. DÜNTZER, *Goethe's Jenaer sonette vom december 1807*, proves untenable Kuno Fischer's assertion (*Goethe's sonetten-kranz:* Heidelberg, 1896) that these sonnets were all inspired by Minna Herzlieb, and that they form *one* wreath twined for her. There are too many internal and external contradictions.   Cf., also against Fischer, J. Schipper, *Über Goethe's sonette*, Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass., New Series, IV. 275 ff., where five or six of these sonnets are shown to have been inspired by Bettina.

Pp. 145–149, J. H. GALLÉE, *Zur altsächsischen grammatik*, takes exception to a statement by R. Kögel (*Ergängungsheft*, p. 19) that the participles *githungin*, *bismitin*, *gefallin* of the OS. Genesis are Frisonisms.   He defends them as genuine OS. forms, declaring that, at some time, double forms in *-an* and *-in* were in existence in OS. as well as in OE.   Similarly he argues for *hu* as an OS. form.   *Hû* and *huuô* existed side by side; traces of both forms can still be found in the Saxon provinces of Holland.

Pp. 150–164.   G. ROSENHAGEN, *Muntane Cluse* (*Parz.* 382, 24), elaborates a suggestion thrown out by him, in a note to v. 508 of the Stricker's *Daniel*, that there once existed a now lost German Lanzelot-poem, to a knowledge of which must be traced Wolfram's allusion to Lanzelot in the *Parz.*, and not to a direct influence of Chrestien's *Conte de la charette* or of the French prose novel.   The article also furnishes additional evidence that direct acquaintance with French

epics was rare at that time in Germany, and that they were circulated by oral transmission.

Pp. 165–170. Fedor Bech makes suggestions and corrections to the text of Edward Schroeder's *Zwei altdeutsche rittermären*, and also retracts his view, expressed *Ger.* 17, 177, of the relation of the Craon poet to Hartmann ; rejects, however, as insufficient Schroeder's arguments to prove that the poet drew from Gottfried's *Tristan.*

Pp. 171, 172. Johannes Stosch prints from *Kl. I. Deutsche historienbibeln des mittelalters*, p. 520, a prose version of the *Tobiassegen*, not noted by Steinmeyer in the new edition of MSD.

Pp. 172–177. Alexander Tille describes the fragment of a Ms. of the *Younger Titurel* lately found at Xanten and containing twenty-seven strophes entire or in part. The complete text is given.

Pp. 177–179. A. Jeitteles, *Aar und Adler*, gives several citations to prove the existence of the short form *ar, aru* in the time from 1450–1600, as against Kluge (*Ztschr.* XXIV. 311 ff.), who can discover no trace of it in poets of the 16/17. century.

Pp. 180–195. J. W. Bruinier, *Untersuchungen zur entwickelungsgeschichte des volksschauspiels vom Dr. Faust. I. Der grosse monolog.* The author seeks to reconstruct the skeleton of the old monologue. An examination of the Latin phrases interspersed in the text of A D L M^1 M^2 U W and of the use made in the different versions of the sentiments contained in them, leads to the following conclusions : 1. The oldest monologue lacks the *facultätenschau*, the polyhistory of Faust, the motive of the unsatisfied thirst for knowledge. Its fundamental idea was Faust's dissatisfaction with his position ; necromancy is to help him to something higher. This archetype is nowhere retained pure. 2. Very early the recast represented by A U must have been made ; it could not maintain itself. 3. D J Kr z (and Goethe's basis ?) go back to a type that had incorporated Marlowe's *facultätenschau*. 4. (Schroeder and ?) the version containing the aria *Fauste jene himmelsgaben* have both the *facultätenschau* and the polyhistory of Faust, thereby approaching Marlowe still more closely. Between the oldest monologue and that of Marlowe there are several important coincidences and divergences. As to the relation of the two to each other, Br. proposes three possibilities : 1. The German popular play composed an entirely new monologue which had nothing in common with that of Marlowe. 2. Both it and Marlowe go back to the same dramatic source. 3. The German play is the source of Marlowe's play.

Pp. 195–217. Reinhold Steig continues his contributions, *Zu den kleineren schriften der brüder Grimm*. The *ankündigung der altdänischen heldenlieder* (*Kl. Schr.* 1, 172) is shown to belong only to a small extent to Wilhelm Grimm; it is largely the work of Arnim. The anonymous review of Henriette Schubart's translation of Scottish songs and ballads (*Lpz. Litztg.*, 1818) was not written by Wilhelm, but by Jacob Grimm; on the other hand, the anonymous review of Ernst Wagner's *Historisches A B C eines vierzigjährigen Henneber-gischen fiebelschützen* (*Heidelb. Jahrb.* 5, 2, 371–374) must be credited to Wilhelm Grimm.

Pp. 289–305. H. Hirt, *Die stellung des germanischen im kreise der verwandten sprachen*. An attempt to prove the untenableness of the old hypothesis that in prehistoric times there existed an inti-mate relation between the Germanic and Letto-Slavonic groups. The few correlations found are according to Hirt either explainable as remnants of original language-material (the *-m* forms, Goth. *wul-fam*, O. Slav. *vlŭkomŭ*, Lith. *vilkamo*), or lose their convincing power because found only in Ger. and Slav. (the change from *sr* to *str*), or only in Ger. and Lith. (Goth. *ainlif, twalif:* Lith. *vĕnólika, dvýlika*). On the other hand, the divergencies are great throughout, in phono-logical, morphological, and lexical respects, not to speak of the general impression of great dissimilarity which the two languages make. Joh. Schmidt's lists of words corresponding in these two groups are found to be very unreliable; important corrections are made to the lists given by Kluge, *Grd.* I. 320, and by Kretschmer, *Einl. in die gesch. der griech. sprache*, 109 *a*, in support of the old view. As a more convincing proof of his position Hirt regards the fact that by far greater correspondences are found between the Ger-manic and Italic groups. Extensive word-lists are given to substanti-ate his assertion. These are classified in the following categories: *a*. time and law (11); *b*. qualities (13); *c*. verbs (30); *d*. animal and vegetable kingdoms (19); *e*. parts of the body, etc. (8); unclassified thirty words. Frequently these words are absolutely identical, but the supposition that they were borrowed is excluded because of the operation of phonetic laws. This coincidence extends farther to the use of certain suffixes, *e.g.*, *-u̯o* in adj. denoting color; *-no* in distributives; *-nē* to denote direction 'whence'; *-tero* as comparative suffix. Likewise there is a similarity in the formation of the pf.: *a*. types with long vl., *e.g.* Lat. *ēdimus*,'Goth. *ētum*; Lat. *vēnimus*, Goth. *qēmum*; *b*. types without reduplication, *e.g.* Lat.

līquit, Goth. *laiƕ;* Lat. *fūdit*, Goth. *gaut; c.* types with reduplica-
tion, *e.g.* Lat. *tundo, tutudi*, Goth. *stautan, staistaut; d.* the pres.
of *io*-verbs (as already noted by Bernecker and Giles), *e.g.* Lat.
capio, capis, capit, OHG. *heffu, hevis, hevit.* Hirt clearly shows the
insufficiency of the support to be found for the old hypothesis and
indirectly argues against Schmidt's wave-theory, although he does
not definitely disprove it, since it might be applied to account for the
coincidences in the Germanic and Italic groups.

Pp. 306–337. Friedrich Kauffmann, *Beiträge zur quellenkritik
der gotischen bibelübersetzung.* The prefatory remarks give a suc-
cinct account of the former and present views held in regard to
the recensions of the Greek New Testament in general and the
sources of the Gothic Bible in particular. To represent one side
of the latter question as it stands now, K. quotes from Gregory's
Prolegomena, p. 202 : 'usus est Ulfilas textu Graeco, maxima ex
parte Antiocheno, cum multis lectionibus Occidentalibus, nonnullis
antiquis non-occidentalibus' ; these western admixtures are not emen-
dations according to an Italic version, but probably due to the fact
' quod et Ulfilas et emendatores illi codicibus Graecis textui Italico
similibus usi sint.' The other side is represented by Sievers (*Grd.*
II. 69 f.), who rejects the theory of an original connection of the
Greek text used by Wulfila with the Itala, also that of later interpola-
tions by Italian critics, in favor of Marold's view that in the parts
showing Occidentalisms there was an intentional preference on the
part of the translator for the Itala. K. reëxamines the whole ques-
tion in the light of the results furnished by modern biblical criticism
and treats 1. the Old Testament fragments. Lagarde proves in his
Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior, Gött. 1883,
p. xiv, that Wulfila used the Greek Lucian, mentioned by Hierony-
mus in his letter to the Goths Sunja and Friþila, for his translation of
the Old Testament. A comparison of Lagarde's text with the Gothic,
while it shows almost literal identity in Neh. v–vii. surprises by a
striking difference between Ezra ii. and the Gothic fragment called
Ezra ii. Instead of tacitly accepting the traditional view, K. tests
the statement of Castiglione (*Spec.* p. xvii) and proves conclusively
that the latter passage is not a part of Ezra ii., but of Neh. vii. His
proof is based upon the distribution of υἱοί and ἄνδρες and their
Gothic equivalents, in the three portions containing the passage in
question, viz., Ezra ii., Neh. vii., and 3. Ezra v. The Gothic text
agrees only with Neh. ; *e.g.* Ezra ii., υιοι της Ραμα ; Neh. vii., ανδρες

Ραμα ; 3. Ezra v., υιοι της Ραμα : Goth. *wairos Rama;* Ezra ii., υιοι
Ναβου ; Neh. vii., ανδρες Ναβου ; 3. Ezra v., υιοι Ναβου : Goth. *wairos
Nabawis,* etc. The Septuagint does not offer anything to weaken
this argumentation and the result is, therefore, twofold. The frag-
ment is assigned its proper place, and Lagarde's view that Wulfila
used the Lucian is confirmed. Additional proof is furnished by the
fact that Goth. *Assaum* has its equivalent only in Lagarde's Ασσομ
(Neh. vii. 24). Likewise *Eeiramis =* Ηιραμ, *Aidduins =* Εδδουα,
Jareimis = Ιαρειμ. On the other hand, that this text of Lucian was
not the original but a derived text is shown by the fact that for Goth.
Babaawis, Lag. has Βοκχει ; for *Addinis,* Αδδει or Εδδει ; for *Ateiris,*
Αζηρ or Αζερ, etc. ; while with the aid of parallel passages the Sep-
tuagint here shows forms identical with the Gothic. Similarly the
correct forms of the numerals following the names can be ascertained.
The whole second half of the well-known passage from the Vienna
Ms. K. assigns to Gen. v., and contends against W. Grimm that these
meagre fragments also go back to Lucian. Then follows the text of
all the Old Testament fragments, both Gothic and Greek, with an
apparatus of the most important Greek and Latin variants, the whole
forming a valuable correction to the text as constructed by Bernhardt.
K.'s answer to the question as to the sources of the Gothic transla-
tion is, in brief: The translator probably had a mixed text ; that of
Lucian was the *foundation,* but not the direct *source,* of his work,
variants from the Greek Vulgate and, perhaps, from a third recension
(the Hesychian?) had entered into it.

These contributions, so pithy and suggestive throughout, are to
be continued in Vol. XXX.

Pp. 338–345. FEDOR BECH writes *Zur Kritik und erklärung des
von H. Paul herausgegebenen gedichtes : Tristan als mönch.*

Pp. 345–372. J. W. BRUINIER continues his *Untersuchungen zur
entwickelungsgeschichte des volksschauspiels vom Dr. Faust* (cf. pp.
180–195). II. *Die erste geisterstimmenscene.* Such a scene is found
in all versions except in G Mü O. It forms one of the oldest parts
of the drama, and had its position originally immediately after the
monologue. Its earliest form is reconstructed (p. 346). To the
parts contained in it were added, later, new motives which, proceed-
ing from an archetype, influenced also other versions. Marlowe, too,
has spirits' voices in the same place ; but since they remain entirely
without effect upon Faust, it may be concluded that these verses
(90–105 A) were a later interpolation. Again the question is:

Which of the two had the scene first? III. *Die studenten mit den zauberbüchern.* Likewise one of the oldest parts and found in all recensions which do not connect the conjuration scene directly with the monologue. Except in U, it follows upon the spirits' scene, or, where this has changed position or has disappeared, upon the monologue. Br. finds it safe to assume for the archetype: 1. That Faust did not have the books necessary for the conjuration before the arrival of the students. 2. That these do not appear accidentally, but that there is a previous understanding between them and Faust, their object in coming, as is evident from the different versions, being to bring Faust the desired books. 3. That they are genuine students, not devils, nor magicians, and therefore not identical with Marlowe's magicians. The arguments advanced to establish such an identity he regards as extremely superficial. The German archetype agrees closely with the pre-Marlowean legend (cf. *Kloster*, 2, 293); and he joins Schade in believing that the students mentioned by Widman are those of the puppet-play. The reminders of Marlowe which later entered into the original form of the German drama under the influence of the English play so often given in Germany during the seventeenth century are not essential. The reconstructed scene, as it was in the archetype, introduces the students on the stage, and shows it to be Faust's intention personally to entertain them, a feature which Marlowe undoubtedly borrowed from the German play. In the versions that leave the students behind the scenes, Wagner comes more into prominence, and has to fulfil functions formerly pertaining to Faust or the students. It naturally falls thus to him to invite the latter to the collation. This collation Br. connects with the Casper scene, declaring that originally the indications of it — empty glasses and plates — are still on the table as Casper enters, and that these awaken in him the delusion that he is in a tavern. Br. is able to establish three (or four) principal old versions, under which the various texts can be grouped; but since it is impossible to ascertain all the details which the scene may have contained, he does not give a genealogical table of them.

Pp. 433–509. O. HERTEL, *Die sprache Luthers im sermon von den guten werken* (1520) *nach der handschriftlichen überlieferung.* The object of the author is, by an exhaustive examination of one monument belonging to the early period of the reformer's literary activity, to help throw light upon the development of his language. The introductory remarks voice the sentiments of K. Burdach in

regard to Luther's influence on the character and origin of the NHG. *schriftsprache* and on the dissemination of the same. From the many divergent opinions as to the relative value of the prints and Mss., before and after certain dates, H. sifts as indisputable the fact that the best sources from which to draw material for a correct representation of his language, as it was at the beginning of his literary work, are his autograph Mss. The text on which H.'s investigation is based is that found in Braune's *Ndr.* 93, 94, an essentially accurate reproduction of Luther's autograph Ms. of this sermon. After a comprehensive treatment of the phonology, morphology, and orthography of the same, H. sums up his general results as follows: 1. Luther's own language is different from that of his printed works, only his autograph Mss. present a true picture of it. 2. The language of this sermon shows marks of a transition stage. 3. Although the basis of this monument is essentially NHG., yet many archaic and dialectic forms are found in it.

Miscellen und Litteratur

Pp. 109–110. Theodor Braune gives "*Oberrheinische sprichwörter und redensarten*," culled from a politico-ecclesiastical reform article found in a Colmar Ms., and belonging to the time from 1490 to 1510. — Pp. 110–117. John Meier shows that Nigrinus (*Wider die rechte Bacchanten*, 1559) is influenced more by Frank (*Laster der trunkenheit*, 1531) than by Friderich (*Wider den Sauffteuffel*, 1552), as is claimed by Hauffen. — Pp. 117–118. F. Kluge derives *eichen* from a Pregerm. **îkôn* = Lat. *aequâre*. Albert Pick, p. 374, shows this etymology to have been suggested as early as 1873 by A. Scheler in his *Dict. d'Étymologie française.* — Pp. 118–121. Theodor Braune throws light on the so far obscure etymology of OHG. *narro*, MHG. *narre*, NHG. *narr*. It is not to be derived, with Diez, from MLat. *nario*, but rather is the source of it. The stem *nar, nir, nur*, as it appears in the various related words, has onomatopoetic origin. — P. 121. R. Sprenger identifies MHG. *zîtelôse, zîtlôse* with *colchicum speciosum.* — Pp. 124–126. G. Rosenhagen reviews rather unfavorably Zeidler's *Untersuchung des verhältnisses der handschriften von Rudolfs von Es 'Wilhelm von Orlens'* (Prag, 1894). The same reviewer accepts Priebsch's conclusions as to source and home of "*Diu Vrône botschaft ze der christenheit*" (Graz, 1895).—H. Jellinghaus, pp. 132–133, has words of praise for E. L. Fischer's *Grammatik und wortschatz der plattdeutschen mundart im preussischen Samlande*

(Halle, 1896).—Otto Mensing, reviewing Merkes' *Beiträge zur lehre vom gebrauch des infinitivus im neuhochdeutschen auf historischer grundlage* (Leipzig, 1896), pp. 134–137, regards many of the author's conclusions interesting and valuable, but desires them to be put in a more scientific form.—J. W. Bruinier, pp. 138–139, highly commends H. Wunderlich's *Unsere umgangssprache in der eigenart ihrer satzfügung dargestellt* (Weimar und Berlin, 1894).—Pp. 140–142. Finnur Jónsson speaks very favorably of Konráð Gíslason's *Forelæsninger over oldnordiske skjaldekvad* (København, 1895), ed. by Dr. Björn Magnússon Ólsen, as the first volume of *Konráð Gíslason, Efterladte skrifter.*—Pp. 218–223. Max Schlickinger defends, against Keinz, his position in regard to the *Helmbrechtshof und seine Umgebung.*—Pp. 223–228. G. Sarrazin reviews, on the whole favorably, Wülfing's *Die syntax in den werken Alfreds des Grossen* (Bonn, 1894),—Pp. 228–235. O. Jiriczek has high words of commendation for the project of publishing the *Altnordische sagabibliothek,* herausgeg. von Gustaf Cederschiöld, Hugo Gering und Eugen Mogk (Halle, Niemeyer), in general, and for the first three numbers of the same : 1. *Ares Isländerbuch,* herausg. von Wolfgang Golther (1892); 2. *Orvar-Odds saga,* herausg. von R. C. Boer (1892) ; 3. *Egilssaga Skallagrimssonar,* herausg. von Finnur Jónsson (1894), in particular. The review is prefaced with very lucid remarks on the history and necessity of ON. studies. Of interest is also the footnote on pp. 230 f. in defence of ' literary ' text criticism, the publication of normalized texts, while at the same time acknowledging the great value of diplomatically true reprints.—Pp. 236–243. A. Jeitteles speaks well of Rud. Wolkan's *Geschichte der deutschen litteratur in Böhmen bis zum ausgange des XVI. jahrhunderts* (Prag, 1894). —Pp. 244–262. H. Düntzer has words of appreciation, but also of severe criticism, for *Goethe's werke* (Weim. Ausg.), I. Bd. 18. 25, 1 ; III. Bd. 7 ; IV. Bd. 17, 18.—Pp. 263–269. Charles Schmidt's *Wörterbuch der Strassburger mundart* contains, according to Heinrich Menges, " übergenug des anziehenden und lehrreichen," although many quite common expressions are omitted, others are incorrectly interpreted, and the etymological explanations are weak and open to objections.—Pp. 269–271. Gustav Binz condemns Bernh. Schmidt's *Der vokalismus der Siegerländer mundart* (Halle, 1894).—Friedrich Kauffmann, reviewing Bremer's critique of Wenker's *Sprachatlas,* and Wrede's *Über richtige interpretation der Sprachatlaskarten,* advises to remember Wenker's own words : " der Sprachatlas bringt nichts

als eine geographisch geordnete reproduction des in den formularen
überlieferten schriftlichen tatbestandes." — Pp. 372–374. G. Bossert
contributes *Lutherana.* — Pp. 374–384. M. H. Jellinek reviews Streit-
berg's *Urgerm. Grammatik,* on the whole favorably. His criticisms
have reference especially to the meagre remarks on Germanic second-
ary accent, the treatment of $\bar{e}^2$, the rather indefinite terminology, the
method of citation, etc., not to mention the refutation of Streitberg's
objections to the reviewer's own theories. — Pp. 385–393. Max
Rachel notices favorably three new contributions to the Hans Sachs
literature. — Pp. 394–414. Theodor Siebs reviews at length Rudolf
Kögel's *Geschichte der deutschen litteratur bis zum ausgange des mit-
telalters. 1. band, 1. teil: die stabreimende dichtung und die gotische
prosa* (Strassburg, 1894). *Nebst ergänzungsheft: die altsächsische
genesis (ibid.* 1895). He appreciates the author's interesting way
of treating the important questions pertaining to the history of
Germanic poetry, his ingenious contributions to the knowledge of
Germanic antiquities and metrics, his many linguistic explanations,
and especially his conscientious work upon the OS. and earlier
OHG. monuments; but he also raises numerous objections, *e.g.* in
regard to inferences drawn from the testimony of Tac., to K.'s cos-
mogonic ideas, his view of the Longobards and their relation to the
Anglo-Frisian group, of alliteration in legal sources, of the home of
the *Heliand* poet, etc. He repeatedly censures K.'s conclusions as
being altogether unwarranted. — Pp. 414–417. Gustav Binz, review-
ing Thomas Miller's *Place Names in the English Bede and the Local-
ization of the Mss.,* considers the author's theory, if not proved, at
any rate, not impossible. — Pp. 418–424. M. Spanier commends
Wilhelm Uhl's edition of *Murner's Gäuchmatt* (Leipzig, 1896), but
also offers numerous suggestions and corrections. Pp. 426–428.
J. Schmedes has an appreciative review of Paul Cauer's *Grundfragen
der Homerkritik* (Leipzig, 1895), and recommends a similar treat-
ment of the *Nibelungenlied.* He likewise announces 1. *Studenten-
sprache und studentenlied in Halle vor hundert jahren, eine Jubilä-
umsgabe für die universität H.-W. dargebracht vom Deutschen abend
in Halle; 2. Hallische studentensprache* von John Meier; 3. *Deutsche
studentensprache* von Friedrich Kluge, pp. 428–431. — K. Zacher,
pp. 531–533, points out coincidences in Lucretius and Otfried which
make it probable that Otfried was acquainted with Lucretius. Did
he know the now lost Ms. of the fourth or fifth century, which in the
ninth century was "in quadam regni Francici parte"? — Pp. 537–

542.   Ludwig Fränkel has nothing but highest praise for F. M. Böhme's *Volkstümliche lieder der Deutschen im 18. und 19. jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1895).   Cp. with this John Meier's review of the same author's edition of *Erk's Deutscher liederhort,* pp. 557–559.— Pp. 543–544.   Hugo Gering brings corrections and additions to his *Glossar zu den liedern der Edda* (Paderborn, 1896).—Pp. 548–550.   Franz Ahlgrimm accepts only partly the results of Arth. Fuckel's dissertation *Der Ernestus des Odo von Magdeburg und sein verhältnis zu den übrigen älteren bearbeitungen der sage vom herzog Ernst* (Marburg, 1895).—Pp. 552–557.   Theodor Siebs criticises very severely the first section of the *Friesch woordenbook, bewerkt door Waling Dijkstra en dr. F. Buitenrust Hettema, benevens lijst van friesche eigennamen, bewerkt door Johan Winkler* (Leeuwarden, 1896).—G. Sarrazin, p. 564, identifies Wolfdietrich with the pretender Gundovald mentioned by Gregory, *Hist. Francorum,* lib. VII.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN.   ERNST H. MENSEL.

CORRECTION.

In my notice of Lindelöf's *Glossar,* in the last number of this *Journal,* I said : ' The very common word *ilce* he has omitted altogether, without notice or correction.'   In making this statement, I had overlooked the fact that his instances are given under *ðe ilca.* His reasons for so doing are not obvious, and he gives no cross-reference under *ilca ;* I was thus misled into doing him an injustice which I sincerely regret.

ALBERT S. COOK.

THE ORIGINAL OF *THE COMPLAYNT OF SCOTLANDE.*

DISCUSSIONS on the still unsettled question of the authorship of the *Complaynt of Scotlande* have hitherto assumed that this work, though it followed in a general way the type of allegory fashionable in the Middle Ages, was yet in its particular form quite original. An examination of the evidence given below, however, makes it manifest that from *Le Quadrilogue Invectif* of Alain Chartier, the Scottish author has borrowed not only his general idea of a Vision of Dame Scotia exhorting her three sons, the Estates, to agree and unite against the foreign enemy, but also many details of the allegory; and that in the case of a number of passages, amounting in all to about fifteen pages of the edition of 1549, he has given an actual translation of the French.

Chartier's work was produced in the third decade of the fifteenth century, shortly after the coronation of Henry VI of England as King of France; and the object of the allegory was to stir up his countrymen to a sense of their shame, that they might combine to throw off the yoke of England. The *Complaynt* was written during the childhood of Mary of Scots, immediately after the humiliating defeat at Pinkie, and while the Protector Somerset was still pressing the 'bitter wooing' of the infant Queen for Edward VI. The transference of many of the charges against Dame France's 'anciens ennemis et adversaires' to Dame Scotia's 'auld enemy of Ingland' was obviously a very simple one. The common hatred that had so often driven France and Scotland to a mutual borrowing of the weapons of actual warfare, led for once to the borrowing of a literary weapon for use in the same struggle.

The latest edition of the works of Alain Chartier is that of Duchesne Tourangeau (Paris, 1617), and, as this is not generally accessible, outlines of the whole of both works are here given, and the actual translations are reproduced verbatim.

For the French book the parallel is of no great value, though in one or two cases the Scottish text is of service in helping to settle a doubtful reading; but the light thrown by the *Quadrilogue Invectif* on the *Complaynt* is of very considerable interest. Dr. J. A. H. Murray has noted that 'the most salient characteristic of the language of the *Complaynt* is the French element in it,'[1] and the source here indicated, as well as the implied intimacy with French literature, is to be added to the causes given by him to account for this element.

Though the translations are, for the most part, by no means slavish, yet occasionally we find the French word carried over bodily, as when *douloureux suspirs* is translated by *dolorus suspiris, desnaturez* by *disnaturellit, importable* by *importabil, oultrages* by *oultrage* (with etymological spelling), or *tissus* (participle) by *tissu.* Yet this is less frequent than might be expected, and the Scot imports many Latinisms of his own, as, for instance, in rendering *les oyseux* by *inutil idil men.*

The adaptation of the matter is even more interesting, and on examination may yield some hint towards the solution of the question of authorship. Thus it seems significant that in urging the duty of patriotism, the Scottish author omits Chartier's appeal to 'la foy Catholique.'[2] The absence of the Frenchman's frequent charges of luxuriousness is also suggestive, as is also the expansion by the Scot of the case against the Churchmen. In any case, whatever the importance of such details, the relation of the two books is a further evidence of the literary side of the 'auld alliance.' A detailed comparison follows.

The Complaynt of Scotlande, wyth ane Exortatione to the Thre Estaits to be vigilant in the Deffens of their Public veil,

---

[1] *The Complaynt of Scotlande,* etc., edited by J. A. H. Murray, with introduction and Glossary, for the Early English Text Society. London, 1872, pp. civ–cvi.
[2] See below, p. 423.

(*C. S.*) begins with a dedication of seven pages to the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise.   This is followed by a *Prolog to the Redar*, in which the author defends himself against possible charges, on the ground of his patriotic motives, and apologizes for his use of the 'domestic scottis language.'   In the first chapter we have the first clear evidence of the author's debt to Chartier.   The heading runs,

   The Fyrst Cheptour declaris the cause of the Mutations of Monarches.
   Le Quadrilogue Invectif, fait par Maistre Alain Chartier, (*Q. I.*) begins with a Prologue summarized as follows :

   Tout ainsi que par l'ordonnance du supernel Monarche, Principaultez & Seigneuries sont creées & establies ; aussi sont leur fins, ruines & decadences.   Et souuent la souueraine sagesse verse du trosne imperial vng orgueilleux Prince soubz la seruitute de son ennemy, puis par humilité le restablit en son siege.

The Prologue opens with salutations to the Princes, Nobles, Clerks, and People of France, after which comes the passage parallel with Chap. I of *C. S.*

PROLOGUE OF *Q. I.* p. 402.	CHAP. I. OF *C. S.* p. 19.
Comme les haultes dignitez des Seigneuries soient establies soubz la diuine & infinie puissance qui les eslieue en florissant prosperité & en glorieuse renommee, il est à croire & tenir fermement, que ainsi que leurs commencemens & leurs *naissances* sont maintenus & adressiez par la diuine prouidence, aussi [p. 403] est leur fin et leur detriment par sentence donnee ou hault conseil de la souueraine Sapience, qui les aucuns verse du hault throsne de imperial Seigneurie en la basse fosse de serui-	AS the hie monarchis, lordschips, ande autoriteis, ar stablit be the infinite diuyne ordinance, and

menteinit be the sempeternal prouidens, siclyik ther ruuyne cummis be the sentence gyffin be the souerane consel of the diuyne sapiens, the quhilk doune thringis them fra the hie trone of ther imperial dominations, and garris them fal |

tute, & de magnificence en ruine ;
et faict des vainquers vaincus, et
ceulx obeyr par crainte qui com-
mander souloient par auctorité.
Mais quaint doulce misericorde
entremeslee auec droicturiere iu-
stice donne sur les Princes et sur
les peuples le decret de plus at-
trempee punition, l'orgueil de trop
oultrecuidé pouoir, qui se descong-
noist, est rabaissé par puissance
ennemie. La superfluité des biens
mondains, qui est nourrice de se-
ditions & de murmure, est chastiee
par sa mesme nourreture.

[Here follow 20 lines not repre-
sented in *C. S.*]

Et il, qui est infiny en hault
pouoir, met commencement,
moyen, & fin en toutes ses euures
soubz le mouuement des cieulx :
comme le potier, qui autour de
sa roe faict d'vne mesme masse
diuers potz de differentes facons
& grandeurs, & les grans casse &
desrompt se bien ne luy plaisent,
pour en faire des petits, & de la
matiere des mendres refait il les
plus grans. Et se memoire nous
puet aul-cune chose ramenteuoir,
& les anciens liures [p. 404] de
noz peres appendre à congnoistre
nos fais par les leurs : toutes an-
ciennes escriptures sont plaines
de mutations, subuersions, et
changemens des Royaulmes &
des Principaultez. Car comme
les enfans naissent & croissent en
hommes parfaitz, & puis declinent

in the depe fosse of seruitude,
ande fra magnificens in ruuyne,
ande causis conqueriours to be
conquest, ande til obeye ther
vmquhile subiectis be dreddour,
quhome of be for thai commandit
be autorite. This decreit pro-
cedis of the diuyne iustice, be
rason that princis ande vthirs of
autorite becummis ambitius ande
presumpteous, throucht grite su-
perfluite of veltht : ther for he
dois chestee them be the abstrac-
tione of that superfluite : that is
to say, he possessis vthir pure
pepil that knauis his gudnes, vitht
the samyn reches that he hes tane
fra them that hes arrogantly mis-
knauen hym.

Ane pottar vil mak of ane masse
of mettal diverse pottis of defferent
fassons, & [p. 20] syne he vil brak
the grite pottis quhen thai pleyse
hym nocht, ande he makkis smal
pottis of the brokyn verk of the
grite pottis, ande alse of the mettal
ande mater of the smal pottis he
formis grit pottis. this exem-
pil may be applyit to the subuer-
tions ande mutations of realmis
ande dominions, ande of al varldly
prosperite. childir that ar neu
borne grouis & incressis quhil thai
be ascendit to the perfyit stryntht
of men : bot ther efter, tha begyn
to decresse ande declinis til eild
ande to the dede. siklyik lord-

à vieillesse & à mort ; ainsi ont les Seigneuries leur commencement, & leur accroissement, & leur declin.

Où est Niniue la grant cité, qui duroit trois iournees de chemin?

Qu'est deuenue Babiloine, qui fut edifiee de matiere artificieuse pour plus durer aux hommes, & maintenant est habitee de serpens?

Que dira l'en de Troye la riche & tres renommee? Et de Ylion le chastel sans per, dont les portes furent d'iuoire, & les colonnes d'argent; & maintenant à peine en reste le pié des fondemens, que les haulx buissons forcloent de la veue des hommes?

Thebes qui fut fondee de Cadmus le fils de Agenor, & la plus peuplee de dessus la terre pour son temps : en laquelle part pourroit on trouuer tant de reliques de son nom, que

schips ande digniteis hes incressing, declinatione, ande exterminatione.

[Four lines not represented in the French are omitted here.]

the mutations of monarchis ande dominions, ar manifest in the holy scriptur, ande in the verkis of the maist famous anciant historigraphours. quhar is the grite ande riche tryumphand cite of nynyue, quhilk hed tre dais iournais of circuit? at this tyme ther is nocht ane stane standant on ane vthir. Quhar is the grite tour of babilone? the quhilk vas biggit be ane maist ingenius artifeis, of proportione, quantite, ande of stryntht. it aperit to be perdurabil ande inuyncibil, bot nou it is desolat, ande inhabit be serpens ande vthir venemuse beystis. Quhat sal be said of the riche tryumphant toune of troye, ande of castell ylione, quhilk hed al the portis of euoir bane, ande the pillaris of fyne siluyr? bot at this tyme ane fut of hicht of the vallis can nocht be sene, for al the grond of the palecis of that tryumphand toune ande castel is ouergane vitht gyrse ande vild scroggis. Quhar is the grite toune of thebes? quihilk vas foundit be Cadmus the sone of agenoir, the quhilk vas at that tyme the maist pepulus toune abufe the eird. it hed ane [p. 21] hundretht tourettis and portis,

gens se puissent monstrez nez de sa semence? Lacedemoine, dont les loix vindrent à diuerses nations, desquelles encores nous vsons, ne peut oncques tant estroictment garder les loix de Ligurgus le droicturier, qui furent faictes pour sa perpetuation, que sa vertu ne soit extaincte & aneantie. Athenes fontaine de sapience, & source des haultes doctrines de philosophie, n'est pas en subuersion, & les ruisseaulx de son escole taris & asseichez? Carthage la bataille-resse, qui domptoit les elephans à batailler, & qui iadis fut tant redoubtee aux Romains, où a elle tourné sa grant gloire, sinon en la cendre du feu ou elle fut arse & embrasee? Mais parlons de Romme, qui fut derreniere en souueraine maiesté, & excellence en vertu. Et notons bien la parolle de Lucan, qui dit que de elle mesme par sa pesanteur elle decheut.

Car les trop pesans faiz sont les plus griefues cheoistes.

Par ceste maniere chascune à son tour & en son ordre se changent, rabaissent, ou soubuertissent les

bot nou at this tyme ther is no thyng quhar it stude bot barrane feildis. Siklyik lacedmonya, quhar the legislator ligurgus gef to the pepil strait famous lauis, of the quhilk ane grit part ar vsit presently in the vniuersal varld, is nocht that nobil toune extinct furtht of rememorance? Quhat sal be said of athenes, the vmquhile fontane of sapiens, ande the spring of philosophee : is it nocht in perpetual subuersione? Quhar is the toune of cartage that dantit the elephantis, ande vas grytumly doutit & dred be the romans? vas it nocht brynt in puldir ande asse? and nou the grond of it is pastour for bestial. quhat be said of the riche monarche of rome, quhilk dantit and subdeuit al the varld? is nocht nou the superiorite of it partit ande diuidit in mony ande diuerse partis, conformand to the vordis of lucan, quha said that the vecht of rome suld gar it ryve in mony partis : the vecht of it signifeit nocht the vecht of hauy vallis, housis, stonis, ande vther materials : bot rather it signifeit the vecht of the inexorbitant extorsions that it committit on the vniuersal varld, quhilk is the cause that the monarche of it is dividit amang mony diverse princis. of this sort euere thyng hes ane tyme, for mutations of varldly felicite is ane natural habitude, quhilkis is the cause that na thyng remains lang constant in ane prosperus

eureuses fortunes, & le bruit des Royaulmes.   Ainsi comme la Monarchie du monde & la dignité du Souuerain Empire fut iadis translatée des Assiriens aux Persans, des Persans aux Grecz, des Grecz aux Rommains, & des Rommains es mains de François, & des Germains.   Et combien que ces [p. 405] choses soient assez euidentes à congnoistre, si y errent plusieurs.   Car en racomptant le fait qu'ilz congnoissent à l'ueil, ilz demeurent en descongnoissance de la cause.   Et pource que les iugemens de Dieu, sans qui rien ne se fait, sont une parfonde abisme, où nul entendement humain ne scet prendre fons ne riue ; & que noz sens sont trop foibles, noz ans trop cours, & noz pensees & affections trop frailles à les comprendre : nons imputons à fortune, qui est chose fainte & vaine, & ne se puet reuencher, la iuste vengeance que Dieu prent de noz deffaultes, laquelle, ainsi que dit Valere, vient bien à tart.

stait : ande that is the special cause that al dominions altris, dechaeis, ande cummis to subuersione.   The fyrst monarche of the varld vas translatit fra the assiriens to them of perse, ande fra perse to the greikis, ande translatit fra the greikis to the romans, fra the romans to the franche men, ande fra the franche men to the germanis, ande quhou be it that the pepil knauis thir mutations to be of verite, zit ther is nocht mony that knauis the cause of thir mutations, be rason that the iugement of gode (quhilk virkis al thyng) is ane profound onknauen deipnes, the quhilk [p. 22] passis humaine ingyne to comprehende the ground or limitis of it : be cause oure vit is ouer febil, oure ingyne ouer harde, oure thochtis ouer vollage, and oure zeiris ouer schort.   Ther is mony ignorant pepil that imputis the subuersions ande mutations of prosperite to proceid of fortune : sic consaitis procedis of the gentilite and pagans doctryne, and nocht of goddis lau, nor zit of moral philosophie.

[Here follows a reference to the humiliation of France in the coronation of Henry VI of England as King of France in 1422.]

[Here follows an expansion of these remarks on fortune, and a reference to the defeat of the Scots in the battle of Pinkey in 1547.]

[l. 20.]   I'ay conclut en ma pensee, que la main de Dieu est sur nous, & que sa fureur a mis en

[p. 23, l. 15.]   Al thir thingis considrit, causit me to reuolue diuerse beukis of the holy scrip-

euure ce flael de persecution. Si
ay curieusement encherché par le
discours des sainctes Escriptures
les faultes & les punitions de noz
peres, & des primerains : & en
grant crainte debatu en ma pen-
see, se ceste douloureuse affliction
est en verge de pere pour nostre
chastoy, ou rigueur de iuge pour
nostre extermination.   Et entre
les autres Escriptures comme ie
leusse le tiers Chapitre d'Isaie, le
cueur m'est troublé de freeur, &
les yeulx obscurciz de lermes,
quant ie voy sur nous les coups
feruz, qui sont signes de mort, &
donnent enseigne de la diuine
indignation, se nous n'y querons
briefue medecine.

[Here follows an explanation
of the title — *Le Quadrilogue,*
because it is of four persons, and
Invectif, because it blames — and
an exhortation to read the whole
book, as a part would be mislead-
ing.]

tur, & of humanite, in hope to
get ane iust iugement, quhiddir
that this dolorus afflictione be
ane vand of the fadi to correct
& chestie the sone be mercy, or
gyf it be ane rigorus mercyles
decreit of ane iuge, to exsecute
on vs ane final exterminatione.
than efftir lang conteneuatione of
reding on diuerse sortis of beukis,
i red the xxviii of deutrono, the
xxvi of leuitic, & the thrid of
ysaye, the quhilk causit my trub-
lit spreit to trymmyl for dreddour,
ande my een to be cum obscure
throucht the multiplie of salt teyris,
ande throucht the lamentabil sus-
piring that procedit fra my dolo-
rus hart, be rason that the sentens
ande conteneu of thyr said chep-
tours of the bibil, gart me consaue,
that the diuyne indignatione had
decretit ane extreme ruuyne on
oure realme ; bot gyf that ve
retere fra oure vice, and alse to
be cum vigilant to seik haisty
remeide & medycyne at hym
quha gyffis al grace ande comfort
to them that ar maist dititute of
mennis supple.

[End of Chapter I.]

Chapters II, III, IV, V, and VI of *C. S.* are not repre-
sented in *Q. I.*, and consist chiefly (with the notable excep-
tion of VI) of quotations and instances from Scripture and
the Classics, and the application of these to the state of Scot-
land.   The contents, as given in the 'Table of the cheptours,'
are as follows :

*The sycond cheptor declaris the thretnyng of god contrar obsti-
nat vicius pepil.*

The thrid cheptor is, quhou the actor regretis the thretnyng of god.

The feyrd cheptour conferris the passagis of the thrid cheptour of ysaye vitht the afflictione of scotland.

The fyift cheptour declaris the opinions that the pagan philosophours held anent the terminatione of the varld.

The sext cheptor rehersis ane monolog recreatyue of the actor.

The 7 cheptor is of the visione that aperit to the actor in his sleip.

In this seventh chapter the parallellism with *Q. I.* begins again, and the whole conception of the vision which occupies the rest of *C. S.*, though in parts differing widely in execution, is clearly taken from *Q. I.* The second chapter of Chartier has the following heading:

" *Dame France laidangee de ses ennemies, habandonnee de ses*
   amis apparoist en vision en tres piteux habit à l'Acteur du
   present Liure."

The French author begins by telling how he lay one morning at dawn brooding over the sad state of his country, when he fell into a light sleep and had a vision. The Scottish author makes his sleep follow the extraordinary experiences detailed in the *Monolog recreatyue*. What follows in each is given verbatim, as before.

Q. I. p. 407, l. 8.	*C. S.* p. 68, l. 13.
Or me fut aduis en sommeillant, que ie veisse en vn pays en friche vne Dame dont le hault port & seignouri maintieng segnifioit sa tres excellente extraction. Mais tant fut dolente & esplouree, que bien sembloit descheue de plus hault honneur que pour lors son estat ne demonstroit. Et bien apparoissoit à son semblant, que forment fust espouentee & doubteuse de plus grant douleur & maleurté aduenir.	In my dullit dreyme ande sopit visione, i thocht that ther aperit to me ane lady of excellent extractione ande of anciant genolygie, makkand ane melancolius cheir for the grite violens that sche hed sustenit & indurit. it aperit be hyr voful contenens, that sche vas in grite dout ande dreddour for ane mair dolorous future ruuyne that vas aperand to succumb hyr haistlye, in the maist extreme exterminatione. hyr hayr,

Et en signe de ce, ses blons cheueulx, qui à fin or estriuoient de couleur, veissiez respandus & degettez sans aournement au trauers de ses espaules : & vne couronne d'or sur son chief portoit, qui par diuers hurs si fort estoit esbranlee, que ja panchoit de costé enclinee moult durement. De sa vesture ne me puis-ie pas passer ne taire, & mesmement du mantel on paile qui son corps couuroit, dont le merueilleux artifice fait à ramenteuoir. De trois paires d'ouurages sembloit auoir esté tissus & assemblez. Premierement en chief d'ancienne brodure enrichie de moult precieuses pierres, y estoient figurees les nobles fleurs de lys, tont en trauers semees des banieres, gonfanons, & enseignes des anciens Roys & Princes François, en memoire de leurs renommees & victoires, & de leurs louables entreprises. Ou millieu se monstroient entaillees lettres, caracteres, & figures de diuerses sciences, qui esclarcissent les entendemens & adressent les euures des hommes. A la partie d'embas, qui vers terre pendoit, assez pouoit on veoir pourtraictes & entremeslees plusieurs bestes, plantes, fruictz, & semences tendans de leurs branches en hault, & naissans de la bordure d'embas, comme de terre plantureuse & fertile. . . .

of the cullour of fyne gold, vas feltrit & trachlit out of ordour, hingand ouer hyr schuldirs.   sche had ane croune of gold, hingand & brangland, that it vas lyik to fal doune fra hyr hede to the cald eird.   [sche bure ane scheild, in the quhilk vas grauit ane rede rampand lyon in ane feild of gold, bordoryt about vith doubil floure delicis. This rede lyon vas hurt in mony placis of his body].[3] the acoutrementis ande clethyng of [p. 69] this dolorus lady, vas ane syde mantil that couurit al hyr body of ane meruelouse ingenius fassoune, the quhilk hed bene tissu ande vrocht be thre syndrye fassons of verkmenschips.   On the fyrst part, quhilk vas the hie bordour of hyr mantil, there vas mony precius stanis, quhar in ther vas grauit scheildis, speyris, sourdis, bayrdit horse harnes, ande al othir sortis of vaupynis ande munitions of veyr.   in the middis of that mantil, there vas grauit in carrecters, beukis, ande figuris, diuerse sciensis diuyne ande humain, vitht mony cheretabil actis ande supernatural miraclis.   on the thrid part of that mantil, i beheld, brodrut about al hyr tail, al sortis of cattel ande profitabil beystis, al sortis of cornis, eyrbis, plantis, grene treis, schips, marchantdreis, ande mony politic verkmanlumis foe mecanyc craftis.

[3] The reference in these two interpolated sentences is, of course, to the escutcheon of Scotland.

Mais tant luy despleut l'excel-
lence & duree de si parfait euure,
qu'elle [fortune] tourna son peru-
ers & senestre costé, & ouurit
voyes dont celuy mantel assemblé
par souueraine industrie des pre-
decesseurs estoit desia par vio-
lentes mains froissé & desrompu,
& aucunes pieces violentement es-
rachees : si que la partie de dessus
se monstroit obscurcie, & pou de
fleurs de lys y apparoissoient, qui
ne fussent debrisees ou salies.
Ne demande nul se la partie
moyenne estoit neantmoins de-
mouree entiere ne conioincte, &
les lettres formees & assises en
leur ordre.   Car si separees, de-
scharpies, & desordonnees furent,
que pou se pouoit assembler qui
portast   prouffitable   sentence.

Mais se nous venons à parler de la
basse partie, ceste seule chose en
puet on dire, que tant la veoit-on
usee, en gast, & en destruction
par rudement froyer, tirer, & de-
trainer ; que en plusieurs lieux
l'emprainte de la terre apparois-
soit descouuerte, & les arbres &
semences   comme   desracinees,
gectees, & pendans au trauers
par paleteaux : si que on n'y puet
congnoistre ordonnance, ne es-
perer fruict.

En somme tant estoit celuy habit
changé par empirement de couleur
& de beaulté, que ceulx qui telz

This mantil, quhilk hed bene maid
& vrocht in ald tymys be the
prudent predecessours of this foyr
said lady, vas reuyn & raggit in
mony placis, that skantly mycht i
persaue the storeis ande figuris
that hed bene grauit, vrocht, ande
brodrut in ald tymis in the thre
partis of it.   for the fyrst part of
it vantit mony of the scheildis
ande harnes that vas fyrst vrocht
in it, ande ane vthir part of the
schieldis & harnes var brokyn
ande roustit, ande reddye to fal
ande tyne furtht of the bordour of
that mantil.   Siklyik the pleisand
verkmenschips that vas in the mid-
dis of hyr mantil vas seperat fra
vthirs, ande altrit fra the fyrst fas-
sone, that na man culd extract ony
profitabil sentens nor gude exem-
pil furtht of ony part of it.   Nou
to speik of the thrid part of hyr
mantil.   it vas verst grathit, ande
spylt be ane grit defferens nor vas
the tothir tua partis of that man-
til : for it aperit that al the grene
treis, cornis, bestialite, mecanyc
craftis, ande schips, and marchan-
dreise, that hed bene curiouslye
vrocht in ald tymis in the bordour
of the tail of that [p. 70] mantil,
vas spilt ande distroyit, ande the
eird vas becum barran & stirril,
ande that na ordinance of policy
culd be persauit in it, nor espe-
rance of releif.   Nou to conclude
the fassone of this ladeis mantil,
it vas baytht altrit in cullour ande
in beaulte, and reuyn in mony

le bastirent à peine congnoistroient leur ouurage.

[Here follow 30 lines describing the ruined state of the lady's palace, not represented in *C. S.*]

[p. 409 l. 14.]   Et en icelle heure aperceut trois de ses enfans, l'ung estant droit en armes appuyé sur sa hache, effrayé & songeux :

                    l'autre en vestement long sur un siege de costé, escoutant & taisant :

                    le tiers en vil habit renuersé sur la terre, plaintif & langoureux.

Comme elle les eut choisis à l'ueil indignée en son hault courage vers eulx, les print à reprendre de leur oyseuse lascheté par parolles entrerompues souuent de douloureux souspirs, qui de cueur adoulé luy mouuoient, leur disant en ceste maniere.

[A new chapter begins here with the following heading :]

placis, hingand doune raggit in pecis in sic ane sort, that gyf thay hed bene present that vrocht ande maid it in the begynnyng, thai vald haue clair myskend it, be rasone that it vas sa mekil altrit fra the fyrst fassone.

[Here follow eight lines not in *Q. I.*]

... sche persauit cummand touart hyr thre of hyr auen natiue natural sonnis. The eldest of them vas in harnes, traland ane halbert behynd hym, beand al affrayit ande fleyit for dreddour of his lyue. The sycond of hyr sonnis vas sittand in ane chair, beand clethd in ane sydegoune, kepand grite grauite, heffand ane beuk in his hand, the glaspis var fast lokyt vitht rouste. hyr yongest sone vas lyand plat on his syde on the cald eird, ande al his clathis var reuyn ande raggit, makkand ane dolorus lamentatione, ande ane piteouse complaynt. ... Than quhen this lady persauit hyr thre sonnis in that langorius stait, sche began to reproche them inuectyuely of ther neclegenes, couuardeis ande ingratitude vsit contrar hyr : the quhilk reproche sche pronuncit vitht mony dolorus suspiris, the quhilk be aperens procedit fra ane trublit spreit, desolat of consolatione, ande disparit of remede.

[The chapter ends with 24 lines not from *Q. I.*, and chapter VIII begins with the following title :]

France assaillie de ses ennemis se guermente par tres-piteux regretz, faisant reproche aux lasches François, qui par ambition, volupté, & auarice, plus la persecutent que les ennemis estrangiers.

O Hommes foruoyez du chemin de bonne congnoissance, femenins de couraiges & de meurs, loingtains de vertus, forlignez de la constance de voz peres, qui pour delicieusement viure, choisissez à mourir sans honneur! Quelle musardie on chetiueté de cueur vous tient les mains ployees, & les voulentez amaties, que vous baissiez, en regardant deuant vos yeulx vostre commune desertion :

[In the passage which follows in *Q. I.* & which is only vaguely represented in *C. S.*, this sentence occurs : (p. 410. l. 5)

Ce vous puis ie mettre an deuant, que apres le lien de foy Catholique, nature vous a deuant toute autre chose obligez au commun salut du pays de vostre natiuité...]

[p. 410, l. 9.] Encores dis-ie que pou doit priser la naissance, & moins desirer la continuation de sa vie, qui passe ses iours ainsi que fait homme nay pour soy seulement, sans fructifier à la commune utilité, & comme celuy qui extainct sa memoire auecques sa vie. Helas! tant est és entiers

[p. 72] *Quhou the affligit Lady, Dame Scotia, reprochit hyr thre Sonnis, callit the Thre Estaitis of Scotland.*

O IGNORANT, abusit, ande dissaitful pepil, gone by the path vaye of verteouse knaulage, beand of ane effemenet courage, degradit fra honour, ande degenerit fra the nobilite of your foir fadirs & predecessours, O quhat vanhap, quhat dyabolic temptatione, quhat misire, quhat maledictione, or quhat vengeance is this that hes succumbit your honour, ande hes blyndit your ene fra the perspectione of your extreme ruuyne?

[The parallelism here ceases to be as close as in the passages just given. The omission of the mention of the Catholic faith in the following is to be noted :

Allace, quhy remember ye nocht that natur hes oblist you til auance the salute ande deffens of your public veil?]

[p. 72, l. 22.] Allace, the natiuite of ane man suld be litil prisit, ande his lang liue dais les desirit quhen ther procedis na frute of his laubirs bot for his auen singulair vtilite, ande nocht for the public veil. allace, the natural loue of your native cuntre suld be inseperablye rutit in your hartis, con-

couraiges prouchaine, & si insepa-
rablement enracinee l'amour na-
turelle du pays, que le corps tend
à y retourner de toutes parts
comme en son propre lieu : le
cueur y est donné, comme à celle
habitation qui plus luy est ag-
greable, la vie & la santé y crois-
sent & amendent, l'omme y quiert
sa seurté, sa paix, son refuge, le
repos de sa viellesse, & sa derniere
sepulture. . . .

[11 lines not represented in
C. S.]

Doncques pourroit il sembler que
la loy de nature, qui toutes ces
choses soubz le ciel oblige par
lien indissoluble, seroit plus par-
faictement acomplie és bestes
mues, que en vous autres ; & que
vous seriez trouuez plus desnaturez
qu'elles, qui n'ont pas entende-
ment de raison, quant les oyseaulx
au bec & aux ongles deffendent
leur nidz, & les ours & les lyons
gardent leurs cauernes à la force
de leur grifs, & leur dens.

[Next 11 lines are omitted in
C. S.]

[p. 411, l. 11.] Dure chose est
à moy, que ainsi me conuient
plaindre : mais plus dure & de
mendre reconfort, que vous qui
me deuez soustenir, deffendre, &
releuer, estes aduersaires de ma
prosperité : & en lieu de guerre-
don querez ma destruction en
l'auancement de voz singuliers de-

siderand that your [p. 73] lyuis,
your bodeis, your habitatione,
your frendis, your lyuyngis, ande
sustentan, your hail, your pace,
your refuge, the reste of your eild,
ande your sepulture is in it.

[I omit 12 lines only vaguely
corresponding to the passage in
Q. I.]

it aperis that the lau of nature is
mair perfytly acompleist in brutal
beystis, nor it is in you that pro-
fessis to be natural men ; for your
verkis testifies that ye ar mair dis-
naturellit nor is brutal beystis that
hes na vndirstanding of raison.
the foulis of the ayr vil deffende
ther nests vitht ther nebbis ande
feit : the beiris, lyons, voluis, foxis,
and dogis, vil deffende there
cauerne & there quhelpis, vitht
there tethe & feit.

Allace, this sair complaynt is to
me rycht hauy, bot the litil sup-
port that i vil get of you is far
hauyar ; for ye quhilkis suld sus-
tene, deffende ande releif me, ye
ar the aduerse party of my pros-
perite ; for in the stede of reuarde
ande gratitude that ye are oblist
to gyf to me, ye purches ande

sirs.   Mes anciens ennemis & ad-
uersaires me guerroient en dehors
par feu, & de glaiue.   Et vous par
dedans me guerroyez par voz con-
uoitises & mauuaïses ambitions.
Les naturelz ennemis quierent me
oster liberté, pour me tenir en leur
miserable subiection.   Et vous me
asseruissez à l'vsaige de voz desor-
donnances & laschetez, [en cuidant
demourer deliures des danjiers &
perilez de ma fortune].   Ilz me
portent dommaige comme partie
contraire par leurs entreprinses
d'armes & de cheualerie.   Et vous
soubz l'ombre & le nom d'amis &
deffenseurs, paracheuez ma perte
& desertion par faulte de gouuerne-
ment conuenable.

auancis my distructione for your
particular veil.   My ald enemeis
hes persecutit me outuartly in
cruel veyris be fyir ande sourde;
bot the veyr that ye mak inuartly
contrar me, be auereise & ambi-
tione, is mair cruel.   my mortal
enemeis purchessis to raif my
liberte, ande to hald me in ane
miserabil subiectione; bot ye hald
me in ane mair seruitude, be
your disordinat neclegens ande
couuardise.   my ald enemeis
dois me [p. 74] grite domage
vitht ane grite armye of men of
veyr, be see ande be land; bot
ye, vndir the cullour of frend-
schip, purchessis my final exter-
minatione, for falt of gude reul
ande gouuernance.

[This chapter concludes with
some strong language on the
'renegant scottis.']

The next few chapters in *C. S.* seem original in the Scot-
tish author.   The titles are here given :

*The 9 cheptor declaris quhou the affligit lady exortis hyr
thre sonnis to tak exemple of diuerse cuntreis that god hes
releuit fra persecutione.*

*The 10 cheptour declaris quhou the inglis men gyuis vane
credens to the prophesie of merlyne.*

*The 11 cheptor declaris that the pretendit kyngis of ingland
hes no iust titil to the realme of ingland.*

In this chapter, one of the attempts to impugn the title of
the King of England is based on a hint from *Q. I.* p. 415,
l. 12.

Et se bien en enquerez, c'est la
lignee de Sergestus & de Hanges-
tus les Saxons, qui comme soul-
doyers vindrent au secours du Roy
de la grant Bretaigne oppressé de
dures guerres. Et depuis occu-
perent & prindrent le pays pour
eulx, quant ilz le sentirent des-
pourueu par guerre de sa bonne
Chevalerie, & par trahison soubz
faintise de paix occirent le surplus
de la noblesse du pays.

C. S. p. 86, l. 3.   Quhen ye hef
veil socht the verite, ye sal fynd
that it is the false blude that di-
scendit of sergestes and engestes,
quhilk var tua saxons that cam
vitht aleuin thousand saxons fra
thair auen cuntra to support and
supple the kyng of grit bertanye,
quhilk is nou callit ingland, quha
vas opprest be cruel ciuil veyris.
than eftir that thir tua Saxons hed
venquest the enemes of the kyng
of bertanye, thai trasonablie ban-
est the rychteus kyng and his
posterite fra the realme.

Chapter XII has no separate title.

Chapter XIII.   *Quhou the affligit lady declaris that the familiarite betuix scotland and ingland is the cause of sedi-tione.*

Chapter XIV.   *Quhou conspiratours ar puneist be the hand of god.*

Chapter XV.   *Quhou the thrid sonne, callit lauberaris, an-suert vitht ane lamentabil complaynt.*

In this chapter the parallelism begins again.   The first speech of Dame France in *Q. I.* ends on p. 416, and the next part is introduced thus:

Le poure Peuple allegue ses doleances & iniures à sa mere Dame France, que luy font souffrir les pillars gensd'armeaulx souz vmbre de deffendre la chose publicque: & combien que tous il nourisse, il est de tous pillé & foullé.

LE PEUPLE — p. 417.

Haa! mere iadis habondant &
plantureuse de prosperité, & ores
angoisseuse & triste du declin de
ta lignee : ie reçoy bien en gré ta
correction, & congnois que tes
plaintes ne sont point desraison-
nables ne sans cause.   Mais trop

LAUBIR — p. 122.

O my dolorus mother, quhilk
sum tyme aboundit in prosperite,
and nou thou art spulyet fra al
felicite throcht grit affliction of
langorius tribulatione, i resaif thy
repreif in paciens for ane correc-
tione, and nocht for ane inuectyf

m'est amere deplaisance, que i'aye de ce meschief la perte & le reprouche ensemble, & que m'en doyes en riens tenir suspect.

Et quant d'autruy coulpe ie porte la tres aspre penitence, ie suis comme l'asne qui soustiens le fardel importable : & si suis aguillonné & batu pour faire & souffrir ce que ie ne puis.
Ie suis le bersault contre qui chacum tire saiettes de tribulation.   Haa ! chetif doloreux ! dont vient ceste vsance, qui a si bestourné l'ordre de iustice, que chacun a sur moy tant de droit comme sa force luy en donne? Le labeur de mes mains nourrist les lasches & les oyseux, & ilz me persecutent de faim & de glaiue. Ie soustiens leur vie à la sueur & trauail de mon corps, & ilz guerroyent la mienne par leurs oultrages, dont ie suis en mendicité. Ilz viuent de moy, & ie meur par eulx.

[The three following pages are not translated in *C. S.*]

[p. 420, l. 13.] Trop bien pourueurent à tel inconuenient les

dispyit.   i knau that thy complaynt is nocht disrasonabil nor vitht out cause, yit nochtheles my displeseir is vondir bittir, in sa far as i hef baytht the domage and the reproche of thy mys [p. 123] cheif, the quhilk i deserue nocht til hef be rason of my innocens. Allace, the aduersite of ane innocent is mair nor cruel quhen he indures punitione for ane cryme that ane transgressor committis. i may be comparit to the dul asse in sa far as i am compellit to bayr ane importabil byrdyng, for i am dung and broddit to gar me do & to thole the thing that is abuif my pouer.   allace, i am the merk of the but, contrar the quhilk euere man schutis arrous of tribulatione. allace, quhou is iustice sa euil trettit quhilk is occasione that euere man vsis al extreme extorsions contrar me as far as ther pouer can exsecut. allace, i laubyr nycht and day vitht my handis to neureis lasche and inutil idil men, and thai recompens me vitht hungyr, and vitht the sourd.   i susteen ther lyif vitht trauel & vitht the suet of my body, and thai parsecut my body vitht oultrage and hayrschip, quhil i am be cum ane begger.   thai lyf throcht me, and i dee throcht them.

[The following page is not from *Q. I.*]

[p. 124, l. 24.] the romans in ald tymes prouidit prudentlie for

anciens Rommains, quant pour
garder les parties de leur com-
munité chascun en sa dignité &
en son ordre, ilz establirent les
Tribuns du peuple, qui auoient
l'office d'icelluy soustenir, & def-
fendre sa franchise contre le Senat
& la puissance des nobles hommes.
Ainsi n'est pas.   Car sans aide ne
secours ie suis delaissé és mains
des rauisseurs. . . .

the deffens of the comont pepil
contrar the nobillis, the senat,
and al vtheris of grit stait or dig-
nites, and contrar ther extorsions,
for thai institut ane nobil man of
office, callit tribunus plebis, quha
deffendit the fredum and liberte
of the comont pepil contrar the
crualte of the hie senat, or ony
vthir grit man of grit stait.   bot
allace it is nocht now of that sort
vitht me, for i am left desolat vitht
out supple or deffens amang the
handis of vrangus oppressours. . . .

At this point the verbal agreement between the two docu-
ments ceases, though there are several instances of classical
parallels mentioned in *Q. I.* and expanded in *C. S.*   Such are
the mention of Hannibal at the battle of Cannæ (*Q. I.* p.
429; *C. S.* p. 113), of Fabius Maximus and Munitius (*Q. I.*
p. 429; *C. S.* pp. 175–7, 180), of Antiochus and the Macca-
bees (*Q. I.* p. 440; *C. S.* pp. 75–77), and of the degenerate
son of Scipio Africanus (*Q. I.* p. 449; *C. S.* p. 147).   The
degree of similarity in general treatment can be gathered
from the 'Table of Cheptours' of *C. S.* and from the sum-
maries given at the beginning of each section of *Q. I.*

C. S. Ch. XVI.   *Quhou the affligit lady ansuert tyl hyr
yongest soune* (p. 137).

Ch. XVII.   *Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr eldest soune,
callit nobilis and gentil men* (p. 143).

Ch. XIX.   *Quhou the affligit lady accusit hyr sycond soune,
callit sperutualite* (p. 157).

Ch. XX.   *Quhou the affligit lady exortis hyr thre sounis to
be vigilant in the defens of the natyue cuntre* (p. 165).

Q. I. p. 421.   *Le Cheualier suiuant armes essaye soy purger
contre le populaire, disant que le peuple abusant de richesses en
temps de paix s'abbandonne à blasphemes, partialitez, mur-
mures & oysiueté voluptueuse: & pource qu'il mescongnoist
l'ayse & beaulté de paix, Dieu permect vu'il soit vexé par*

guerre, en laquelle chercher vne scintille de iustice est soy
abuser.

P. 430. *Le Peuple replique à Noblesse ou gensdarmerie, que*
si aucune reprehension se peult trouuer ou populaire, elle est
fondee sur la dissolution d'elle, viuant en bobance & ingrati-
tude de ne recongnoistre Dieu, & que sur toutes raisons la
lascheté de gendarmerie & infidelité à la chose-publique in-
duit le peuple à murmurer.

P. 433. *Estat de Noblesse par maniere de replicque soy*
deffendant, reprouche au peuple que l'excés d'habitz & de
pompes est plus desmesuré en luy que en noblesse, à laquelle
mieux appartieṇt vsaige de precieux accoustremens que au
peuple, & que aux vrais nobles n'est faicte condigne recompense
de leurs loyaulx services, dont peuent venir plusieurs encombres.

P. 436. *Le Clérgié, ouyes les aspres querelles du Peuple, &*
de Noblesse, qui regectoient les causes de guerre l'vng sur
l'autre, comme arbitrateur & amiable compositeur remonstre,
que le brouillas du temps bruineux de guerre entrelassee de
seditions domestiques ne se peult parfaictement esclarcir ny
restablir à sa dia-phanique luminosité, que grande alteration
ne soit faicte : signifiant que trois choses, c'est assauoir scauoir,
cheuance, & obeissance, sont requises à ung Prince qui veult
mener guerre, pour en auoir bonne issue. Et oultre qu'il faut
que chascun s'esuertue de son costé à tirer au collier poṃ la
reintegration du bien publique.

P. 450. *L'homme d'armes par vne petite replicque respond*
au Peuple sur le point qu'il auoit taxé Noblesse pour la corrup-
tion de discipline militaire, luy disant estre chose difficile aux
gensd'armes & souldoyers imferieurs garder l'ordre de vraye
gendarmerie, si n'est qu'ilz ayent patron & exemplaire des
cheuetains & principaux Seigneurs, pour auoir instructif de
discipline militaire : & la vraye asseurance d'vng Prince est
auoir bons & loyaulx Conseilliers.

P. 452. *France apres auoir ouy les ennuyeux debatz de ses*
trois enfans, les exhorte pour la conseruation du Royaulme, que
d'ung vouloir commun ilz s'estudient à pourchasser le bien
publique, en ostant toutes affections de partialitez : & qu'ilz
ressemblent à tout le moins aux petites mousches à miel, c'est

assauoir, que pour l'entretien de leur police, & tuition de leur Roy, entre eulx gardent paix: concluant que leurs plaidoyez seront mis pas escript.

P. 453. *Honneste protestation de l'Acteur, que non pour rauir vaine gloire s'est appliqué à compiler le present Quadrilogue, mais pour monstrer la sinceritè de son affection qu'il a an noble Royaume dont il est extraict, & pour donner occasion aux liseurs de prendre fruict qui redonde à l'honneur & exaltation du dit Royaulme.*

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

MALCHUS.

THE following Old English text is entitled simply 'Mal-
chus' by O. Cockayne in his *Shrine*[1] (No. VII. p. 35),
where it was printed for the first time. It has been preserved
in one Ms. (Otho C. I. fol. 274^b) of the Cotton Collection of
the British Museum. Wanley (*Catalogus*, p. 212), in describ-
ing the Ms. Otho C. I. and its contents, speaks of this piece
under No. IV. as *excerpta quædam Saxon. ex libro Hieronymi
de vita Patrum Ægyptiacorum.* The piece is merely men-
tioned by Wülker (*Grundr.* p. 495) as 'dẹs Hieronymus
Erzählung von Malchus.' From the nature of the contents
it might fitly be called 'The Adventures of Malchus.' After
a comparatively long and incoherent introduction by the
author, Malchus is made to relate a series of personal
experiences of an adventurous character, extending through
a period of years from his youth to middle age. It would
appear from the concluding words of the text that Jerome
intended it to serve as a sort of homily or sermon.

The OE. Ms. has been considerably injured by fire, so that
frequently one or more words have been entirely lost from
the margins. The folios of the Ms. are quite large, measur-
ing $11 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and containing thirty lines to a page. It
is written in a rather small hand, the character of which,
together with the peculiarities of the language, seem to me
to place the Ms. in the 11th century. The general use of
io for *eo* would seem to point to the North of England, *i.e.*,
to Northumbria or Mercia, as the home of the OE. translator.

Cockayne's reprint is in the main reliable, but he permitted
a goodly number of mistakes of minor importance to slip
into his text. This, and the fact that *The Shrine* is now

---

[1] *The Shrine.* A Collection of Occasional Papers on Dry Subjects. Ed. by
O. Cockayne. London: Williams and Norgate. 1864–1869.

entirely out of print, appeared to furnish sufficient excuse for a new edition of the text.

Cockayne's text formed the basis of the present reprint, but it has been subjected to careful comparison with and correction by the Ms.

A copy of the original Latin is not accessible to me here, so I am unable to give any facts about the relation of the OE. to the Latin text. Cockayne's emendations have been generally retained, especially where the connection requires them, and they are printed in brackets. As for the rest, it has been my aim to give a diplomatic reprint of the Ms. Expansions appear in italics.

(fol. 274^b) [Qui][1] in nauali prælio[2] demicaturi sunt ante in portu *et*[3] tranquillo mari inflectant gubernacula ·s· sagað her on þissum bócum. hu malchus sp*æc*[4] godes munuc he cwæð þa þe beoð winnende in sciplicum[5] gewinne hig þon*ne* begað ærost þa gereðru in þære hýðe. *and* in þære sǽ smiltnesse. *and* hig teoð þa gereðru *and* hig fæstniað þone stepe þurh þa þilinge. *and* hira gewuna bið. *þæt*[6] hig fæstlice stonden. *þæt* hig geleornigen in þæs gewinnes onlicnesse. *þæt* hig hiom eft nanwiht ondrædon in þæs soðan g*e*winnes gefiohte. Swa me þon*ne* dyde swiðe cw*æð* scs malchus. forðon ic wende *þæt* min[7] word wæren bismer. *and* he cwæð. Ærest ic wille beon gefremed in litlum weorce. *þæt* ic mæge sum rūst on weg adrīfan of minre tungan. *þæt* ic mæge becuman to bræddran gewýrde gif me min driht*en þæt* lif fýllan wille. *þæt* ic minre ehtera tælnýsse befleo. Swa manige cristes cýrcan mid ehtnesse weoxen. *and* þurh martiras hig wæron gewuldrode. *and* þon*ne* æft*er* þan becom sio miht to þa*m* cristenu*m*. *þæt* wæron ure ýldran *and* nu sýndon godes ciri-can þam weolum maran. *and* þam mægnum hig sýndon læssan g*e*wordene. *and* þýllicu þing sýndon g*e*reht on þis-sum bocum. *and* oðre manega þa þe nu to genealæcað. Sagað her on *þæt* maronius wære g*e*haten sum tūn. se wæs

[1] Cf. Cockayne, *Shr.*, p. 35.   [2] Ms. *p̄lio*.   [3] Ms. *&*.   [4] Only *sp* and a part of following letter legible in Ms. Cock. reads *se se*.   [5] So Ms.; Cock. has *sciphcum*.
[6] Ms. *þ̄*.   [7] Cock. *min[e]*.

swilce he wære on þrittigum mila fra*m* antiochia byrig. *and*
þon*ne* wæs þǣr[8] to eastdæle nowiht micel tun. *and* þæs
gebād æft*er* gearum swiðe manigne hlaford. *and* swiðe ma-
nigne mundboran. Hieronẏmus þa wæs forð sprecende þe
þis ærest awrat be malchum. he cwǣð þæt he wære swiðe
geong man. þa he wunode in siria dælum. *and* he wæs to
þæs[9] papan æhte bifealden euagrius[10] his neodfreondes. *and*
þone ic nu nemde for þon ic wolde ætẏwian hwanon ic þis
ærest writan ongan. Sum eald man wæs in þam neh tune
þær ic wæs. þæs nama wæs malchus. *þæt* is on latinum
geweorde [rex] cẏning g*e*nemned. *and þæt* word is on sẏrisc
æþeling g*e*cweden. *and* sum swiðe eald wifman wæs in his
gesiðscipe. þæra wæs þa iu. deað swiðe neah ; þæs þe man-
nu*m* þuhte. *and* (f. 275[a]) hig´ wæron butu swiðe geornfulle
þæt hig g*e*hiolden godes ǣ *and* hit[11] wæs onlice bi hig g*e*wor-
den [swa bi zacharian] gewearð. *and* bi elisabeth[12] his wife.
swa hit on þam godspelle [cw̃. nẏmþe *þæt* Ioh næs] in hiora
midnesse g*e*worden. *and* þa ongan ic acsian þa [nehgeburas]
geornlice. bi þisu*m* mannu*m* hu g*e*rad hiora g*e*gaderung
wæs [þe blodes þe] hǣmedes. þe þæs gastes. *and* þa sæde
hi eall se þeodscipe geswegsu [mlice *þæt* hi wæron] swiðe
halige *and* gode swiðe g*e*corene *and* nat ic hwilc wundorlic
þing. [Ða ic getihtode] bi þære gitsunge onworpennesse
and þa wæs ic gesprecende þone man [*and* secende þæs]
þinges cuðnesse æt him. þa cwǣð he to me. Ic wæs gebur
on þa*m* lande þe [hatte] nisibim *and* wæs minra ẏldrena
anuga bearn. *and* hig me þa bædon swa [weorðan hiora
orfes *and* hiora] westma *and* hiora cẏnnes. *and* hiora hordes
ẏrfeweard. *and* þa geornde ic *þæt* ic [weorðe] munuc. Eala
mid hu monigum medum min fæder *and* min moder me
[wæron] biddende. *þæt* ic forlete mine þungenesse *and* me
wæs be þis on micclum tweon *þæt* ic sceolde forletan þa [*and*]
hus. *and þæt* ic sceolde fleon mine ẏldran. *and* hus. ne
mihte ic gangan to eastdælum for romwarena cempena neah
hergunge *and* for [Persisc] ra gehældum *and* ic þa hwẏrfde
lẏthwon mine fet to westdæle[13] *and* ic [bro] hte hwæt lẏtt[el]

---

[8] Cock. *þæs wǣr*.   [9] *to þæs* omitted by Cock.   [10] Cock. *enagrius*.   [11] Cock. *hig*.
[12] Cock. *elizabeth*.   [13] Cock. *-dælum*.

þæt ic hæfde wægnýste. to hwan spece ic nu þus mænig-
fealdlice. ic þa becom nat ic on hu micclum f[ærelde] to
calcidus þam westene. þæt wæs betwux barsan *and* immas
and hit is wið suðdæl geseted. þa gemette[14] ic þær munucas.
and ic þa girnde *þæt* ic moste wesan in hira þiowdome. *and*
þis ic dýde for þan þe ic ongeat *þæt* þa munucas lifdon on hira
agenum handgewinne. *and* he gefeah *þæt* hig níorwedon
mid fæstenum *and* mid gebedum hiora lichaman unstilnesse.
þa æfter noht manigum wintru[m] becom me on se geþoht
þæt ic sohte eft mine yldran *and* minne eþel. for þan ic
hýrde *þæt* min fæder wæs dead. *and* min moder lifde þa gít
þa wæs ic gemýndig hire widuwhades. *and*[15] þa þohte ic *þæt*
ic bebohte ænne dæl þæs landes *and* þæra æhta. *and* þearf-
um gedælde. *and þæt* ic of oþrum dæle getimbrode mýn-
ster. *and* ic nu[16] forsceamige to secganne mine ungeleaff-
nesse. for þon ic þohte þone þriddan dæl me gehealdan to
bíglifene. `þa cegde me se min fæder se abbud to him. *and*
he sæde *þæt* he gesege *þæt* ic wære gemearcod mid deofles
mearc iserne. *and* he sæde *þæt þæt* wære cuðlice þæs ealdan
feondes geswifornis. *þæt* þing *þæt* me getengte[17] wære. *and*
he sæde *þæt* hit wære þan gelicost. þe hund eft hwýrfde to
his spiwðan. *and* he sæde *þæt* manige munucas wæron
beswicene in þa ilcan wisan. *and* sæde *þæt* þis wære eall
deofles weorc þeah þe he mē ne ætýwde opene ándwlitan.
and he þa [eac asett]e beforan (f. 275[b]) me hu se deofol
beswac adām *and* euan [þa forman menn on fruman mi]
ddaneardes. *and* þa æt nýxtan cwæð malchus leat se abbud
þæt ic hine ne forlete. ne *þæt* ic me sýlfne ne forlete. [ne
þa fu]l in minre handa for þan þe ic under bæc besege. [þa
me cwæð] malchus. for þan me oferswiðde se wýrresta sigor.
for þan [ic wende *þæt* he] na spræce na[18] for minre þearfe.
and he me þa wæs fýligende [*and* sceawigen]de ut of þam
mýnstre. efne þam geliccost þe he þa íu bære min [lic. þa]
ic út eode of þam mýnstre. þa grette he me. *and* he wæs
cweþende. ðu eart gemearcod mid deofles mearc iserne.
and ne sece ic *þæt* þing. ne [nænige lað] unge ic ne [cepe e]
ft. for þan ic wat *þæt* sceap *þæt* þe bið gongende ut of þam

---

[14] Cock. *ða mette.*   [15] Cock. *g.*   [16] Cock. *na.*   [17] Cock. *getenge.*   [18] Cock. *ne.*

[falde] þon*ne* bið him sona ōn geopenad wulfes bite. *and* þa
wæron þe fersce siðfæt donne to edissum. *and* hig wæron
farende þurh ān westen on hiora fulcuðne weg þa wæron þær
sārocine gesamnode *þæt* hig sǣtnodan manna. *and* þa hit
genealæcte *þæt* hig sceoldon feran in þone frǣcnan weg. þa
gesamnodan hio micel wered tosomne. *þæt* hig mihton þa
frǣcnesse genesan. *and* in minu*m* geferscipe wæron weras
and wif *and* þær wæs ealdra manna. *and* iungra. *and*
lȳtelra cilda swa þær wǣre hundsiofontig. *and* þa þiccodan
þider semninga þa ismaheli on horsu*m*. *and* on olfendu*m*.
and hig hæfdon geþwinglode loccas. *and* scearp fex on hiora
hiafde *and* healf nacode on hiora lichaman buton *þæt* hig
wæron mid ǣnlȳpigu*m* riftu*m* ymbfangene. *and* wide sceos
hangodan on hira fotu*m*. *and* bogan hangodan on hiora
eaxlum. *and* hig bæron lange sceaftas. *and* ne coman hig
na to fiohtanne. ac *þæt* hig woldan mid hloðe geniman. *and*
þa wæron w̄e gegripene. *and* todælde. *and* þa ymb þrage
cwæð malchus. *and* æft*er* longre ylde þa ongan ic don
hreowe mines siðfætes. *and* ic wæs gehloten mid anum wife
in anes ceorles þeowdome. þa wæron wit twegen on anu*m*
olfende þurh *þæt* rume westen. *and* wit unc simble ondredon
hwonne wit sceoldon feallan of þam olfende. *and* of ahreo-
san. *and* miccle mā wit hangodan be þam olfende þon*ne* wit
þæron sæton. *and* uncer mete wæs healf soden flæsc. *and*
uncer wæta wæs olfenda miolc. *and* nat ic on hu micclu*m*
fæce se siðfætt wearð geendod. þa become wit to þam īnneran
dæle þæs westenes þær uncer hlæfdige wæs. . *and* hire bearn.
þa wæron wit bædde bi hæþenra þeawe (f. 276ª) *þæt* wit
sceoldon hig wurþian. *and* wit wæron belocene in carcerne.
þa wit þis dydon. þā ne forlet þære lyfte smyltnes an [ig
þing] wesan gegerede. buton *þæt* ān *þæt* wit uncre sceome
mihton bewrēon. þa sealde man me sceap to healdenne.
and þis an wæs minra [19] yfela eaðnys þæs þeowdomes þe ic
on wæs. *þæt* ic minne hlaford *and* mine efenþeowas swiðe
seldan geseah. þa þuhte me *þæt* ic hæfde hwæthwugu gelices
þam eadigan iobe. *and* ic wæs moyses gemyndig. hu he
fedde his nȳtenu in westenne. *and* þa wæron wit þær fedde

[19] Cock. *minre.*

mid niowe cẏse. *and* mid meolca. *and* ic þa sang mine sealmas. þa þe ic iū nat hwonne in mẏnstre geleornade. *and* ic was gelustfullod minre hæftnẏde. *and* ic dẏde gode þancas. for þan ic funde þone munuchad in þam westene. þe ic ǣr on mẏnstre forlet. Eala hwæt ne bið æfre owiht gesundfullices in þam deofle. Eala hwæt þæs diofles ge-swipornẏs[se] syndon swiðe unasecgendlice. *and* me þa geeōde *þæt* ic gemette þæs diofles æfste þær ic wæs dẏrne in þam westenne. þa geseah min hlaford *þæt* his eowde was weaxende. *and* na waniende. *and* næs ænig facen *þæt* he funde in me. ac wæs gemyndig þæs apostoles gespræces sc̄e paules. for þon he cwǣð.[20] *þæt* man sceolde þeowian his hlaforde swa his drihtne. *and* wolde he gedōn *þæt* ic him wære borhfæst. *and þæt* ic him wære getreowra þon*n*e ic ǣr wæs. *and* þa ætfæste he me mine efenþeowene. seo þe wæs ǣr oðres gemæcca.[21] ic nat hwanne. *and* þa wiðsoc ic hire. *and* ic sæde *þæt* ic wære cristen. *and* ic sæde *þæt* me nære alẏfed oðres mannes wifes to onfonne. *and* sæde *þæt* hire wer lifde. þeah þe h̓eo gehæftedu wære. *and* he wæs alæded on weg fram hire þurh oðerne hlaford. *and* þa wæs se min hlaford in micle hatheortnẏsse. *and* he wæs swiðe unlioðewac geworden wið me. *and* he gebrǣgd his swurd *and* wolde me ofslean. þær ic him ne æt[22] onette *and* ic *þæt* wif gegripe be hire earme. *and* mē toforan abrǣd. *and* þær þis nære. þon*n*e wære min blod instæpe agoten. *and* þa com þær swiðe hraðe þære nihte þẏsternẏs. *þæt* wit sceoldan bion tosamne geþydde. *and* þa lædde ic min *þæt* niowe wif in min *þæt* healf clæmede hus. *and* wit þa wæron butu swiðe unrote geworden for þy hæmede þe wit wendon. *þæt* wit hæman sceoldon. *and* uncer laþette ægþer oþer þeah þe he hit oþru*m* ne sæde. *and* þa ongeat ic soðlice cwǣð malchus mine hæftnede. *and* ic me astrehte on þa moldan. *and* ic ongan wēpan minne munuchad þone þe ic ǣr forleas *and* ic cwæð. *þæt* ic (f. 276[b]) wære to þære yrmðe gehealden. *and þæt* me mine mandæda to þan gelæddon. *þæt* ic þa sceolde wesan ceorl on hariendum heafde. *and* þus he wæs specende wið hine sylfne. Hu nyt is me nu. *þæt* ic

---

[20] Ms. *cw̄*.   [21] Cock. *gemecca*.   [22] *æt* omitted by Cock.

ær mine yldran forhogode. *and* minne eþel *and* minne hired.
and þis ic dyde for drihtne *þæt* ic þis eall forhogode. ac hit
[wyrð] *þæt* ic þis eall for þan þrowige for þan ic eft gyrnde
þæt ic sohte minne eþel. *and* ic þa wæs specende to minre
sawle cwæð malchus *and* ic *cwæð*. Hwæt do wit la sawul.
wit willað forweorðan þonne wit beoð oferswiðde hweþer
onbidað wit nu on drihtnes handa. þe wit þonne unc acwellan
mid uncer agene swurde. Hwerf þu nu þin swurd in þe for
þan þære sawle deað is mā to ondrædenne þonne þæs lichaman
þonne hafað sio geþungennys gehealden hire martirhād. *and*
þonne ligð min lichama in þissum westene ūnbebyriged. *and*
me is crist to gewitan *þæt* ic þonne bio min ehtere geworden.
and ic bio martir. *and* þa ic ōn þis wæs specende. cwæð
malchus. þa genam ic min *þæt* scinende swurd. *and* ic ge-
hwyrfde þone ord ongean me. *and* ic cwæð to minum þam
ungesæligan wife. hafa þu me mā to martire þonne to were.
and þā astrehte hio hig to minum fotum. *and* cwæð. Ic þe
bidde þurh hælend. *and* þurh þisse tide nydþearfe *þæt* þu ne
agēote þin blod. gif þe þonne licige to sweltanne. asend
þonne þin sweord in me. þonne bioð wit swa mā tosamne
geþēodad. þeah þe min wer eft hwyrfe to me. þon[ne]
gehealde ic þeah hweþere þa clænnyss[e]. þa þe me sio
hæftnyd gelærde. ac for hwann sweltest þu ær þu sig to mē
geþioded. ic þe þonne andette. *þæt* ic swelte ær ic wille
beon to þe geþeodad. ac hafa þu me to þan geþungennestan
wife. *and* wit syn mā þurh þa sawle tosamne geþiodad þonne
wit syn þurh þone lichaman.[23] þonne wenað uncre hlafordas.
þæt wit syn swa swa gesinhina. crist þonne wat uncre clæn-
nyss[e] mid þy þe he gesihð hu wit doð. Ic þonne andette
cwæð malchus. *þæt* ic aforhtade.[24] *and* ic wæs wundrigende
on þæs wifes word. *and* ic hig þa lufode swiðor þonne ænig
riht wif. *and* ic næfre ne geseah hire nacode lichama. ne
ic næfre ne æhtrān hire nacodum leomum. ic þa ondred *þæt*
ic in þære sibbe forlure. *þæt* ic ær in þam gefiohte gehiold.[25]

And þa æfter þon þe manige dagas wæron forð gewitene.
þa gefēgon uncre hlafordas. *þæt* wit lufedan unc betweonan.
þā ne wendon hig nanes fleames to unc. ac hio unc bæddan

---

[23] Cock. *lichoman*.   [24] Cock. *forhtade*.   [25] Cock. *-heold*.

(f. 277^a) to gemangum. *and* þa æfter miclre tide. sæt ic āna
in þam westenne. *and* ic ne geseah nōwiht buton eorðan.[26]
þa ongann ic swigiendlice þencan be managera munuca life.
and ic þohte ealra swiðost ymb þone abbud þe me getydde.
and his[27] ic wæs gemyndigost hu he me genám *and* he me
forlēaf(s?). *and* þa ic þis wæs þencende cwæð malchus þa
geseah ic micelne ǣmettena heap ūp astigendne. *and* hio
bǣran maran byrðene þon*ne* hiora agene lichaman wǣron.
and sume hio twiccedan þa grasu mid hiora muðe. sume
hio wurpon þa moldan up. *and* hio wǣron forsettende þæra
wætera rynas. *and* hig wǣron g*e*myndige þæs tōweardan
hungres. þy læs þa ofþinenan corn in brōrd gehwyrfden.
and hig forcur [fon þa gebr]ohtan sæd. *and* sume hig ongun-
non swa hio mid heafe bǣren deadra manna lichaman. *and*
hig dydon *þæt* gȳt mare to wundrienne is. *þæt* wæs *þæt* in
swa micclu*m* heape þæra æmettena þe þær wǣron ūt gongende.
þæt hira nǣnig þam īngangendum æmettum ne wiðstod. eac
þon*ne* gif hira hwilc geseah *þæt* hiora hwilc gefeoll under
þam byrðenum. þon*ne* wǣron þa oðrè sona in hiora fultume.
and g*e*setton þa byrþene eft on hiora eaxle. To hwan spece
ic. nu þus fela cwæð malchus. se dæg me ætȳwde swiðe
micele wæfersyne. *and* ic þa wæs g*e*myndig þæs snottran
salomones. for þan he sæde. *þæt* þa latan mod wǣron
gereht in ǣmettena onlicnysse. þā ongan me langian for
minre hæftnyde. *and* ic ongan gyrnan. *þæt* ic sohte eft min
mynster. *and* ic wilnode *þæt* ic become to þæra ǣmettena
ōnlicnysse. for þon þær bið gewinn in midnesse þæs mynstres.
and in gōdu*m* mynstre ne bið ōwiht syndriges. ac eall hit bið
gemǣne. *and* þa hwyrfde ic eft to minu*m* huse. þa geārn me
ongean min *þæt* ungesælige wif. *and* hio me g*e*grette. þa ne
mihte ic hire bedyrnan mines modes unrotness[e]. for þan
hit wæs on minum andwlitan gesyne. þa g*e*hyrde hio fra*m*
me *þæt* ic hig hwette to fleame.[28] *and* þa sette hio swigunge
betwuh hire g*e*leafan hiht. *and* wit þa wǣron on midnesse
miccles eges. þa genāmon wit on midnyss þæs eowdes
twegen buccan. þa wǣron on wundorlicre[29] micelnesse.
and wit hig acwealdon. *and* wit g*e*worhton þa hyde to

---

[26] Cock. *eorðau.* [27] *his* omitted by Cock. [28] Cock. *fleanne.* [29] Cock. *wunder-.*

(f. 277ᵇ) twam kyllu*m*. *and* gehioldan hiora flæsc unc to wæg-
nyste. *and* þa on æfenne wende uncer hlaford *þæt* wit wæron
in uncres cofan digolnesse. þa ongunnon wit fēran. *and*
wit dydon þæs flæsces hwylcne hwugu dæl in þa kylla.
and þa coman wit to anre ēa. seo wæs þanon on tyn milum.
and þa bleowan wit þa kylla *and* astigon þæron *and* scufon
hig þa ūt on þa eā. *and* wit reowan sticcmælu*m* mid uncrum
fotu*m*. oð *þæt* hig unc asetton swiðe feor on oðre healfe
þære ēa. *þæt* þa ne mihton uncre swaðe findon. þa þe unc
æft*er* ferdon. *and* þa ingemang þissum wearð uncer wegnyst
afūlod. *and* hit feoll of þam kyllum. buton *þæt* wit mihton
þry dagas bīg lifian. *and* þa ǣton wit þeh hweþere swyðe
and druncon *þæt* wæter æft*er*. *and* wit wæron gemyndige
þæs tōweardan hungres swiðe on weg. *and* wit lōcodon swiðe
oft under bæc. *and* miccle oftor wit urnon nihtes þon*ne*
dæges for sarcina hergunge *and* for þære sunnan bryne.
and ic earma nu aforhtige to secgenne. hwæt me becom
cwǣð malchus. *and* ic eom nu ealle mode orsorh. *and*
þeah hweþere me nu forhtað eall se lichama. *and* þa locodon
wit þy þriddan dæge under bæc. þa þuhte unc *þæt* wit ge-
segon sittan twegen men on twam olfendum. *and* þa efstan
mid þære mæstan hrædnesse. þa sona aforhtade uncer mod.
for þan hit bið ælces yfeles forewis. for þan wit wendon
þæt *þæt* wæren uncre hlafordas. *and* wit unc þa ondræddon
oð deað. efne *þæt* me þuhte *þæt* sio sunne swearte scine.
and wit wendon *þæt* *þæt* sand uncre swaðe geypte. þa
geseon [30] wit on þa swiðran healfe nowiht feor unc an
eorðscræf. *and* wit unc ondræddon *þæt* þær wæron næddran
cyn in þam eorðscræfe. *and* wit eoden hweþere þider in.
and wit unc gestaðelodon sona on þa wynstran healfe þæs
scræfes. *and* ofer þis wit ne dorston bion ūtgangende. for
þon wit unc ōndrēdon gif wit ūteoden. *and* flugon þæra
næddrena deað. *þæt* wit þon*ne* bicoman to deaðe. *and* þa
cwædon wit. her wit habbað hælo gif driht*en* unc wile
fultumían. *and* gif he forhigeð uncet fyrenfulle. þon*ne*
habbað wit her byrgene in þissu*m* eorðscræfe. Tellað ge nu
lā hwilc [31] modes fyrhtu unc þa wæron. *and* hwilc ege. þa

---

[30] Cock. *gesegon*.   [31] Cock. *hwylc*.

wit gesegon uncerne hlaford swiðe yrne standan biforan þam
eorðscræfe. Eala hu miccle hēfigra bið se wenenda deað.
þon*ne* se in brohta. *and* þis ic swece nu gȳt mid swa miccle
ege. *and* mid swa miccle fyrhtu (f. 278*ᵃ*). þæt me þinceð
þæt me sio tunge stomrige. *and* me wæs efne þan gelicost
þe ic þa eft gehyrde minne hlaford cegan nis hit gȳt forðun
þæt ic þwastrian durre. *and* þa sende he uncerne efenþeowan
mid unc. *þæt* he uncét sceolde ut alædan of þam eorðscræfe.
and uncer hlaford hiold hiora olfendu biforam þam scræfe.
and þær abad mid atogenam swurde uncres tōcymes. þa
mid þy þe se þeow hæfde gegān þreora fæðma oððe feowra in
þæt eorðscræf þa ne mihte he unc gesion. for þan eagena
gewuna bið. *þæt* hio bioð æfter sunnan beorhtnesse swilce
hio blinde syn. *and* þa cegde he hluddre stefne. *and* cwæð.
Gangað ut git godwrecan. *and* gongað ut git rode wyrðan
for þan inc cegð incer hlaford. *and* þa hig swa cigdon. þa
ahleop þær an leo of þæs eorðscræfes þystrum. *and* hio
swengde on hine. *and* forbat him þone sweoran. þa cwæð
malchus. hwilc ege unc þa wæs. *and* eac hu micel modes
bliss. for þan wit gesegon *þæt* uncer efenþeow wæs forworden
biforan unc. *and* se uncer hlaford hlydde þær ute. *and* cidde.
and abād mid getogene sweorde uncres tocymes. *and* he
þa þrowade þæs þeowes sleacnysse. *and* he þa æt nextan.
wende *þæt* wit twu hine hæfde ofercumene. *and* þa he þæs
þeowes yldinge geseah. þa eode he sylf in *þæt* scræf. þa
swengde sio lio sona forð. *and* forswealh uncerne hlaford
biforan unc. *and* gedranc hire *þæt* blod. Ac hwat la talast
þu. hu micel ege unc þā wære *and* hu micel modes bliss.
for þan wit geseagon uncre feond biforan unc forwordene.
Hwilc man mihte æfre gelyfan *þæt þæt* deor fuhte for unc.
and þa mid þy se ege wæs anumen fram unc. oðer mare ege
unc wæs þa ætywed. for þan wit gesegon þa leon in þam
eorðscræfe mid hire hwelpum. *and* þa gewat sio lio on
uhtan ut[32] of þam scræfe. *and* hio bær hire hwelpas ut mid
hio. *and* hio unc forgeaf *þæt* gestern. *and* þa gȳt hweþere
ne dorstan wit gan of þam scræfe. for þan wit unc ondrēdon
þæt sio leo unc come tō. *and* wit wæron ealne þone dæg

---

[32] Cock. *ot.*

on þære mæstan modes fyrhto. *and* þa se dæg wæs forð
gewiten. þa gewiton wit on æfenne ut of þam eorðscræfe.
and wit astigon ōn þa olfendan þe uncer hlaford þider on
com. *and* wit unc gefyldan niowes ceses. *and* wit bicoman
þy teoðan dæge to rome byrig. *and* wit gerehton æft*er*
endebyrdnesse þam ealdormen bi ealre uncer fōre. *and* þanon
wit þa wæron fērende[33] to mesopotamiam þære mægðe. *and*
þær wit bebohtan uncre olfendan. *and* þa æft*er* þyssum ic
com (f. 278^b) to þam mynstre þe ic ær fram com. *and* þa
wæs min abbud forðfered. *and* þa gewat ic to þam munucum
þa þe þær wæron. *and* ic hig symble lvfode swa swa swustor.
and ic wæs swiðe iung cwæð hieronimus. þa malchus me þis
wæs secgende. *and* þis nu secge eow ealdum. *þæt* ic wolde
þæt þa clænan. *and* þa unwemman hira clænnysse *and* hiora
unwemnysse forð gehioldon. *and þæt* hig witon *þæt* bitweoh
sweord. *and* betwux westenne. *and* betwux wildeor. *þæt*
sio geþungennes ne mæg næfre wesan besmitan.

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY,   WILLIAM H. HULME.
    CLEVELAND, OHIO.

[33] Cock. *færende.*

INDO–EUROPEAN ROOT–FORMATION. II.

9. For a large number of roots beginning with IE. *bh* I assume a basal root **ebh-*. This must have expressed a starting-up motion, which may be expressed loosely by the words 'rise, raise.' From this idea, or one similar to it, developed the various meanings of this group. To this primitive root may be referred the following:

Bhe-ro- 'to raise, bear'; Skt. *bhárati*, Gk. φέρω, Goth. *bairan*, etc., to which belong in the several IE. languages a host of derivatives. — *Bher-g̑ho-* 'rise, raise': Skt. *br̥ha-ti* 'raises, strengthens,' *br̥hánt-* 'high,' OHG. *berg* 'mountain.' — *Bhrengho-* or *bhrenko-* 'bear, carry': OHG. *bringan* 'bring.' — *Bher-g̑o-* 'radiate, beam, shine': Skt. *bhrājatē* 'beams, shines,' Goth. *bairhts* 'bright.' This idea probably developed from the shooting forth of the flame, or the unsteady flickering of the fire. Here may be given Skt. *bhuraj-* 'bubble, boil,' O. Ch. Sl. *brŭzŭ* 'quick.' The same meaning is also in the simple root *bhero-:* Skt. *bhuráti* 'to move unsteadily.' ON. *bára* 'wave' (cf. Persson, *Wurzelerw.* 20, 126). — *Bher-u̯o-* 'boil, bubble': Lat. *ferveō,* OHG. *briuwan* 'brew,' *brōt* 'bread.' — *Bhr-ē:* OE. *brǣ-đ* 'breath,' *brǣdan* 'roast.' — *Bhre-mo-* 'move unsteadily, whirl': Skt. *bhrámati* 'wanders, flutters,'. *bhramá-* 'whirlpool, whirling flame,' ON. *brim* 'surge,' ME. *brim* 'fire' (Persson, *Wz.* 68). — *Bher-i̯o-, bhr-i-:* Gk. φριμάω 'to leap, jump, be wanton,' ON. *brīme* 'fire' (*ib.* 164). — *Bher-z-g̑o:* Skt. *bhr̥jjáti* 'roasts.' — *Bhrenu̯o-:* Goth. *brinnan* 'burn,' *brunna* 'spring.' — *Bher-so-* 'to rise, stick up, be pointed': ON. *barr* 'grain,' OE. *bere* 'barley,' Lat. *far* 'spelt.' Compare the similar development of OHG. *gersta,* Lat. *hordeum.* Here also Skt. *bhr̥s-ti-* 'point,' OHG. *burst,* OE. *byrst, brystl* 'bristle.'

We see how this root, which primarily denoted motion or starting up from a position, may, when modified by various suffixes and differentiated by usage, give a great variety of meanings.   Now almost any root that expresses motion may give words for 'throw,' and consequently 'strike,' 'hit,' 'cut,' 'break.'

With this development we have the following : *Bhe-ro-* 'strike, cut' : Lat. *feriō* 'strike,' ON. *berja*, O. Ch. Sl. *borją* 'fight' : Gk. φαρόω 'plow,' Lat. *forāre*, OE. *borian* 'bore.' — *Bhrĕ-go-* 'strike, break' : Goth. *brikan* 'break, fight,' *brakja* 'battle,' Lat. *frangō*, Skt. *-bhraj-* 'breaking.' — *Bher-dho-* 'break, destroy' : Gk. πέρθω. — *Bher-so-* 'break' : Gk. φάρσος 'piece,' OHG. *brestan* 'break, burst.' — *Bher-u̯o-, bhru-so-* 'break' : Skt. *bhárvati* 'gnaw,' OE. *brȳsan* 'break,' OHG. *brōsma* 'crumb.' — *Bhru-do-* 'break' : OE. *brēotan* 'break,' MHG. *briezen* 'break open, bud.'   (On this group cf. Persson, *Wz.* 18, 45, 85, 125, 163.)

With the suffix *-lo-* is formed the root *bhe-lo-*, whose development is in many points similar to *bhe-ro-*.   *Bhe-lo-, bhel-gho-* 'swell' : Lat. *folium*, Goth. *balgs* 'wine-skin,' ON. *bolgenn* 'swollen,' OE. *belg* 'belly,' OHG. *belgan* 'to swell, be angry.' — *bhel-so-* 'to swell, become round' : OHG. *ballo* 'ball,' *bolla* 'bud, bowl,' OE. *bolla* 'bowl.'   The idea of swelling is found in a considerable number of German words. Compare Kluge, s.v. *blähen, blatt, blatter, blühen, blüte.*

As with *bhe-ro-*, so with *bhe-lo-* a set of words is found expressing 'quickness.'   Here may be mentioned those which denote rapid motion, as of throwing, shooting, or the thing thrown.   Such are MHG. *boln* 'throw' ; OHG. *bolz*, OE. *bolt* 'bolt, missile' ; OHG. *bald* 'quick, active, brave,' ON. *ballr*, OE. *beald* 'brave, bold.'

To *bhe-lo-*, as to *bhe-ro-*, belong words meaning 'to shine,' in which the development is as above.   For examples see Persson, *Wz.* 173, where, however, some words are given which I should explain otherwise.   Compare also Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *bairhts*, who evidently thinks the roots *bher-ĝo-* and *bhel-ĝo-* are identical.

With different suffixes other compound roots are formed.

Thus: *Bhe-no-* 'strike,' in Goth. *banja* 'wound,' OE. *bona*
'murderer'; *bhe-so-, bhs-ā-, bhs-i, bhs-u-* 'strike, crush, rub,'
in OHG. *bar*, Skt. *bá-bhas-ti, psā-ti*, Gk. ψῑ-λόs, ψαύω (Persson, *Wz.* 115, 136, 176); *bhḗ-go-*, Lith. *bégti* 'to flee,' Skt.
bhaj- 'turn,' OE. *bæc* 'back'; *bhḗ-u̯o-* 'arise, become, be,'
Skt. *bhávati*, Gk. φύω, Lat. *fui*, OE. *bēo*, etc.

It is to be noticed that the same meaning is found, whatever the suffix. The differentiation of meaning, therefore,
must have occurred at a very early time. We may represent
the development as follows:

> start up, rise, swell, break open;
> start up, be agitated, tremble, flee, fear;
> start up, be agitated, boil, blaze, shine;
> cause to start up, agitate, throw, strike, break, cut.

Those are certainly all semasiological possibilities, and
phonetically such a development will seem highly probable
to all who believe that roots grew from a simpler to a more
complex form through the successive addition of suffixes. I
have by no means indicated all the possibilities either in form
or meaning, for they are almost endless. Wherever, therefore, an IE. root with initial (*e*)*bh-* is found, the possibility is
that it belongs to the root here discussed. Again, where
slightly different roots have the same meaning, as *bhel-ĝo* and
bher-ĝo- 'to shine'; *bhrego-* and *bhego-* 'to break'; *bhrugo-*
and *bhugo-* 'to enjoy,' they should not be directly compared
without positive proof to show that, in the particular instance,
l and *r* have interchanged, or that *r* has been lost from a
root.

It is further true that though the differentiation of meaning
may have been made in the simple root-forms, there is a
continual overlapping and intertwining of meanings in the
compound roots, sometimes in the same word. Thus MHG.
briezen 'to swell, bud, break open' shows that the meaning
'break' in OE. *brēotan* is simply the verb used causatively.
And the same development may recur wherever the meaning
'swell' is found.

With the original meaning of this root in mind, we may

clear up some words which have hitherto been somewhat dark. Goth. *balwjan* 'to torment,' OE. *bealu* 'evil, bale,' with which have been compared O. Ch. Sl. *boleti* 'to suffer,' *bolĭ* 'sick,' etc., may further be connected with MHG. *boln* 'throw,' and referred to the root *bhe-lo-* 'to swell, to break open'; 'to break, cut.' The root *bhe-no-* in Goth. *banja* 'wound' has a similar development.

Goth. *beidan* 'await,' ON. *bīda* 'await, endure,' OE. *bīdan* 'await, endure, bide,' OHG. *bītan* 'wait,' Uhlenbeck supposes cannot 'aus semasiologischen gründen" be connected with Goth. *baidjan* 'compel' ON. *beida*, OE. *bædan*, OHG. *beitten*, with which he joins Lith. *baidýti* 'to scare,' O. Ch. Sl. *bĕditi* 'to force,' *bĕda* 'necessity,' *obidĕti* 'injure.'

In form Goth. *baidjan* may be the causative to *beidan*, and I think I can show that there are no semasiological grounds for separating them. For *beidan* we may assume the primary meaning 'to be oppressed, to suffer, to endure.' In the weakened sense of 'endure' it is used in most of the dialects, and is still so used in Eng. *abide*. This is a natural outgrowth of the assumed primary meaning. For 'to suffer, to bear' a thing may mean either 'to submit to or undergo with distress' or 'to be patient with or endure calmly.'

The factitive to this ought then to mean 'to cause to suffer, to oppress, to press upon.' And that is exactly what we have in Goth. *baidjan* 'compel,' O. Ch. Sl. *bĕditi*, and *obidĕti* 'injure.' Nor does this explanation shut out the favorite connection with Gk. πείθω 'persuade,' Lat. *fīdō* 'trust.' These also go back to the meaning 'compel.' The fact is, we are often misled by the words we use in translating. That Gk. πείθω did not primarily mean 'persuade,' *i.e.* 'make agreeable to' or 'talk over' (überreden), is seen in such expressions as πεπιθοῦσα θυέλλας 'stirring up storms,' *Iliad*, XV. 26. The Greek word could well have come from the idea of 'pressing upon.' Notice the somewhat similar usage of Lat. *urgeo*.

A slightly different root-form occurs in Goth. *biudan* 'command,' Lith. *bùdinti* 'to awake,' Gk. πυνθάνομαι 'find out, learn,' Av. *baodaitē* 'to notice,' Skt. *bôdhāmi* 'wake up,

notice, perceive.' The common idea from which these words
and others of the group originated is 'start up, press upon,
arouse.' To start up, or arouse a person may mean either to
command him to do something or to awake him. To be
aroused is to be awake or watchful, hence to watch, be
observant, perceive, learn. The root *bheudho-* is therefore
plainly connected with *bheidho-*. Notice Goth. *baidjan* 'com-
mand, compel': *anabiudan* 'command, instruct.' Here we
have another example to add to the list given by Noreen,
Urg. Lautlehre, 67 f. How shall this and similar examples
with an apparent ablaut *ei* : *eu* be explained? In some few
cases there may have arisen phonetic confusion, but in most
cases the interchange of *ei* and *eu* is due to difference of
development. In this instance the development was *ebh-* :
(*e*)*bhe-i̯o-* : *bhei̯-dho-* ; and *ebh-* : (*e*)*bhe-u̯o-* : *bheu̯-dho-*. At one
stage of the process the suffix -*i̯o-* was added : at the same
stage in the other word -*u̯o-* was added. That is all, and that
is the whole explanation.

The simpler root *bhĕ̆-u̯o-, bhə-u̯o-* (rather than *bhā-u̯*, as
given by Persson, *Wz.* 140) is in OHG. *bouuen* 'press,' in
Goth. *baúþs*<**bhəu̯-tó-*, and enlarged in OE. *bēatan*. (Cf. as
above and 141.[3])

The meanings here assumed as primary in this group —
'start up, press upon' — are the transitive root-meanings.
It is to be noticed that the root *bheudho-*[1] has also the mean-
ing 'offer, give,' which is a natural development from the
primary signification.

The root *bheudho-* is also in Skt. *budh-ná-*, Gk. πυθ-μήν,
OHG. *bodam*, OE. *botm*. (Cf. Kluge, s.v. *Boden.*) In this
group the neutral force of the root seems to prevail, so that
it probably designates that which has grown or the source
of growth, as in Gk. πυθμήν 'the hollow or belly of a drinking-
cup.' With the number of words of similar meaning from
the simpler root *bhĕ̆uo-* with other suffixes, there need be no
doubt about the connection of this group. Cf. Skt. *bhū́* 'being,

---

[1] For a like development in meaning, compare Skt. *yúdh-* 'battle,' Lith. *jundù*
'become agitated,' *jùdinti* 'move, shake, encourage, warn,' Lat. *jubeō* 'com-
mand.' See Brugmann, *Grd.* I[2]. 270, and Persson, *Wz.* 44.

earth'; *bhūtá-* 'being, world,' Gk. φυτόν 'plant, creature'; φύσις 'being, nature,' Skt. *bhūti-; bhū́man* 'earth, world'; *bhū́mi-* 'earth, ground, land.'   In meaning Skt. *budhná-* is more nearly related to these words than to *bódhāmi*. The roots, though composed of the same elements in each, are not directly connected, but have arisen in different lines of development.

The simpler root *bhĕ̆-i̯o-* is in Gk. φι-τρός 'stick of wood,' O. Ch. Sl. *bi-ti* 'to strike.'   This again enlarged by the suffix -*do-* gives IE. **bhei̯dō*, Lat *findō* 'split,' Goth. *beitan* 'bite.'

OHG. *besamo*, OE. *besma* 'broom, besom,' which Kluge connects with *bast*, MHG. *bast, buost*, may be referred to the root *bhe-so* 'to rub,' which is found also in OHG. *bar*, etc. See Persson, *Wz.* 115, and Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *baar.*   A 'besom,' therefore, is an instrument for rubbing or scraping out dirt.   Compare from the stem **bheu̯ko-*, Goth. *us-baugjan* 'to sweep out.'   MHG. *bast* is that which rubs or peels off. The development is the same as in OHG. *louft* 'bast': Lith. *lupti* 'to peel'; Gk. λέπος 'rind, bark': λέπω 'scale off, husk.'   (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *biraubōn* and *laufs.*)

Similarly ON. *bǫrkr*, Eng. *bark*, which Kluge connects with 'birch,' OHG. *bircha*, OE. *birce, beorc*, Skt. *bhūrja*, etc., may be referred to the root *bhe-ro-* 'to cut, split.'   It was the character of the bark, therefore, that gave the name to the birch.   The birch was κατ' ἐξοχήν the 'peeler.'

IE. **bhā́ĝhús*, from which come Skt. *bāhus* 'arm,' Gk. πῆχυς 'forearm,' OHG. *buog* 'shoulder, hip,' OE. *bōg* 'arm, bough,' Du. *boeg* 'bow of a ship,' undoubtedly belongs to the simple root *ebh-*, and meant primarily 'swelling, growing.' It is applied therefore to those parts of the body which swell or bend out, as 'shoulder, hip, joint,' or to that which bends out in other objects.   That IE. **bhn̂ĝhús*, from which come Skt. *bahús* 'thick, much,' Gk. παχύς 'thick, large' (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 295, 297), is related to **bhāĝhús*, as has been supposed by some, the meaning plainly indicates.   Possibly the ablaut *bhagh-* or *bhǝgh-* occurs in ME. *bagge* 'bag,' ON. *baggi*, O. Fr. *bague* 'bundle,' LL. *baga*, if from the Germ.

10.   From the IE. root *er-* 'to move, go,' come many other

compound roots. The root in its simplest form is found in
Lat. *orior*, Gk. ὄρ-νυμι 'rise,' Skt. *r̥-nóti* 'rouse,' OS. *aru*
'quick, ready.' Compounded with suffixes it occurs in Gk.
ἔρχομαι 'go,' ὀρχέομαι 'spring, dance, tremble,' Skt. *r̥ghāyáti*
'tremble, rage' (Persson, *Wz.* 25); Skt. *árṣati* 'move rapidly,
shoot forth' (*ib.* 84), from the root *er-so-*. There is another
root *er-so-* meaning to 'push, thrust, pierce,' which Persson
does not join with the above. It is, however, exactly the
same root used causatively. It hardly needs repetition that
any root expressing motion may produce words meaning to
thrust, throw, or set in motion in any way indicated by the
root when used neutrally. Consequently, to the same root
belong Skt. *r̥ṣáti* 'push, thrust,' *r̥ṣṭí* 'spear.'

The root *er-do-* (Persson, *Wz.* 36) gives us another connect-
ing link between these two meanings; Skt. *árdati* 'move
away or apart, separate,' *ardáyati* 'shatter, press upon, in-
jure,' Lith. *ardýti* 'split, separate,' prove that the root *er-* in
Skt. *aruṣ* 'wound,' Lith. *irti* 'to open, rip,' O. Ch. Sl. *oriti*
'destroy, separate,' is the same as *er* 'to move.' For other
words with the root *er-gho*, see Persson, *Wz.* 25 f. Here
are given Germ. **arga-*, OHG. *arg*, etc., and Germ. **ar-ma-*,
Goth. *arms*, OHG. *arm*, etc., 'poor, wretched,' *i.e.* 'distressed,
oppressed.' To this group would belong all words beginning
with *er-* or any ablaut of it, whose meaning may develop
from the idea of 'tearing asunder, separating, pressing upon.'
Among these are Goth. *arjan*, Lat. *arō*, etc.; Goth. *arzeis*
'wrong,' Lat. *errō*, etc.; Goth. *ar-bi* 'inheritance,' Lat. *orbus*
'bereft.' With the root-idea 'press upon,' the following may
be given: Goth. *airþa* 'earth,' ON. *jǫrve* 'sand'; Goth.
arniba 'firm, secure.' With the last word Uhlenbeck com-
pares Skt. *árṇa-* 'surging, surge, wave, stream, battle,' OE.
eornust 'duel, earnestness,' OHG. *ernust* 'battle, earnestness,
firmness.' Here we certainly have variety enough of mean-
ing, and a very instructive variety. Goth. *arniba* could not
possibly be connected in meaning with Skt. *árṇa*, if we start
from the meaning of either word; but when we follow the
development from a common source, the way is clear.

Next, from the idea of 'thrusting, pressing upon' comes

that of making narrow, confining, as in Lat. *arceō* 'to shut in,' and, looked at from a different side, 'keep off,' and similarly Gk. ἀρκέω 'ward off.' From 'press upon' comes also the idea 'join,' hence Gk. ἀραρίσκω 'join, fit,' with which OHG. *arm* 'arm,' Lat. *armus*, etc., have been connected, and also Gk. ὄρ-χος 'row,' Lat. *ōr-dō*, Gk. ὄρ-χω 'begin.' (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 26.)

This root *er-* or *ero-* may be enlarged by the suffixes *-u̯o-* and *-i̯o-*, thus yielding (*e*)*reu̯o-* (*reu̯-*) and (*e*)*rei̯o-* (*rei̯-*). These new roots develop along the same lines as the simple root. Persson, *Wz.* 101 f., gives three separate roots *r-i-*, meaning respectively (1) 'move, run, stream'; (2) 'arrange, count'; (3) 'tear, scratch,' which he refers to three distinct roots *er-*. That these are one and the same I have already shown. The possibility of the connection between (1) and (3) is acknowledged by Persson, *Wz.* 123, where also is given a root *r-u-* corresponding to *r-i-* (1) and (3).

The two roots *reu̯o-* and *rei̯o-* are in turn enlarged by various suffixes, or the simple root *ero-r-ē* may be joined with suffixes beginning with stops. As this has been brought out quite fully by Persson, I need not repeat.

It remains only to say a word in regard to other meanings whose development has not been shown here. This root, like so many others denoting origin, that is, such ideas as 'rising,' 'starting,' 'springing,' etc., has given a number of words for 'shine, bright,' as Gk. ἀργής 'white, bright,' ἄργυρος 'silver,' Goth. *un-airkns* 'impure,' and many others.

From the developed meaning 'break' come several words for 'rough,' *i.e.* 'broken,' as OHG., OE. *rūh* 'rough.' This Kluge connects with Lith. *raũkas* 'wrinkle,' *rùkti* to 'wrinkle,' from a root *rū̆-qo-*, beside which occurs *rū̆-go-* in Lat. *rūga* 'wrinkle' (Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 995), and in *rūctō* 'vomit' (id. *ib.* 308), O. Ch. Sl. *rygaja* (id. *ib.* 955).

As rough applied to the voice means 'harsh, hoarse,' we may add here Lat. *raucus* 'hoarse, harsh, growling,' O. Ch. Sl. *rykati* 'bellow,' OHG. *rohōn* 'grunt, bellow'; and Lat. *rugiō* 'bellow,' Gk. ὠρυγή 'a bellowing.' (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 196 f.) Here also belongs Goth. *in-rauhtjan* 'to groan, to be angry.'

From a sister root *reu̯-po-* 'to break' is found a similar development in Lith. *rupas* 'rough,' *rûpéti* 'to grieve,' *rûpestis* 'care.' See Uhlenbeck, s.v. *biraubōn*.

The same meaning is found in a root *reu̯-do-*: Skt. *rudáti* 'wail,' Lat. *rudō* 'bellow,' OE. *rēotan* 'wail'; in *rē-u̯o-, rŭ-*: Skt. *rāuti* 'bellows,' Gk. ὠρύω 'howl, bellow,' Lat. *rūmor;* in *rē-qo-*: Lith. *rěkti* 'cry'; in *rē-*: Lith. *rěti* 'shout.' (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 13, 40.)

As the root *er-* occurs in its simplest form in the sense of 'break,' these allied meanings have developed all along the line. The differentiation occurred in the earliest period, and has continued to the present time, until here, as in other roots, the meanings are as widely separated as the poles.

It is possible even to connect such widely separated ideas as 'run' and 'rest.' We may imagine the development as follows. It is admitted that Goth. *rinnan* comes from the root *er-* 'to move,' whatever its formation may be. On that compare Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 1015, 1017. I have shown above how the idea 'strike, break, split, tear,' originates from the same root. From 'split, peel,' comes 'that which is peeled or scaled off,' as in Ger. *bast*, Gk. λέπος, etc. (cf. above under the root **ebh-*), or from 'tear,' 'that which is torn.' This brings us to the ideas 'outside, edge, end, point.' This we find in OE. *rind* 'rind,' OHG. *rinta* 'bark, rind,' OE. *rond* 'edge, shield,' *reoma* 'rim.' For further examples see Kluge, s.v. *rand, rinde,* and Webster, s.v. *rand.* From this we have 'to end, stop, rest,' as in Skt. *rámati*, Goth. *rimis* 'rest.' The same idea has similarly developed in parallel roots, Goth. *rasta* 'mile,' OE. *ræst* 'rest'; OHG. *ruowa, rāwa* 'rest.' The same idea may, however, in the case of some of these words, have developed in an entirely different manner. Gk. ἐρωέω means (1) 'flow, stream, burst out,' and (2) 'retreat, cease' and 'cause to retreat, drive back,' from which ἐρωή signifies 'any quick, violent motion, a hurling' and 'withdrawal, retreat, rest,' perhaps primarily 'repulse' rather than 'withdrawal.'

Another idea that naturally arises from 'peel, peeling,' is

that of 'covering.' This is the probable development for Goth. *bairgan* 'hide, keep,' O. Ch. Sl. *brěgǫ* 'keep,' and in the root *qel-* 'cut' and *qel-* 'cover.'

It is evident from such examples that, in comparing words, the meaning is of secondary importance if there is a phonetic correspondence. Related words denoting color are compared, and we are told that color-names often change their meaning. Are we to suppose that our ancestors were color-blind? They doubtless did not distinguish the different shades of the same color so nicely as we. But they certainly knew the difference between red and white, blue and yellow, black and red. When such differences occur, the explanation is to be sought, not in the fact that one color shades into another, but that the two color-names are derived from some object or experience, which when used figuratively, may give one color or another according to the idea in the mind of the speaker. Thus, if I say: 'His face was smeared,' I may mean that it was shining with grease or filthy with mud. Consequently a word of that kind might be used in one neighborhood for 'shining, bright, white,' and in another for 'dirty, black.'

We may find illustrations of this divergence of development in the root *er-*. This gives, as we have seen, words for 'blaze, be bright,' primarily 'shoot forth, beam.' Under Goth. *rauþs* 'red,' in Uhlenbeck's *Et. Wtb.* may be found Skt. *aruṣá-* 'red' and Av. *auruša-* 'shining, white.' Now that does not indicate that the meaning 'red' has developed from 'white,' or 'white' from 'red,' or both from an intermediate tint. But both words signified originally 'shooting forth, beaming,' and, for the most part, the common source of comparison was the blazing fire, and the word came to mean in most languages 'red.' On the other hand, Av. *auruša-* 'shining, white' acquired its signification because some glittering object was in the mind of the user. It is, of course, possible that even in this case fire was the object of comparison; but if so, it was not the red blaze, but the light radiated that furnished the idea.

Again, Goth. *rigis* 'darkness,' Gk. ἔρεβος 'darkness of the

lower world,' Skt. *rájas* 'the region of vapors, mists, and clouds,' 'darkness, dust,' from a stem **ereg^uos-*, come from the root-meaning 'rise, roll, heave,' expressive of the undulatory motion of clouds and rising vapors; while Gk. ῥέζω 'to color,' Skt. *rájyati* 'to be red,' come from the idea suggested by the rolling flame. The last two words may equally as well be referred to the root (*e*)*reĝ-*, another form of which occurs in Goth. *un-airkns* 'impure' (cf. above), Gk. ἀργός 'bright,' ἀργής 'white,' Skt. *árjuna* 'white,' Gk. ἄργυρον- 'silver,' etc.

What I have here said of the development of color-names applies equally as well to any other ideas. For words diametrically opposed may, as we have seen, have a common origin. It is therefore among the possibilities that all IE. roots beginning with *er-* or its ablaut contain the simple root *er-* 'to move.'

11. The root *el-* is similar in meaning and development to *er-*. There may arise, therefore, (*e*)*lĕ-i̯o-*, (*e*)*lĕ-u̯o-*, (*e*)*le-po-*, etc., or *lei̯-po-*, *leu̯-po-*, etc. Here also we find the double idea involved in motion — 'to go, move' and 'to move, throw, strike,' etc. Hence the roots *el-*, *lē-*, *l-i-*, *l-u-* 'injure, destroy' and *el-*, *lē-*, *l-i-* 'flow' given by Persson, *Wz.* 169 ff., are one in origin, whose base *el-* is in Goth. *alan* 'grow,' Lat. *alō* 'feed'; Gr. ἐλ-θεῖν 'to go'; Goth. *al-jan* 'zeal,' and many others. I should except no word beginning with *el-* or its ablaut whose meaning could be shown to have come from the root-meaning of *el-*.

A few examples may suffice. Goth. *aleina* 'ell,' Lat. *ulna*, Gk. ὠλένη 'elbow,' 'arm,' may come from the meaning 'grown,' or from 'bend,' a development of the meaning 'grow, swell,' which is also in ON. *leggr* 'leg,' Lat. *lac-ertus*, etc. For many other examples, compare Persson, *Wz.* 185 ff.

Goth. *aljis*, Lat. *alius*, etc., if connected with the root *el-* 'to go,' and there is no reason why they should not be, meant primarily 'distant, farther, more removed.' In formation IE. **ali̯os* is a comparative to the root *el-*.

As Lat. *arceō*, Gr. ἀρκέω come from the root *er-* (v. supra), so Goth. *alhs* 'temple,' OE. *ealgian* 'protect,' Gk. ἀλκή 'de-

fence, strength,' ἄλκιμος 'strong,' etc., come from *el-*.   But
the common element is in the suffix, not in the root.   The
only comparison, therefore, is one of development, not of
phonetics.   But as the roots *el-* and *er-* are similar in mean-
ing, it is not strange that they have developed similarly.
And so we find many parallels between the two, and the
claim that was made for the extension of the root *er-* may also
be advanced for the root *el-*.

From the extended root *lĕ-i̯o-*, with various suffixes, may
come : MHG. *leise* 'track,' Goth. *lais* 'I know,' *laisjan* 'to
teach,' etc.; *laikan* 'leap'; *leihvan* 'lend'; *af-leipan* 'go
away'; *af-linnan* 'depart'; all from the meaning 'move, go.'
These examples might be multiplied.

With the same meaning come from the root *lĕ-u̯o-* : Goth.
lēwjan 'abandon,' *liudan* 'grow,' etc.; and in the active mean-
ing 'throw, strike, cut' : Goth. *lun* 'ransom,' Skt. *lunāmi* 'cut
off'; Goth. *fra-liusan* 'lose'; *liuts* 'hypocritical,' Lith. *liúd-
nas* 'sad,' both from the primary meaning 'stricken, bowed
down' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *liuts*); Goth. *liugan*
'lie'; *laufs* 'leaf,' Lith. *lùpti* 'to pare, peel'; OHG. *luzzil*
'small, wretched.'

In the active use the root *lē-* occurs in Goth. *laian* 'revile.'
(Compare Gk. πλήγνυμι 'strike' : OHG. *fluohhan* 'curse.')
And *lĕ-i̯o-* appears in Goth. *leitils* 'small,' *i.e.* 'beaten down,
stricken,' *lita* 'hypocrisy' (Goth. *lita* : *liuts* : : *leitils* : OHG.
luzzil).

. The root *lĕ-i̯o-* which occurs in Skt. *limpáti* 'besmear,'
O. Ch. Sl. *lĭpĕti* 'stick to,' Goth. *bileiban* 'remain,' *liban* 'live,'
and many others of this group, probably started with the root-
meaning 'run, flow,' as Persson, *Wz.* 49, supposes.   It is
equally possible, however, to derive this group from the
meaning 'strike,' developing to 'stroke' ('bestreichen'), 'be-
smear,' 'be sticky,' 'remain,' etc.   This development recurs
repeatedly in roots signifying 'to strike,' and shows how
closely the two ideas 'strike' and 'smear' are related, and
how easily one may pass into the other, or diverge from the
other until there is no semblance of similarity.

12. In *PBB.* XXII. 435 f. Johannes Hoops gives the

derivation of *helm,* connecting it with Gk. κέλλω, Lat. *cellō, celer,* etc. The IE. root of this group of words is *qel-,* which was probably used originally not simply of the propulsion of boats, but of the setting in motion of anything. However, the same root with a prefixed *s-* occurs in another Germ. word in the sense that Hoops takes for the original. This is OS. *skaldan* 'to propel a ship,' MHG. *schalten* 'to shove,' especially a boat, OHG. *scaltan* 'push,' *sceltan* 'scold.' From these words MHG. *schalter* 'bolt' cannot be separated, nor ON. *hlumr* 'tiller.' To the same root may be referred Lat. *clāvus* and *clāvis* and their derivatives. These words signified primarily 'that which has shot forth or up, a shoot,' and then anything of that shape.

From the root *qel-* come words expressing motion of various kinds. Here, as with other roots, the kind of motion was indicated by some adverb, or simply by the context. Under this root, therefore, come Lat. *ex-cellō, collis,* Goth. *hallus* 'rock,' OS. *holm* 'hill,' Lith. *kélti* 'raise,' etc. (Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 572.) The connection of Lat. *clāvis* with this root brings in *claudō,* OHG. *sliozan* (Brugmann, *Grd.* II. 1048). As we see from Eng. *slot,* this stem, *sqlŭd-,* denoted not only the bolt, but the depression or perforation into which the bolt slid. This was probably a transferred meaning, just as OHG. *sloz* 'bolt' has come to mean in MG. 'lock.'

Another development of this root was to the meaning 'cut, cleave,' which came from the idea of 'striking.' This occurs in O. Ch. Sl. *kolja* 'stick, butcher,' Goth. *skilja* 'a butcher,' ON. *skilja,* Lith. *skeliù* 'to cleave,' O. Ch. Sl. *skala* 'rock' (cf. Goth. *hallus*), Gk. σκάλλω 'to hoe.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *skilja.*) Goth. *halbs* 'half,' Skt. *kalpáyati* 'divides,' Lat. *scalpō,* etc. (Uhl., s.v. *halbs*).

Wherever the root *qel-* occurs, — and this applies to any other root, — the presumption should be that it is in each case the same element. Those who deny this should prove it. Of course, exactly the same combination may originate from different elements, but such cases are comparatively rare. Therefore, when a certain root, or element, appears

in words of widely different meaning, it is only necessary to show that one meaning may develop from another in order to prove the possibility of connection.

In this root we start with the meaning 'motion,' which may be active or passive. This may give words for 'throw,' 'strike,' 'fall,' etc., as in Gk. βάλλω from the root $g^u el$-. From 'strike' naturally comes the idea 'wound,' 'cut,' as given above. It must be remembered also that the root, according to use, was modified by various suffixes, or root-determinatives, as they are generally called. And yet it is not necessary to suppose that the root-determinative, in every case, decided the meaning. This was probably more often fixed by usage. In fact, two words slightly different in form would naturally be differentiated in meaning, and could exist side by side only on that condition.

Perhaps here rather than to the root $q^u el$- belong Goth. *haldan* 'keep, feed,' OE. *healdan* 'direct, hold,' Gk. βου-κόλος 'cow-herd,' a development of the meaning 'drive,' although there is no phonetic difficulty in connecting Goth. *haldan* with $q^u el$. To this latter root Skt. *cárati*, Lat. $colō < *quelō$, Gk. πέλεται have been referred. The meanings of this root coincide with those of the root *qel*-. Both express motion, though that of itself is not sufficient reason for connecting the two. If the two roots are not related, they have probably fallen together in some forms.

From *s-qel*- 'to cut, cleave' comes *s-qel*- 'to cover,' through the intermediate steps 'to cleave, scale off'; 'a scale, peeling'; 'cover.' The intermediate step is seen in Goth. *skalja* 'tile,' ON. *skel*, OE. *scyll* 'shell,' O. Ch. Sl. *skolĭka* 'shell, muscle,' which Uhlenbeck refers to the root *sqel*- 'split.' However, the Germ. words are not altogether certain, since some of them at least may belong to the root *k̂el*- 'to cover.'

From *qel*- have come O. Ch. Sl. *po-klopŏ* 'covering,' Pruss. *au-klipts* 'concealed,' Lat. *clepō*, Gk. κλοπεύς 'thief,' Goth. *hlifan* 'steal.' (Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 576.)

Here also belongs *qel*- 'to turn, to spin,' *i.e.* to throw back and forth. Compare OHG. *werfan* 'throw': Eng. *warp* and

woof. To this root Persson, *Wz.* 30, refers Gk. κάλαθος
'basket,' κλώθω 'spin,' etc.

With the suffix *-do-* is formed the root *s-qel-do-*, and with
-po-, *s-qel-po-*. For examples see Persson, 38, 52.

With similar meanings the root *s-qer-* also occurs. The
following enlarged roots are noted by Persson, *Wz.*: *s-qer-d*
'cut,' 38; *qer-t* 'cut,' 29; *s-qer-bh-*, *s-qer-b-*, *s-qer-p-* 'cut,' 57;
s-qer-s- 'shear, scrape,' 86; *s-qr-i-* 'cut,' 107; *s-qer-u-*, *s-qr-u-*
'cut, break,' 127. The root *s-qer-* (written by Persson *sk₂-er-*)
is traced back, together with *s-qel-*, to the root *seq-* 'cut,' in
Lat. *secāre*. To the same root he refers the roots *sq-ed*
'split,' 39; *sqa-b- -bh- -p-* 'scrape, hack,' 58; *sq-es-* 'split,'
88; *sq-i-* 'cut,' 112; *sq-u-* 'cut,' 133; *s-qn-u-* 'cut, scrape,'
134; *qs-u-*, same, 134; *qs-n-u-* 'whet,' 135.

These roots occur with and without initial *s-*. This is
generally explained on the assumption that initial *s-* was lost
in those words in which it does not appear. Of two roots *sqer-*
and *qer-*, the former is supposed to be the original. Just the
contrary is the case in most instances, as I believe. It is
quite probable, however, that some of the above roots were
formed on *seq-*, and it is next to a certainty that this root
caused the prefixing of *s-* to many others when they took on
the meaning 'cut.'

But 'cut' is not the root-idea, as was explained above, but
rather 'move,' generally of rapid motion. Therefore here
would also belong the following roots given by Persson:
qer-t- 'turn, spin,' 30 (cf. *qel-* 'turn, spin,' above); *s-qer-s-*
'run,' 86; *s-qer-d-*, *s-qen-d-* 'spring, dance,' 37.

Now if we have the synonymous roots *qe-lo-*, *qe-ro-*, *qe-no-*,
qe-so-, *qe-do-*, *qe-bo-*, etc., we are certainly authorized to assume
a root *qo-* or *eqo-*, from which the longer forms have been
derived. This root *eqo-* would contain the germ-idea from
which all other meanings have grown. Some of these mean-
ings are: 'move rapidly, run, spring, dance,' etc., and used
actively, 'set in motion, shove, thrust, cut, break.'

From these primary meanings many secondary ideas may
arise. From 'cut' come Lith. *kerpù* 'shear,' Lat. *carpō*
'pluck,' OHG. *herbist* 'harvest' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 570);

root *qer-po-*, the base of which is in Gk. κείρω 'shear,' OHG. *s-ceran*, Lat. *carō* 'flesh' (id. *ib.* 570). With Lat. *carō* should also be connected Lat. *cruor*, Gk. κρέας 'flesh,' ON. *hrār* 'raw,' etc., from an enlarged root *qr-ĕu̯-*. The primary meaning of this IE. word for flesh was a piece cut off from an animal, just as we speak of a 'cut' of beef. A natural outgrowth of 'cut' is 'to shape, form, make,' as in Skt. *kr̥tá-* 'made,' Gk. κραίνω 'complete,' Lat. *creō*.

With other root-forms have developed from the meaning 'cut,' Gk. καλός 'beautiful,' Skt. *kalyas* 'healthy,' primarily 'well-formed.' Compare, for meaning, Eng. *shapely*, Lat. *formōsus*. Perhaps here also Lat. *capiō* 'seize,' Gk. κώπη 'handle,' Goth. *hafjan* 'raise,' Lett. *kampju* 'grasp' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 573), from the root *qe-po-*, with a development similar to that of Lat. *carpō* : 'cut off,' 'pluck,' 'seize,' 'grasp.' Nearer the root-meaning stand Lith. *kapóti* 'hew,' O. Ch. Sl. *kopati* 'dig,' *kopyto* 'hoof' (perhaps the 'striker, kicker'), Gk. κόπτω 'cut, strike,' OHG. *huof* 'hoof' (*ib.* 582). The same root-form is in a number of words for 'bend,' which is probably a development of the meaning 'seize, grasp, fasten, bind,' just as *bend* has developed from *bind*. With the many interlacing meanings it would be simpler to start from the original idea, 'rapid motion,' since, in all probability, the differentiation was made from the first.

The root *qĕ-u̯o-* 'cut, beat,' is in Lith. *káuju* 'beat, fight,' Lat. *cū-dō*, OHG. *houwan* 'beat, hew.' A companion root *qĕ-i̯o-* is in Lat. *cae-dō*, MHG. *heie* 'mallet,' MLG. *heien* 'beat, pound' (Holthausen, *PBB.* XI. 554 f.); O. Ch. Sl. *cĕpiti* 'split,' Goth. *haifsts* 'quarrel,' OE. *hǣst* 'power, violence' (from root *qei̯-po-*); Goth. *skaidan* 'separate,' Lat. *scindō*, Lith. *skĕdžu* 'separate,' *skĕdrà* 'chip'; ON. *skei-na* 'scratch,' Lat. *dē-sci-scō* 'withdraw,' *scio* 'discern, know' (Persson, *Wz.* 43). Brugmann refers Goth. *skaidan* to a root *skhi-d-* (*Grd.* I². 548). But there is good evidence for a root *s-qei-d-*, and it is quite possible that there were two roots which have contaminated each other.

The root *qeu-po-* occurs further in Goth. *hiufan* 'lament,' which, according to Uhlenbeck, has been compared with

Lat. *cupiō* 'desire,' Skt. *kúpyati* 'to be agitated, boil, be angry,' a comparison which he considers improbable on account of the difference of meaning. Let us see whether this difference causes any trouble. All will agree that root-meanings were not abstract. For *qeu̯po-* we may assume the meaning 'agitate, drive, beat.' One may be agitated with any passion, as with rage, desire, grief. Examples of a similar development are: Gk. σπέρχω 'drive, urge, hasten,' OHG. *springan* 'to spring,' Skt. *spṛhayati* 'desire eagerly' (Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 549); Goth. *flōkan* 'bewail,' Lat. *plangō*, O. Ch. Sl. *plakati* 'beat the breast, mourn, weep.' The root *qei̯-po-* (v. supra) has also a similar development, but for the most part in one direction. O. Ch. Sl. *cěpiti* 'split,' Goth. *haifsts* 'strife, fight' ("eigl. zwiespalt," according to Uhlenbeck), ON. *heipt* 'hate, revenge,' OE. *hǣst* 'violence,' O. Fris. *haest* 'haste,' MLG. *heist* 'violence.' Unless we suppose that Goth. *haifsts* had a different development from its Germ. congeners, the primary meaning was not 'zwiespalt,' but that which was common to the whole group: 'drive, thrust, cut.'

Strange as it may seem, I should refer to the root *qě-i̯o-* 'cut,' Goth. *hails* 'whole, sound.' How this meaning developed is seen from Lat. *caelebs* 'single,' Skt. *kēvalas* 'exclusive, alone, entire.' The simple process is: 'cut off'; 'separated'; 'alone'; and hence 'entire, whole,' because 'one.'[1]

The roots *qě-i̯o-* and *qě-u̯o-* both occur in the sense 'observe, see'; 'appear, shine.' These meanings come from the root-idea 'to be active,' from which developed 'to be watchful, to watch, observe, see,' the opposite of which is 'to appear, shine.' To *qě-i̯o-* belong Skt. *ci-kē-ti* 'observe,' Goth. *hais* 'torch,' *hai-dus* 'manner,' Skt. *kē-tú-* 'light,' *ci-trá* 'bright,' OHG. *heitar*, Goth. *hei-tō* 'fever,' ON. *heitr* 'hot,' Lith. *kaitrà* 'glow of fire,' Goth. *hiwi* 'appearance,' *skeinan* 'shine,' etc. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 28, and Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *heitō.*) To *qě-u̯o-* belong Gk. κοέω 'perceive, hear,' Skt. *kavís* 'wise,' Lith. *kavóju* 'heed,' Lat. *caveō*, Goth. *us-skaus*

---

[1] Brugmann's *Die Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität* is not within my reach, and so I do not know in how far my explanation may agree with his.

'prudent,' OHG. *scouwōn* 'see,' Gk. θυο-σκόος. (Brugmann, *Grd.* I². 573, 575.)

We have seen that this root has developed the meaning 'rise, raise,' as in Lith. *kélti* 'to raise,' Lat. *collis, ex-cellō*, etc. The same meaning occurs also in the element *qē-, qə-, qa-*, which, with various suffixes, appears in OHG. *hā-r* 'hair,' *ha-ro* 'flax,' *ha-c* 'thorn'; Skt. *kapāla* 'skull,' Lat. *caput, capillus*, OE. *hafola*, ON. *hǫfod* 'head.' These words cannot be directly connected with Goth. *haubiþ*, ON. *haufod*, OHG. *houbit* 'head,' *hūba* 'hood, crest'; for the latter are formed on the root *qē-uo-*. More directly connected with Goth. *haubiþ* are the following, which I find under Goth. *skuft* 'hair,' in Uhlenbeck's *Et. Wtb.*: MHG. *schopf* 'tuft of hair,' ON. *skauf*, OHG. *scoub*, OE. *scēaf* 'sheaf,' ON. *skūfr* 'tassel,' etc., and without *s-*, OE. *hēap*, OHG. *hūfo, houf*, Lith. *kaûpas* 'heap.'

The primary meaning in this group is 'to rise, stick up, be on top.' From this come various secondary meanings, as 'to top, to cap, cover'; 'to top, pile up, load,' etc. But first to give a few more examples of the original signification. This is seen in Goth. *hiuhma* 'crowd,' *hauhs*, ON. *hār*, etc., 'high,' *haugr* 'hill,' Lith. *kaukarà* 'hill,' *kaûkas* 'bump.'

The root *qē-u̯o-* in the sense 'to top, to cover' occurs in ON. *hūfa*, OE. *hūfe*, OHG. *hūba* 'hood, crest' (v. supra), from the root *qēu̯-po-*; Gk. κεύθω, OE. *hȳdan* 'hide,' from *qēu̯-dho-*; OHG. *hūs* 'house,' ON. *hauss* 'skull,' Lith. *kiáuszė*, Skt. *kōsa* 'container,' to which perhaps Goth. *huzd* 'treasure,' (v. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.*); Gk. κύ-τος, σκῦ-τος 'hide,' Lat. *scū-tum, cu-tis*, OE. *hȳd* 'hide, skin.' (For these and others cf. Persson, *Wz.* 44 f.)

Here too belongs OHG. *hof* 'court,' primarily 'an enclosed space,' with the same development and range of meaning as Germ. **garda-*, Goth. *gards*. In part, at least, similar is Goth. *hugs* 'estate' <**qu-qés-*. The two words, in fact, may be more closely related. We may derive OHG. *hof* from **qúqᵘo-* and Goth. *hugs* from **quqᵘés-, -ós-*, with the loss of the labialization before *-os*. However, I should prefer to connect them only in root.

To the same root may be referred Lith. *kuvėtis* 'to be ashamed' (perhaps 'to cover oneself,' as in Goth. *skaman sik*), Lett. *kauns* 'shame, disgrace,' Gk. καυνός· κακός (Schulze, *KZ.* 29, 270), Goth. *hauns* 'humble, base.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *hauns.*) These words may, however, come from the meaning 'heap up, load down,' hence 'to bend, debase'; 'be loaded or weighed down,' as in ON. *hūka* 'to cower,' MHG. *hūchen;* OHG. *hovar,* Lith. *kuprá* 'hunch, hump' (Kluge).

The root *s-qeu-bho-* 'shove, push' is but slightly removed from the original idea. This root is contained in Goth. *af-skiuban* 'shove off, repulse,' OE. *scūfan,* etc., with which have been connected Lith. *skubùs* 'rapid,' *skubti* 'to hasten.' This is closely connected with the root *s-qē̆-u̯o-* 'beat, cut, shave,' to which belongs MHG. *hobel, hovel* 'plane.' (Cf. above, and also, for many other examples, Persson, *Wz.* 133 f.)

A root *qe-no-* 'cut, split' may be given as the base of Goth. *hansa,* OHG. *hansa,* OE. *hōs* 'troop.' Other examples of the same root will be found in Persson, *Wz.* 76. This is parallel with *s-qero-* in OHG. *skara*[1] and *s-qelo-* in OS. *scola,* OE. *scealu.* (Cf. Kluge, s.v. *Schaar,* and Persson, *Wz.* 107.[6])

The enlarged root *qne-u̯o-* appears in Goth. *hnutō (hnupō)* 'thorn, sting,' which is connected with Gk. κνύω, κνύζω 'scratch,' κνῦζα 'itch' (<*κνυδια), Lett. *knūt* 'to itch.' The meaning 'itch' is the passive of 'tickle, scratch,' as may be seen from Gk. κνήθω 'scratch, tickle,' pass. 'itch.' So also in κνάω, κνίζω. Goth. *hnupō* is further connected with OHG. *hniotan* 'fasten,' ON. *hnióða* 'hammer.'

To the root *qneu-bo-* belong Goth. *dis-hniupan* 'to tear or break to pieces,' OE. *ā-hnēapan* 'to pluck off,' which, according to Persson, *Wz.* 178, was referred by L. Meyer, *Got. Spr.* 39, to Gk. κνύω.

To an enlarged root *qne-i̯o-* belong Goth. *hnaiws* 'humble,' *hneiwan* 'to sink,' etc. This root, with another suffix, is also in Gk. κνίζω 'scratch,' ON. *hnīta* 'strike, wound' (Persson,

---

[1] To the same root *qer-* 'cut, fight' belong O. Ch. Sl. *kara* 'strife,' Lith. *kâras* 'war,' *karias* 'army,' Goth. *harjis,* but through a different development.

Wz. 115). The primary meaning of Germ. **hnaigwa-*, pre-
Germ. **qnoi̯-g^uho-* or **qnoi̯-q^uó-* was probably 'stricken.' If
the former was the root, we may compare Lat. *cōnīveō* (Brug-
man, *Grd.* I². 600), or in any case we may compare the com-
mon element.

For all this group of words we may assume the basal root
eq-, (e)qo-. It is even possible that the root *seq-* 'to cut' con-
tains the same element, and that the first part is the root *es-*
'to throw.' For this root I refer to number 3 of this *Journal*.
If IE. roots grew in the manner I have tried to set forth,
then we could suppose the following development: *es-; se-
qo-; (s)qe-ro-, (s)qe-lo-*, etc.; *(s)qer-to-*, etc. This may be true
in some cases, but in most roots of the form *sqe-ro-; qe-ro-*,
I believe the latter to be the original form, and that the
prefixed *s-* is due to some other root of similar meaning.

13. Goth. *flauts* 'boastful,' which Uhlenbeck declares unex-
plained, is doubtfully connected by Balg with **fliutan*, OE.
flēotan 'flow.' The development in meaning is quite possi-
ble, as may be seen from other words of similar meaning.
Gk. φλύω 'to flow and to babble'; βλύω 'to bubble, pour
forth' and 'to be haughty'; Eng. *babble*, used of a brook
or of a person speaking foolishly; Eng. *gush* 'to pour forth'
and 'to speak in a silly manner'; Lith. *plaudžiu* 'wash'
and *pludžiu* 'chatter' are parallels. The Lith. words are
not only parallel, but cognate with *flēotan*.

If Goth. *flauts* is from this root, its primary signification
was 'overflowing with words,' and is closely connected with
Du. *vlot*, MG. *flott*, which has developed somewhat differ-
ently.

Another possibility is the connection with Lat. *plaudō*
'strike.' If this is nearer, then Goth. *flauts* was originally
applied to a person inclined to express disapprobation of
the opinions of others, just as *plaudō* was used to express
disapproval as well as approval. Eng. *flout* from O. Du.
fluyten 'to jeer' (and 'to play the flute,' in which significa-
tion it is perhaps a different word) may belong here, if this
is a Germ. word.

For this connection there are also good parallels. From

the root *mel-* 'to grind, beat' is formed Gk. βλάξ usually in
the passive sense 'weak, silly,' but also with the active mean-
ing, 'boastful.' (On this derivation cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* II.
955.) To the same root belongs, as I have shown in the
Jour. of Germ. Philol. I. 296, the Germ. stem **blauta-*, which
in the passive sense means, in the several dialects, 'bare,
wretched, weak,' etc., and in the active, 'proud.' (Cf.
Kluge, s.v. *bloss.*) Compare also NHG. *pochen* 'knock':
Du. *pogchen* 'boast.'

After all, it is only a question of which of these words
Goth. *flauts* is more nearly related to, since both are from
the root *pel-*. This root has a wide divergence of meaning,
but the development is easily followed. It was used pri-
marily to express rapid motion of any kind. Among the
nearest meanings we find *pel-* 'to throw, to strike,' and used
passively 'to fly, to flee.' Directly connected are Lat. *pellō*
'beat, drive'; *pal-pō* 'to stroke, caress' (cf., for development
of meaning, Eng. *strike* : Ger. *streichen, streicheln*); *poliō* 'to
smooth.' Here also Gk. πάλλω 'to swing,' πάλη 'wrestling,'
πόλεμος 'battle,' Skt. *pr̥t* 'battle.'

Expressing motion passively occur OHG. *fallan* 'fall' from
*pl̥nō, not from **phl̥nō* as generally given. For meaning com-
pare Skt. *pat* 'fly' : Gk. πίπτω 'fall'; and βάλλω 'throw': 'fall.'

To the same root have been referred Goth. *us-filma* 'terri-
fied'; ON. *falma* 'grope,' *felmr* 'frightened' (cf. Uhlenbeck,
Et. Wtb. s.v. *usfilma*), and here belong also OHG. *fuolen*
'feel,' *folma* 'hand.' The idea of 'fear' arises in these
words from that of 'fleeing' or 'quick motion,' as do most
words for fearing. OHG. *fuolen* shows the same develop-
ment as Lat. *palpō.*

The root *pel-* in its weak form *pl-*, enlarged by various
suffixes, gives many words meaning 'to throw' or 'to strike'
or (passive) 'to fly, flee.' From this root may come all
words beginning with IE. *pl-* or their equivalent which have
the above meanings or those which are derivable therefrom.
As examples may be given Lat. *plangō, plaudō, plōrō* ; OHG.
fliogan, flagarōn ; Goth. *flōkan* 'bemoan'; O. Sw. *flenga*
'strike'; ME. *flengen* 'rush, throw'; OHG. *flistran* 'caress';

fliozan 'flow,' OLG. *fliotan* 'run away,' and many others beginning in Germ. with *fl-*.

The last example given belongs directly to the root *pel-* 'to flow,' and is generally held to be distinct from the root of Lat. *pellō*. But when we consider that, as a rule, roots that have given words expressing rapid motion, have given others for 'flow' or 'water,' we need not hesitate to connect these two roots.

As examples of such development in meaning the following may be given. From the root *ser-* comes Skt. *sísarti* 'run swiftly, glide, flow,' and caus. 'set in motion'; Gk. ὁρμή 'onset.' From *sr-eu̯-*, an enlargement of *ser-*, come several words for 'stream' and 'flow.' From root *qu̯el-*, Skt. *cárati* 'move, wander,' used of men, beasts, waters, heavenly bodies. From *gu̯el-*, Gk. βάλλω 'throw,' Skt. *jala* 'water.' From *u̯el-* 'to turn,' OHG. *wella* 'wave,' Goth. *wlizjan* 'strike.' Cf. above, p. 303.

The root *pel-* used in the sense 'pour, flow,' as in Lith. *pìlti* 'pour,' Goth. *filu,* 'much,' *fulls* 'full,' etc., occurs generally in the weak form *pl-* with various additions. As, Gk. πλώω 'float,' OE. *flōwan* 'flow,' Lith. *pláuti* 'rinse,' Lat. *pluit* 'rains,' Skt. *plavatē* 'swims,' *prāti* 'fills,' Gk. πλύνω 'wash' and also 'beat,' OHG. *fliozan* 'flow,' OLG. *fliotan* 'run away,' Eng. '*to fleet.*' With less reduction, Gk. παλάσσω 'besprinkle, befoul.' And to this root with the 'dehnstufe' may be referred OHG. *s-puolen* 'rinse.'

Again, from the idea of 'throwing' may come that of 'throwing around' or 'enfolding,' 'covering.' On this development compare Gk. βάλλω, and the root *u̯er-*, which have given words meaning 'to throw' and 'to cover.' Here belong Lat. *plicō* 'fold,' Gk. πλέκω, OHG. *vlehtan* 'entwine'; Lat. *pellis* 'skin' (*i.e.* 'a covering,' the regular appellation of 'skin,' the clothing of our ancestors), Goth. *fill*, Gk. πέλλα 'hide,' πέ-πλος 'garment'; πέλτη 'shield,' πάλμη same; Goth. *falþan* 'to fold,' Gk. -παλτος, -πλασιος '-fold'; Goth. *filhan*, 'cover, bury.'

Those who connect Goth. *filhan* with Gk. πέλεκυς 'axe' may be right as far as referring the two words to the same

root, but the development is entirely different. Goth. *filhan* undoubtedly comes from the root *pel-* in the sense 'cover,' while Gk. πέλεκυς, if a genuine IE. word, comes from the root *pel-* in the sense 'strike.'

The meaning 'cover' in Goth. *filhan* is perhaps rather from 'fill, pile upon,' as Skt. *prc*, with which Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*[5], compares this word, seems to indicate. From this starting-point may be derived the other meanings found in the Germ. root *felh-*.

The root *per-*, which, it is generally admitted, occurs in Goth. *fair-*, the prefix *fairneis* 'old,' *fairra* 'far,' *faur* 'before,' *fra-*, *fram* 'from,' *framaþs* 'strange,' *faran* 'travel,' *farjan* 'to sail,' and their numerous cognates, conveyed the meaning of 'advancing, proceeding.' From this meaning it is possible to derive all the others in this group of words.

With this root may be connected Goth. *fērja* 'spy,' OE. *fǣr* 'danger,' OHG. *fāra* 'deceit, ambush,' a possibility which is doubted by Uhlenbeck. (See his *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *fērja.*) With these have have been compared Lat. *periculum, experior*, and Gk. πεῖρα 'attempt.' The development here is simple. From the idea of 'advance' comes 'get ahead of, overreach, circumvent,' and that gives us at once 'deceit, ambuscade,' and hence 'danger.' A similar development is seen in Goth. *fraisan* 'to tempt,' OHG. *freisōn* 'to be in danger or fear,' ON. *freista* 'try.' Whatever the suffixal element may be, the root is *per-*. To the same root with a guttural suffix belongs Goth. *faurhts* 'fearful.' This is perhaps the same as Goth. *fragan* 'to tempt,' from a stem *prk-*, *prek-*.

Another idea that easily arises from the root-meaning of *per-* is found in Goth. *fraihnan* 'to ask,' ON. *fregna*, OHG. *frāgēn* and *fergōn*, Lat. *precor, procus*, Skt. *praçná-* 'question,' *prcchāti* 'asks,' OHG. *forscōn*, etc. The meaning 'ask, beg' comes from the idea of 'going to' a person or for a thing. Exactly the same development occurs in OE. *āscian* 'ask,' OHG. *eiskōn*, Skt. *icchati* 'seeks,' from the root *ei̯-* 'to go,' and similarly in Lat. *ambitiō.*

Closely connected in meaning, but with a different suffix

is MHG. *vrīen* 'to woo a bride.'   Compare Lat. *procus* 'wooer,' and the similar development in Goth. *hvairban* 'to wander' : OHG. *werban* 'to woo.'   This brings us to Goth. *frijōn* 'love,' Skt. *prīnámi* 'please,' where we may again compare Lat. *ambitiō* 'a striving to please,' the very element of 'wooing' and 'loving.'   Once we admit *frijōn*, we have also Goth. *freis* 'free,' *freidjōn* 'to spare,' *ga-friþōn* 'to reconcile,' and their cognates and derivatives.

A slightly different development is seen in ON. *frekr* 'greedy, bold,' OE. *frec*, OHG. *freh*, Goth. *-friks*.   The meaning may have come directly from the idea of 'forwardness,' or from 'asking, demanding,' as in Lat. *procax* 'impudent.'   The stem of this word differs but little from that of *fraihnan*, **prego-* : **preko-*.   They sustain the same relation to each other as Goth. *taikns* and *ga-teihan*, from the so-called byforms *deĭk̑-* : *deĭ̑ĝ-*.

That OHG. *frisc* 'new, young, active, bold,' OE. *fersc* 'fresh,' ON. *ferskr* belong here, there can be no doubt. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*[4], inclines toward the connection with OHG. *fruo* 'early,' but regards a connection with Lat. *priscus* as impossible on account of the meaning.   Now I take it that no one would separate OHG. *fruo* from the root *per-*, and Lat. *priscus* certainly cannot be.   Moreover, the meaning of *fruo* 'early' is a connecting link between *frisc* and *priscus*. To be 'forward' or 'advanced' may signify either to be 'early, new,' or to be 'early' in the sense of 'long ago,' 'old.' This is the development in Goth. *fairneis* 'old.'   As far as the meaning is concerned, therefore, there is no difficulty whatever.   It is a question, however, whether the pre-Germ. form was **prisk* or *presk-*.   If it was an original *o*-stem, we may safely assume **prisko-* for the stem.

Another word easily brought under this root is OHG. *frō* 'glad,' ON. *frār* 'quick.'   This is but a trifle removed in signification from OHG. *frisc*, which Kluge defines as 'neu, jung, munter, rüstig, keck.'

As 'old' often comes to mean 'wise,' we may place here OE. *frōd* 'wise, experienced, old,' Goth. *frōþs* 'wise,' OHG. *fruot*, and others of this group.

With a development in meaning similar to ON. *frār* and
OHG. *frisc* occurs Lat. *pernix* 'quick, nimble.' This has
been connected with Lat. *perna* 'ham,' Goth. *fairzna* 'heel,'
OS. *fersna*, etc. As Goth. *faran* 'to go' has already been
referred to this root, we may cite as a parallel Goth. *gaggan*
'to go' : Skt. *jáṅghā* 'lower leg.'

It is not impossible that OHG. *ferah* 'life,' Goth. *fairḥus*
'world,' perhaps originally 'that which advances,' may be-
long to this root. This would first give 'life, living,' and
then 'world,' with the same development as in OHG. *weralt*
and in Lat. *sacculum* with their double meaning.

Other words obviously related need not be mentioned. I
think I have shown that in signification there is no difficulty
in referring the words here given to the root *per-*.

Goth. *gafaurs* 'sober, well-behaved,' which I should write
ga-fáurs, may be compared with Gk. παῦρος 'small, few.'
This further connects it with Goth. *fawai* 'few,' Lat. *paucus*,
paullus, and Gk. παύω 'cause to cease, restrain.'

Goth. *gafaurs*, therefore, means 'restrained' or 'restrain-
ing one's self,' and *un-faurs* 'unrestrained in speech.' It is
nearer the meaning of παύω than are the words usually
connected with it. The same development in meaning is
seen in Goth. *gahōbains* 'continence' from *gahaban* 'restrain.'

When our IE. ancestors restrained a man we may be sure
they used violent means. It is not surprising, therefore, to
find that Gk. παύω meant in Homer 'to kill.' This is usually
explained as 'putting an end to.' But we cannot easily go
from the meaning 'stop, restrain' to 'few, small, short.' It
is easy, however, to derive all these significations from the
idea 'cut down.' To cut a man down was the most natural
and effectual way of restraining him. 'Cut down,' when
applied to numbers, means 'few,' applied to quantity is
'small,' when used figuratively may mean 'insignificant,
wretched,' as in Lat. *pauper*, another word connected with
this group.

Having the meaning 'cut down,' we may bring in Lat.
pav-io 'beat,' Lith. *piáu-ju* 'cut, mow, slaughter.' (Cf. Brug-
mann, *Grd.* II. 1074.) This brings us to a root *pēu̯-*, *pē-u̯o-*,

from a simpler root *pē-*. From this, with the suffix -*i̯o-*, is formed the root *pē-i̯o-*, *pēi̯-*, to which belong Goth. *fijan* 'to hate,' *faian* 'to blame,' Skt. *pīyati* 'to abuse, revile.'

There can be no objection to this etymology on account of the meaning. From the idea 'beat, strike' frequently develops the meaning 'abuse, revile.' E.g. Gk. πλήγνυμι 'strike': OHG. *fluohhōn* 'to curse'; Lat. *feriō*, ON. *berja* 'strike': Lith. *bariù* 'scold'; OHG. *scaltan* 'shove': *sceltan* 'scold.' Notice, also, this double meaning in Eng. *cut, fling, thrust*, etc. — one literal, the other figurative.

This root *pēi̯-* was enlarged to *peik-* and *peig-*. Examples may be found in the etymological dictionaries under Goth. *faih* 'deceit,' as ON. *feikn* 'destruction,' Lith. *peikti* 'to curse,' *pykti* 'to get angry,' etc. (Cf. Persson, *Wz.* 12.)

As we have already seen, roots expressing motion give words for 'run, flow' as well as 'throw, strike.' Here then we may add the root *pĕi̯-* 'swell, flow,' in Skt. *pī-van-*, Gk. πί-ων 'fat,' Skt. *pay-as* 'sap.' This enlarged to *pī-d-* is also in Gk. πῖδ-αξ 'spring,' πιδύω 'cause to gush forth,' ON. *feitr*, OHG. *feizzet*, OE. *fǣted* 'fat.' (See Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s.v. *feist.*)

This further explains Goth. *fitan* 'to bear' (a child), which Feist compares with O. Ir. *idu* 'travail,' *PBB.* 15, 547. I am ready to admit Feist's etymology, and should connect both words with the root *pīd-* in Gk. πῖδαξ and OE. *fǣted.* This root means, as we have seen, 'to swell.' In πῖδαξ it is the swelling up or gushing forth of water; in *fǣted*, the swelling or becoming big with flesh; and in *fitan*, the swelling up or becoming big with child. O. Ir. *idu* has the meaning 'travail' from association. The development seen in Goth. *fitan* is one that takes place with several roots with similar meaning. Compare Skt. *vi-çvayat* 'swelling,' Gk. κῦμα 'wave': 'fetus,' κυέω 'to be pregnant'; Goth. *aukan* 'grow': OS. *ōkan* 'pregnant'; Goth. *alan* 'grow': ON. *ala* 'bring forth, beget.'

The root *pĕ-i̯-*, *pŏ-i̯-*, as well as the simpler form *pō-*, occurs in a number of IE. words for 'drink,' as Gk. πίνω 'drink,' Skt. *pāyáyati* 'give to drink'; Gk. πώνω 'drink,' Lat. *pōtus*,

etc. The meaning here comes also from the idea of 'swelling, filling.'

The similarly formed roots $p\breve{o}$-$\underline{\i}$- and $p\bar{a}$- 'to feed, pasture, keep,' may also have had the same development; but I am inclined to think that the meaning 'keep, protect' has come from that of 'drive.' The development is: 'drive'; 'herd'; 'pasture'; 'keep,' as in Goth. *haldan* 'pasture, keep, hold,' from the root *qel-* 'to drive.' (v. supra.)

Now, in referring the roots $p\bar{e}$-, $p\bar{o}$-; $p\breve{e}$-$\underline{\i}$-, $p\breve{o}$-$\underline{\i}$-; $p\breve{e}\underline{\i}$-d, in all of which the root-meaning 'swell' prevails, back to a basal root $\breve{e}p$-, $\breve{o}p$-, I agree with Persson, *Wz.* 232 f., who sees this primitive root in Skt. $\breve{a}p$- 'water,' Gk. ὀπός 'sap, fulness,' Lat. *opīmus* 'fat, fruitful.'

But not only are these an outgrowth of the root $\breve{e}p$-, but I believe all other roots beginning with IE. $(e)p$-, and having the root-idea 'shoot forth, gush out, fill; cause to shoot forth, throw, strike,' are likewise its offshoots.

The morphological development is as follows: $\breve{e}p$-, $p\breve{e}$-lo- (*pel-*), $p\breve{e}$-ro-, $p\breve{e}$-$\underline{\i}o$-, $p\breve{e}$-$\underline{u}o$-, etc. These are the bases of other roots. Thus: *pe-lo-*, *ple-uo-*, *pleu-do-*; or *ple-io-*, *plei-do-*; or *plē*, *plē-do-*; or similarly with any other suffixes, as explained in I. 307 of this *Journal*.

In the roots discussed in this article I have given only a few of the numberless examples that might be quoted, and have merely hinted at the wide range of development. In this development one fact must have struck every one: that so many roots express motion. From the idea of motion may develop that of color (cf. the root *mel-* in I. 295 ff. of the *Journal*, and the root *er-*, above), form, size, mental passion, condition, etc. As we have assumed a small number of IE. roots, so we may assume a small number of root-ideas, from which all others have grown. Theoretically, all agree to this thesis, but in practice they disbelieve it. When we see a word used in so many different ways in a single dialect, what diversity of development may we not expect of an IE. root whose offshoots have spread to every clime, and have bourgeoned for untold ages! Surprise should arise when cognate

words are alike in meaning, not when they are different. If the etymologist finds the same stem in four languages with the meanings (1) 'warbling, trilling'; (2) 'part of a forest where wood is cut'; (3) 'fold' (of a door), 'shutter' (of a window); (4) 'stamp, cut, character': he might perhaps connect (2) and (4), but further he would hardly go. And yet all these definitions, and many more, may be found under the one Mod. Ger. word *schlag*. Hence the presumption should be that *phonetically identical roots are one in origin*. They may have become assimilated to each other; phonetic confusion may have ensued; analogy may have destroyed all semblance to the original form; but such cases aside, the thesis here laid down should be the working principle for the etymologist.

But two or more stems may phonetically correspond and still not be directly connected. The etymologist who should posit a common form from which had developed Eng. *God-head* and Ger. *Gottheit*, would be making an unwarrantable assumption. That is, words which are alike may have grown up independently from the same elements. Lat. *fundō* and Goth. *giutan*, Lat. *claudō* and OHG. *sliozan* do not necessarily go back to common forms. The probability is rather that, in both cases, the suffix *-do-* was added to the common root long after all connection between Latin and German had ceased. And this is supposable in a great number of instances.

What common ground can we then claim for the parent speech? All the common elements that go to make up the IE. languages. And all these elements, I believe, have been preserved. Some of these went to form the bases of what we call roots; others, to form suffixes. As the number of these elements was small, and the use to which they were put was great, there was but little chance for one to get lost. This or that IE. word may have fallen into disuse, but roots never. In the 'ursprache,' then, was a certain number of elements, or roots, more or less combined into words. Each tribe took with it this common stock, and combined and re-combined the roots as it had been accustomed to do or as it

had need.   And as these roots did not have narrowly defined limits, but loosely expressed a certain idea, there resulted many overlappings of meaning.   This brought it about that one set of meanings would develop from a given root in one dialect, and another in another.   No one dialect had all the possible developments of each root.   Here the word was used in its literal sense, there only figuratively, as in Gk. πλήγνυμι 'strike': Goth. *flōkan* 'bewail'; Skt. *çváyati* 'swells': Lat. *queō* 'am able,' etc.   Then let us look for the root, and try to find out its original force, and the many secondary meanings will explain themselves.

Cornell College,   Francis A. Wood.
Mt. Vernon, Iowa.

GERMANIC $\bar{Æ}$]^{NAS.} = OLD ENGLISH $\bar{O}$ AND $\tilde{\bar{A}}$; AND VOWEL–SHORTENING IN PRIMITIVE OLD ENGLISH.

THERE are a few well-known exceptions to Holtzmann's law that Gc. $\bar{æ}$ before a nasal becomes $\bar{o}$ in Old English. Cf. Sievers, *Gr.* § 68, A. 1; *PBB.* VIII. 89; Cosijn, *Gr.* p. 83. They are:

1. *namon, næming, benæman, genæme,* etc., by the side of the normal *nomon.*

2. *sam-,* rarely *som-, sæmra.*

To these I would add,

3. **span-* by the side of **spon-* and *spon.*

Sievers explains *nāmon* etc. as 'neubildungen nach art von formen wie *sāwon.*' But *næman* etc. he thinks possibly due to original *aị*-forms related to the others by gradation. The fact that *nāmon* later gained on *nōmon* is, however, no proof that the form *nāmon* originated later than *nōmon;* nor need we assume that the analogy of *sāwon* (if it were necessary to resort to that) could assert itself only at a late date. It is fully as justifiable to suppose that *nāmon* is a continuation of the original form, or a very early revival of it. In fact, this assumption is even more likely and explains all difficulties without resort to a supposed gradation.

There is no question that at a prehistoric day the forms were, so far as the stressed vowels are concerned, *năm nāmon.* Normally *nāmon* would become *nōmon* (Sievers, § 68), but, under the influence of the *ă*[1] of the singular, the *a*-quality of

---

[1] It may honestly be doubted whether a short vowel could, by analogy, so affect the pronunciation of an associated form that there should result (be produced or be maintained against a natural tendency to change) a vowel of similar quality but long. I do not know of cases identical with those cited

the plural vowel was in part retained, or reestablished, and we consequently find the plural as *nămon* and *nŏmon*[1] from the earliest days, the form *nămon* ultimately prevailing.[2]   Thus

$$n\breve{a}m : \begin{cases} n\bar{a}mon \\ n\bar{o}mon \end{cases} : : j\breve{u} : \begin{cases} j\bar{u} \\ ja\underset{.}{u} \end{cases}$$

The *a*-form was evidently the predominant one also in the derivative verb **nāmjan nǣman* and in the adjective **nāmja-genǣme* etc. (Sievers, § 90), in all of which the idea of 'taking' maintained itself and so kept the words under the influence of the primitive.

The explanation of the two remaining words introduces another factor.   The primitive **sām* appears in Old English only in composition, and is in every case followed by a consonant.   In this position the *ā* generally became short, as was pointed out by Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss*, I. 868, but is not yet recognized by Sweet in his dictionary.   We therefore find *o*, which we should expect as the regular representative

above, but there are very similar ones.   In the Midland, the stressed form of ME. 'so' was *sō* and rimed with *dō*, and we should expect the *ō* in both to become *ū* in Mn. E.   But, as I have shown in the *JGP.* I. 24, under the influence of the unstressed ME. form *sŏ*, we still have *ō* in the stressed form.   The stressed form of ME. 'you' was *jū*, and this regularly became in Mn. E. *jaṵ*, a pronunciation still allowed as late as 1685; but, under the influence of the unstressed *jŭ*, the stressed form *jū* was maintained all along by the side of the normal *jaṵ* (*JGP.* I. 24), which it ultimately displaced.   In these cases, as well as in those to be dealt with above, the quality of the resulting long vowel is due to the quality of the related short vowel ; the maintenance of the quantity of the long vowel is due to its being in a stressed open syllable, where, from the earliest times, there was no tendency to shorten, but, if anything, a tendency to lengthen.

[1] That in some parts (for example, in Kentish) analogy worked the other way, and the singular yielded to the plural (that is, that *nam nōmon* resulted in *nōm nōmon*), of course, in no way invalidates the position taken above.   There is, however, no evidence whatever that this happened in West Saxon, and it is very unlikely that it did, for the reason that *ō* is extremely rare in West Saxon even in the plural.   Sievers (§ 390 and A.) gives as the normal early WS. forms : *niman nōm nōmon numen,* and adds ' Für *nōm nōmon* tritt bes. spätws. auch *nam nāmon* auf,' which Cook translates : ' Instead of *nōm nōmon*, LWS. also has *nam nāmon*,' entirely dropping Sievers' ' besonders.'   A reference to Cosijn will show that *nāmon* is the usual form even in early West Saxon (Orosius having 18 *nāmon* to but 3 *nōmon*, and the Chronicle 20 *nāmon* to no *nōmon*).   The early WS. forms are, therefore, as given by Sweet : *niman nǫm nāmon (nōmon) numen.*

[2] That *ō* prevailed in *c(w)ōmon* and *gecwēme* is probably due to the *w*, and so Sweet's old statement to that effect (*Reader*[3], p. lxxi, ft.) holds good after all.

of $\bar{a}$, probably not more than once (Orosius, 246, 31), but any number of cases of a, cf. the dictionary citations for *sam-bærned, -boren, -bryce, -cwic, -grene, -hal, -lǣred, -milt, -soden, -swǣled, -wis, -wyrcan*. This *sam-* should therefore be written *săm-* not *sām-*. Indeed we have no proof whatever that even the form *som-* represents *sōm-;* it may as well stand for *sǫm-*, just as Sweet, *Anglia*, III. 153, argued that the spelling ' com,' at a time when ' o ' no longer spelled ρ, proves that the ' o ' stood for $\bar{o}$ and not for ρ; so it may be argued that the solitary instance of the spelling ' som-' at a time when ' o ' as well as ' a ' was used to represent the sound ρ, together with the constant spelling ' sam-' when ' o ' ceases to spell ρ (or the sound that ρ later became), is sufficient evidence that we have here to deal with ρ and not with $\bar{o}$ or $\bar{a}$. This short a affected the long a of *săm-* *sāmira* in exactly the same way as the $\breve{a}$ of *năm* affected the $\bar{a}$ of *nāmon*, **nāmjan*, etc.; that is, it kept it more or less from becoming **sōmira *sēmra*, and we find only *sǣmra*, the regular development of **sāmira*. That is

$$săm : sāmira, sǣmra :: sŏ : sō$$

*spān regularly became *spōn* but in the compound **spăn-nēowe* it shortened before the two consonants. As was natural, this shortening seems not to have taken place everywhere at the same time. Where it happened before WG. $\bar{a}$ became OE. $\bar{o}$, there resulted the OE. form **spănnēowe*, ME. *spănnēwe*, Chaucer's form ; where the shortening happened after WG. $\bar{a}$ had become OE. $\bar{o}$, there resulted the OE. form **spŏnnēowe*, ME. *spŏnnēowe*. That the form of this word early departed from that of the primitive *spōn* is due to the fact that the meaning of the primitive early underwent a radical change, namely, from ' chip ' to ' spoon.' This development could not be followed in the derivative, and so all connection with the primitive was lost and the first part of the compound was felt to be only an intensive. Under these circumstances, the $\breve{a}$ of **spănnēowe* could not maintain an $\bar{a}$ in **spān* against the natural tendency of $\bar{a}$ before a nasal to become $\bar{o}$, as the $\breve{a}$ in the words above did in their related forms; nor could

the ō of the later *spōn* prevent the ō of *spōnnēowe from ulti-mately shortening before the two consonants.

Skeat says: 'The term is Scandinavian, not English; otherwise it would have been *spoon-new*, which is the corre-sponding English form.' Skeat was evidently misled by the *a* of *spannew*, but the *o* of *sponneowe* ought to have led him back to a recognition of the fact that this form at least could not be Scandinavian, and could easily be English; for he had already had to deal with *goose* : *goshawk* and *gosling* in his dictionary, and surely would not claim that the only truly English forms would be *goose-hawk* and *gooseling*. More-over, if the native English *sponneowe* was in use so far north (King Alisaunder), it would be very strange that the Scandi-navian cognate should have displaced it in the South, where we find Chaucer using it, not to mention its persistence in Mn.E. *spick-an(d)-spannew*, *bran(d)-an(d)-spannew*.

Mn.E. *bramble* does not represent an early shortening of *ā* to *ă*. The development was in all probability *brāmil>*brōmil >*brēmel*, the usual OE. form, pl. *brēmlas* (Sievers, § 144), and then, with comparatively late shortening before two con-sonants, *brĕmlas* and, with excrescent *b*, *brĕmblas*,[1] which two latter forms appear as *bræmlas* and *bræmblas* in those dialects that show *æ* for *ę* before nasals (Sievers, § 89 A. 2). Hence Mn.E. *bramble ;* whereas ME. *brembel*, *bremmel*, and *brimbel* go back to the usual OE. forms.

Unless I am mistaken, all difficulty in the matter of Ger-manic *æ* before nasals in Old English is thus removed.

As has been said, the above shortening of a vowel before two consonants, namely, in *săm-cwĭc*, etc., and in *spăn-nēowe*, must have taken place before the change of WG. *ā* to OE. ō before nasals. In an article in *Modern Language Notes* for Nov., 1892 (VII. 197), I have shown that OE. vowels short-ened regularly before *h* + cons. (not simply before *ht*).[2]

---

[1] The rare *brembrum* for *bremblum* is doubtless a slip and may be purely graphic; thus I have said *crackled grass* for *crackled glass*, *conc'ete* for *concrete*, *through the grass* for *through the glass*, etc., and have written *bibiotēk* for *bibliotēk*, *ary trying* for *are trying*, *go gout* for *go out*, etc.

[2] To the cases there cited should be added **ðihsl(e)*, German 'deichsel,'>*ðihsl(e)* >*ðisl(e)* > *ðil(le)s* and, with assumed singular, *ðille thill*, as I have shown in detail in *Modern Language Notes* for March, 1894 (IX. p. 72). In an article that will appear in the next number of this Journal, I shall present still other cases.

This shortening evidently took place before the time of break-ing. In as much as short vowels are but rarely marked ˘ (Napier, London *Academy*, 1889, No. 909; Kluge, Paul's *Grundriss*, I. 868) and the lack of a mark of length is not necessarily evidence of shortness, Old-English grammarians (Sievers, § 125; Sweet, *HES.* § 403) have been cautious in recognizing shortening of a vowel before two consonants. Kluge (Paul's *Grundriss*, I. 868) has been readiest to con-cede primitive shortenings of this kind; cf. also Morsbach's *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 59 etc. The case is, however, not as bad as Sweet would lead us to believe when he speaks of 'the evidence being, of course, purely negative.' There is very positive evidence other than the usual graphic signs of quantity. In order to get light on the subject we must simply bear in mind that a vowel that acts like a short vowel and not like a long vowel, is a short vowel. This may be formulated into two principles :

I. If the long vowel in question regularly underwent a certain modification (for example, that of $\bar{a}$ to $\bar{o}$ before nasals), but in a particular case did not do so before two consonants, we have a right to assume that it had become short, and, if we find that there is nothing in the form to make this assump-tion impossible, we must recognize the shortness.

II. If the long vowel in question suffers before two con-sonants a change that we know to be characteristic of short vowels only (for example, breaking), or permits a change (for example, the excrescence of a stop between two sonorous consonants) that a long vowel would not permit, we cannot but recognize that shortening has taken place.

The first of these two principles I have applied in this paper; the second, in the paper referred to. Other illus-trations of the second principle are WS. *en(d)lufon* and *brem(b)las* with $\varrho < a)^i$ in place of $\bar{æ} < \bar{a})^i$; and the excres-cence of a stop as shown in the same words. I trust that these are not the only applications that can be made, and that the subject of vowel shortening in primitive Old English will not remain as uncertain as it has been.

<div style="text-align:right">GEORGE HEMPL.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN,
ANN ARBOR.

THE SOURCES OF TWO SIMILES IN CHAPMAN'S
THE REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS.

IN Chapman's *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, Act II.
Sc. i., occur the following lines:

> And as the foolish poet that still writ
> All his most self-loved verse in paper royal,
> Of parchment ruled with lead, smoothed with the pumice,
> Bound richly up, and strung with crimson strings;
> Never so blest as when he writ and read
> The ape-loved issue of his brain, and never
> But joying in himself, admiring ever;
> Yet in his works behold him, and he showed
> Like to a ditcher, so, etc.

It does not seem to have been noted that this is from
Catullus 22:

> Suffenus iste, Vare, quem probe nosti,
> Homo est uenustus et dicax et urbanus,
> Idemque longe plurimos facit uersus.
> Puto esse ego illi milia aut decem aut plura
> Perscripta, nec sic, ut fit, in palimpsesto
> Relata: chartae regiae, noui libri,
> Noui umbilici, lora, rubra membrana,
> Derecta plumbo et pumice omnia aequata,
> Haec cum legas tu, bellus ille et urbanus
> Suffenus unus caprimulgus aut fossor
> Rursus uidetur: tantum abhorret et mutat.
> Hoc quid putemus esse? Qui modo scurra
> Aut si quid hac re tritius uidebatur,
> Idem infaceto est infacetior rure
> Simul poemata attigit, neque idem unquam
> Aeque est beatus ac poema cum scribit:
> Tum gaudet in se tamque se ipse miratur, etc.

Chapman's original must have put the comma after *rubra*,
instead of after *lora;* cf. his 'crimson strings.'

The version by Robinson Ellis is in the metre of the original :

> Suffenus, he, dear Varus, whom, methinks, you know,
>> Has sense, a ready tongue to talk, a wit urbane,
>> And writes a world of verses, on my life no less.
>
> Ten times a thousand he, believe me, ten or more,
>> Keeps fairly written ; not on any palimpsest,
>> As often, entered, paper extra-fine, sheets new,
>> New every roller, red the strings, the parchment-case
>> Lead-ruled, with even pumice all alike complete.
>
> You read them : our choice spirit, our refined rare wit,
>> Suffenus, O no ditcher e'er appeared more rude,
>> No looby coarser ; such a shock, a change is there.
>
> How then resolve this puzzle?   He the birthday-wit,
>> For so we thought him — keener yet, if aught is so —
>> Becomes a dunce more boorish e'en than hedge-born boor,
>> If e'er he faults on verses ; yet in heart is then
>> Most happy, writing verses, happy past compare,
>> So sweet his own self, such a world at home finds he.

Just before this simile of Chapman's occurs another :

>> A man may well
> Compare them to those foolish great-spleened camels,
> That to their high heads begged of Jove horns higher ;
> Whose most uncomely and ridiculous pride
> When he had satisfied, they could not use,
> But where they went upright before, they stooped,
> And bore their heads much lower for their horns.

This was apparently suggested by the Æsopic Fable 184 (cf. Halm's *Fabulae Æsopicae Collectae*, p. 93) ; the latter is practically identical with Fable 8 of Avianus ; Jacobs, *Fables of Æsop* I. 260, gives a full list of parallels.   However, the fable has been modified, either by Chapman himself, or by some one from whom he has borrowed ; for, in the older versions cited, Jove not only declines to grant the request of the camels, but deprives them of a portion of their ears.

<div align="right">Albert S. Cook.</div>

Yale University.

MIDDLE ENGLISH –WǪ–, –WŌ–.

HAVING had occasion to go over some of the ground covered by Professor Hempl's article in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. I. No. 1, I have observed some omissions in the statistics, and also some instances of the use of -*wǫ*-, -*wō*- in texts not noticed in that paper. Under the head of 'Chaucer's Usage,' he finds in *Troilus and Criseyde so* riming with *dō* and *tō*. Two other instances occur in *T. & C.* of *so* riming with *dō:* Bk. I. St. 119, Bk. II. St. 4, Bk. II. St. 114. In the case of the -*wǫ*- rimes the total number of *ǫ* rimes should be 42 instead of 41.

To the rimes of *two* with *ō* must be added *Ascaphilo,* Bk. V. St. 46. There is also another rime with *mǭ* and *sǭ,* which will bring up the number of *ǫ* rimes to 39.

To the five cases of impure rime, final -*ǫ* : *ō,* must be added *Ascaphilo* : *twǭ* : *agǭ,* as mentioned above.

To the five cases of *who* in rime add *who* : *Juno,* *Book of the Duchesse,* 243/4, which is one case of its riming with *ō* in a southern poem.

Professor Hempl notes no occurrence of *wǭt* and *wǭst* in *T. & C.* I find :

Bk. IV. St.	181,	*wǫǫt* : *hǫǫt*		
Bk. III. St.	10,	*wǫst* : *almǫst*		
" " "	36,	*wǫst* : *bost*		
" " "	43,	*wǫst* : *almǫst* : *bost*		
" IV. "	86,	*wǫst* : *ost* : *mǫst*		
" " "	232,	*wǫst* : *mǫst* : *ost*		

An examination of the *Canterbury Tales* proves *sǭ, wǭ* with slightly greater positiveness, and with somewhat less in the case of *twǭ.* In the case of *so* there are 4 *ō* rimes and 125 (*w*)*ǫ* and *ǫ* rimes ; *wo* gives 2 *ō* and 57 *ǫ* rimes, while *two* has 9 *ō* rimes to 92 *ǫ* rimes.

Chaucer's poems, other than *C. T.* and *T. & C.*, show a far larger proportion of *ō* rimes; thus, riming with *so* are:

dō 7, *tō* 2, *Pharao* 1, *Julo* 1, *Cupido* 1, *Guido* 1 =	*ō* 13
alsǭ 1, *twǭ* 8, *wǭ* 14 =	(*w*)*ǭ* 28
fǭ 6, *frǭ* 2, *gǭ* 6, *mǭ* 5 =	*ǭ* 19

where *so* rimes more often with *dō* than with any undoubted *ǫ*.

In Hempl's discussion of how far Chaucer's usage represents ME. usage generally, Gower is classed with the southern poets, who use *twǭ*, *whǭ*, and *sǭ*, but the proof in the case of *so* is less positive than that from Chaucer's usage. For the rimes with *so* Gower has:

dō 34, *tō* 5, *Leo* 2, *Cicero* 1, *Juno* 2, *Balbao* 1,	
Appollo 1, *Scorpio* 1, *Strangulio*, 2 =	*ō* 49
alsǭ 39, *twǭ* 55, *wǭ* 19 =	(*w*)*ǭ* 113
frǭ 6, *gǭ* 39, *mǭ* 19, *thǭ* 98, *nǭ* 7, *hǭ* 1 =	*ǭ* 150

The *ō* rimes, with the exception of foreign words, are limited to the words *dō* and *tō* in ME. — of comparatively infrequent occurrence in rimes final — while of undoubted *ǭ* rimes final there are 9 riming words, including such words as *gǭ*, *thǭ*, and *mǭ*.

The Midland *-wō-* belt, including those texts that have *twō*, *whō*, *sō*, does not include *wo*, which seems regularly *wǭ* in the texts I have examined.

Robert of Gloucester, who has *sō*, *twō* — I do not find *whō* — has for rimes with *wo*, in 6000 lines, *gǭ* 1, *mǭ*, *thǭ* 15, *fǭ* 1 = *ǭ* 27 and no case of rimes with *ō*.

Robert Manning, with *sō*, has for rimes with *wo*, *dō* 1 = *ō* 1, and *fǭ* 3, *frǭ* 9, *slǭǭ* 9, *gǭ* 17, *mǭ* 4, *thǭ* 1 = *ǭ* 43.

I do not find *who* in rime, and *two* has *sō* 2, but also *gǭ* 1, *thǭ* 1 = *ǭ* 2.

Lydgate, with *sō*, *twō*, has *dō* 3, *tō* 4, *sō* 6, *twō* 2 = *ō* 15; *fǭ* 1, *frǭ* 11, *gǭ* 9, *mǭ* 1 = *ǭ* 22, for the rimes with *wo*.

I find no case of Occleve with *twō*, but *whǭ*, *sǭ* — riming *wo* with *ō*.

Genesis and Exodus, *sō*, *twō*, has for rimes with *wo*: *twō* 1 = *ō* 1, and *frǭ* 3, *mǭ* 3, *wǭ* 1, *thǭ* 2, *blǭ* 1 = *ǭ* 10.

Gower shows but 2 cases of rimes with ō, to 47 with ǭ; while Chaucer's complete works show 8 cases of ō rimes to 139 of ǭ.

The case of *wǭt* is similar, as of 50 times in which it is noted as occurring in rime, there are but two instances of its riming with ō.

To the comparative frequency of the occurrence of ō and ǭ rimes in the case of *so* and *two*, additional statistics are given in the case of *Sir Ferumbras, Sowdan of Babylon, Sege of Melayne, Guy of Warwick* (Auch. Ms.), *Duke Rowland and Sir Otuel, Rouland and Vernagu, Sir Beves of Hamtoun, Legend of St. Gregory, XI. Pains of Hell*, and the *York Plays.*

For rimes with *so* —

Sir Ferumbras has: *dō* 5, *tō* 1 = ō 6 ; *twǭ* 4, *wǭ* 4 = *wǭ* 8 ; *gǭ* 4, *mǭ* 3, *nǭ* 1 = ǭ 8.

Sowdan of Babylon: *dō* 1 = ō 1 ; *twǭ* 2, *wǭ* 3 = *wǭ* 5 ; *frǭ* 1, *mǭ* 3, *thǭ* 4, *slǫǭ* 1 = ǭ 9.

Sege of Melayne: *tō* 1 = ō 1 ; *wǭ* 4 = *wǭ* 4 ; *gǭ* 2, *frǭ* 1, *fǭ* 1, *thǭ* 1, *slǭ* 1, *mǭ* 1 = ǭ 7.

Guy of Warwick: *dō* 8, *tō* 9 = ō 17 ; *twǭ* 7, *wǭ* 2, *alsǭ* 1 = *(w)ǭ* 10 ; *fǭ* 1, *frǭ* 1, *gǭ* 13, *mǭ* 1, *thǭ* 17, *slǭ* 2 = ǭ 35.

Duke Rowland and Sir Otuel: *twǭ* 1, *wǭ* 1 = *wǭ* 2 ; *gǭ* 3, *slǭ* 2, *thrǭ* 1, *thǭ* 1 = ǭ 7.

Rouland and Vernagu: *tō* 2 = ō 2 ; *sǭ* 1, *wǭ* 1 = *(w)ǭ* 2 ; *gǭ* 2, *fǭ* 1, *mǭ* 2, *thǭ* 3 = ǭ 8.

Sir Beves of Hamtoun: *dō* 4, *tō* 4 = ō 8 ; *wǭ* 2 = *wǭ* 2 ; *fǭ* 1, *frǭ* 1, *gǭ* 5, *mǭ* 1, *thǭ* 2 = ǭ 10.

Legend of St. Gregory: *dō* 1 = ō 1 ; *twǭ* 1 = *wǭ* 1 ; *gǭ* 1, *fǭ* 1 = ǭ 2.

Romance of Otuel: *dō* 2 = ō 2 ; *gǭ* 2, *mǭ* 1, *thǭ* 3 = ǭ 6.

York Plays: *dō* 4, *tō* 6, *inferno* 1, *abiero* 1, *fuero* 1 = ō 13 ; *sǭ* 2, *twǭ* 9, *wǭ* 10 = *(w)ǭ* 21 ; *fǭ* 3, *frǭ* 10, *gǭ* 22, *mǭ* 12, *lǭ* 1, *slǭ* 2 = ǭ 50.

XI. Pains of Hell (Vernon Ms.) *Bestiary, Long Life*, and *Orison of Our Lady* give *sǭ*.

The rimes with *two* remain to be considered, as *who* does not occur in rime in these texts.   Riming with *two* —

Sir Ferumbras: dō 2 = ō 2; sǭ 4 = (w)ǭ 4; thǭ 1 = ǭ 1.

Sowdan of Babylon: sǭ 2, wǭ 1 = (w)ǭ 3; gǭ 1 = ǭ 1.

Sege of Melayne: tō 1 = ō 1; wǭ 2 = wǭ 2; gǭ 3, frǭ 1, mǭ 1 = ǭ 5.

Guy of Warwick: dō 1, tō 1 = ō 2; sǭ 7, wǭ 3 = wǫ 10; frǭ 1, gǭ 11, mǭ 2, thǭ 11 = ǫ 25.

Duke Rowland and Sir Otuel: tō 2 = ō 2; sǭ 1, wǭ 1 = (w)ǭ 2; frǭ 2, gǭ 3, thrǭ 2, slǭ 1 = ǭ 8.

York Plays: dō 1, tō 2 = ō 3; sǭ 9, wǭ 3 = (w)ǭ 12; frǭ 4, gǭ 8, mǭ 6, lǭ 1, slǭ 1 = ǭ 20.

Romance of Otuel: dō 1 and thǭ 2.

Legend of St. Gregory: dō 1, tō 1 = ō 2; sǫ 1 = (w)ǫ 1; gǭ 1, Rǫ 1, frǫ = ǫ 3.

It does not occur in rime in *Rouland and Vernagu*, but once in *Beves of Hamtoun* with gǭ, and but once also in the *Bestiary*, riming with sǭ.

<div align="right">HENRY D. BLACKWELL.</div>

YALE UNIVERSITY.

SCHILLER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION.[1]

SCHILLER was not an adherent, not even a friend of
the Revolution of 1789. From the storming of the
Bastille till the crowning of Napoleon I he never once ex-
pressed himself as being in accord with that great social up-
heaval. When in Lauchstädt he was celebrating his betrothal
with Charlotte von Lengefeld, he received the first news of
what had occurred at Paris on the 14th of July. Karoline
von Wolzogen, in speaking about this, says:[2] 'Wir erinnerten
uns oft in späterer Zeit, wie diese Zertrümmerung eines
Monumentes finsterer Despotie unserem jugendlichen Sinne
als ein Vorbote des Sieges der Freiheit über die Tyrannei
erschien, und wie es uns erfreute, dasz sie in das Beginnen
schöner Herzensverhältnisse fiel.' Schiller, however, thought
otherwise; for he 'betrachtete diese Vorfälle mit ernstem und
ahnungsvollem Blicke.'[3] Yet he hesitated to express his
opinion definitely. His friend Körner asks in passing 'was
sagst du zu den neuen Vorfällen in Frankreich?' (Oct. 24,
1789), but receives no reply until the following year. Then
he hears the surprising news that the political world is begin-
ning to interest Schiller.[4] And in the same letter the poet
writes: 'Ich zittere vor dem Kriege; denn wir werden ihn
an allen Enden Deutchlands fühlen.'

Gradually his interest in the war became more intense.

---

[1] *Schillers Briefwechsel mit Körner*, Karl Goedeke (Leipzig, 1878); *Brief-
wechsel zw. Sch. und Goethe*, R. Boxberger (Stuttgart); *Schillers Briefe*, F. Jonas;
Sch. und seine Zeit, Johannes Scherr (Leipzig, 1859); *Schillers Leben und Werke*,
Emil Palleske (Stuttgart, 1886); *Schs. Leben*, Karoline v. Wolzogen (Stuttgart,
I. G. Cotta); *Geschäftsbriefe Schs.*, K. Goedeke (Leipzig, 1875); *Schiller dem
deutschen Volke dargestellt*, Dr. I. Wychgram (Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1895);
Briefe v. Schiller an Herzog v. Augustenburg, A. L. I. Michelsen (Berlin, 1876).
[2] *Schiller's Leben*, p. 170. [3] Page 185. [4] *Briefwechsel zw. Schiller und Körner*,

Its effects were beginning to be felt outside of France. Towards the close of the year 1792 the French army advanced upon Mainz, and the fate of this city was to determine the future career of his friend Dalberg. Upon the success or failure of the latter depended Schiller's immediate plans. No glorious future loomed up before him; in fact, so dismal were his prospects, that he gave expression to this thought:[5] 'Wenn die Franzosen mich um meine Hoffnungen bringen, so kann es mir einfallen mir bei den Franzosen selbst bessere zu schaffen.' Strange as it may seem, there was actually a plan on foot, according to which Schiller, in the company of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was to journey to Paris.[6] Already he had become known in France because of a (wretched) translation of *Die Räuber*. Furthermore, the leading French Revolutionists considered him a 'Freiheitsdichter,' one in perfect accord with their ideas. No wonder, then, that he was made a *citoyen* of the French Republic.[7] The reading of the notice in the *Moniteur* that *M. Gille*, together with a half a dozen foreigners of repute, had been granted the right of citizenship, may have been an additional inducement for Schiller to pay Paris the intended visit. What if he had carried out his plan? — But before he had time to make up his mind as to his contemplated journey, the affairs beyond the Rhine had rapidly assumed a different aspect.

Schiller's interest in the developments of the French Revolution reached its height when, in the beginning of the year 1793, he began to write his defence of Louis XVI. Though after this date his interest in the political world decreased, yet it did not cease altogether.[8] So he writes to Körner (July 23, '96): 'Die schwäbischen Angelegenheiten und die politischen überhaupt beunruhigen mich doch auch sehr; und es mag fallen wie es will, so wird es uns arme

---

April 15, 1790. [5] *Schiller an Körner*, Nov. 26, 1792. [6] Cf. *Briefwechsel zw. Schiller und Humboldt*, Dec. 7, 1792. [7] According to a law passed by the National Assembly, Aug. 26, 1792; Palleske (II, 174) has the 6th of August. [8] Goedeke, *Schs. Geschäftsbriefe*, p. 91, thinks that with the appearance of the first *Letters concerning Education*, 'schlosz denn auch seine Theilnahme an den Zeitbegebenheiten,' *i.e.* in the early part of the year '93. Cf. also Scherr, p. 418.

Archiver manch hartes Opfer kosten.' And again to Goethe
two days later: 'Die politischen Dinge, denen ich so gerne
immer auswich, rücken einem doch nachgerade sehr zu Leibe.
Die Franzosen sind in Stuttgart,' etc. When his sister, who
had been called home, owing to the illness of her father,
could not return, because all communications had been cut
off, he stated in a letter to her husband, Hofrat Reinwald:
'Wir müssen erst die Kriegsereignisse auf der fränkischen,
schwäbischen und pfälzischen Grenze abwarten' (Sept. 19,
'96). All these references are quoted merely to prove that
nolens volens Schiller took notice of current events.

In his correspondence we find a considerable number of
allusions to books which occupied his attention, and which
treated, directly or incidentally, of France and its history.
In March, 1783, he writes to Reinwald concerning a history
of the Bastille [9]: 'Ich habe den ersten Theil der Geschichte
der Bastille gelesen, und mich an dem lyrischen Schwung der
darinn herrscht erbaut.' The next reference we note is in a
letter to Körner, in which he expresses his opinion about
Benjowski's Reisen,[10] a book of travels in Southern France.
About this time he was also reading with pleasure *Rein-
hardt's Betrachtungen über die französische Revolution*.[11] A
few days later Körner gives him the advice: 'Wenn Du
Burke's Betrachtungen über die französische Revolution be-
kommen kannst, so lasz Dich nicht durch das Geschrei der
Gallomanen abhalten, sie zu lesen' (March 13). He was also
familiar with Mirabeau's tract *Sur l'Éducation* and had a
very favorable opinion of it, as we see in his remark: 'Es
war mir schon eine grosze Empfehlung für den Autor und
das Buch, dasz er gleichsam noch im Tumult des Gebährens
der französischen Konstitution schon darauf bedacht war,
ihr den Keim der ewigen Dauer durch eine zweckmäszige
Einrichtung der Erziehung zu geben.' So valuable did he
think Mirabeau's work that he asks Körner in this same
letter (Oct. 15, '92): 'Wie wär's, wenn Du Dich an die

---

[9] Perhaps a translation of Linguet's *Memoire sur la Bastille* (London, 1783).
[10] 'Unendlich mehr Vergnügen gewährte mir dieser Benjowski als die so auspo-
saunten Reisen Thümmels ins südliche Frankreich' (March 5, 1791). [11] Cf.

Übersetzung dieses Buches machtest.' [12] For some time past Schiller had acquainted himself with the proceedings of the National Convention by reading the *Moniteur*, and through this means learned to know the strength and the shortcomings of the French.[13] It was this journal, too, which broke to him the news of his French citizenship.

A year and a half later (June 17, '94), Körner renders an adverse criticism of Fichte's *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publicums über die französische Revolution*, a work known also to Schiller.[14] His attention was drawn about this time to the writings of Friedrich von Gentz,[15] in all probability to the *Essay on the French Revolution* (1794). In 1796 appeared Madame de Staël's *De l'Influence des Passions*, which both Schiller and Goethe read, and of which the latter had this to say : ' Es ist äuszerst interessant zu sehen, wie eine so höchst passionirte Natur durch das grimmige Läuterfeuer einer solchen Revolution, an der sie so viel Antheil nehmen muszte, durchgeht, und ich möchte sagen, nur das Geistreichmenschliche an ihr übrig bleibt.' [16] But even after this year (1796) Schiller's interest in France and the French Revolution did not cease altogether. He read F. I. C. Meyer's *Briefe aus der Hauptstadt und dem Innern Frankreichs* (1802), ' mit dem gröszten Interesse,' for, as Wychgram (p. 506)[17] goes on to say : ' seit den Ereignissen der Revolution war ihm Paris ein Gegenstand besonderer Wiszbegier gewesen.' And lastly he mentions in a letter to Körner (March 5, 1805) Marmontel's *Memoires* ' die helle Blicke über die Revolution eröffnen.' As this notice occurs twelve years after the conception of his defence of Louis XVI, it goes to show that even after 1793 he was still interested in the French Revolution.

Besides reading about the Revolution, Schiller heard reports

Schiller's letter to Wieland, March 4, 1791. [12] In writing to Göschen (Nov. 16, 1792) he points out Wilhelm von Humboldt's *Ideen zu einem Versuch die Wirksamkeit eines Staates zu bestimmen* as a book necessary for his time. [13] Letter to Körner, Nov. 26, 1792. [14] According to Kuno Fischer, *Schiller als Philosoph*, p. 295. [15] According to Max Koch, *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, Feb. 11, 1892. [16] Cf. Letter to Schiller, Dec. 5, '96. [17] Here the biographer records also Schiller's perusal of Mercier's *Tableau de Paris* (1781–89) and Rétif de la Bretonne's

concerning it from travellers and friends that visited Paris. Bode, who returned from the French capital in the summer of 1787, 'hat eine schlechte Idee von Paris zurückgebracht,' writes Schiller.[18] ' Die Nation habe alle Energie verloren und nähere sich mit schnellen Schritten ihrem Verfall.' This view was shared by Wilhelm von Wolzogen, as seen by the accounts which he sent home from Paris. Schiller did not think that his friend's opinion had been justly formed. ' Er hat eine Elle mitgebracht, um einen Kolosz zu messen,' he states in a letter[19] to Karoline von Wolzogen. 'Wer Sinn und Lust für die grosze Menschenwelt hat, musz sich in diesem groszen weiten Element gefallen ; wie klein und armselig sind unsere bürgerlichen und politischen Verhält-nisse dagegen ! Aber freilich musz man Augen haben, die an groszen Übeln, die unvermeidlich miteinflieszen, nicht geärgert werden,' he adds significantly.

A few months after the destruction of the Bastille, Schulz, who had just come back from his tour in France, described to Schiller the French riots which he had witnessed. This traveller, it seems, was not quite trustworthy, for the poet comments upon him in this wise: 'Er weisz sehr unterhaltende Partikularitäten von dem Aufruhr in Paris zu erzählen ; gebe der Himmel, dasz alles wahr ist, was er sagt! Ich fürchte, er übt sich im Vorlügen so lange, bisz er die Sachen selbst glaubt, und dann läszt er sie drucken.'[20] He thought differ-ently of the descriptions which he heard from the lips of the poet Salis. ' [Seine] Erzählungen [der Greuelszenen] und Wilhelm's Brief schlugen unsere Freude über den Sturm der Bastille schrecklich nieder,' says Karoline von Wolzogen (p. 185), 'und wir gerieten in Unruhe über die Existenz unseres Freundes [Wilh. v. Wolzogen] auf jenem Vulkan aller empörten Leidenschaften. Schiller hatte diese Bege-benheiten schon bei ihrem ersten Entstehen ernst und ahnungsvoll aufgenommen ; er hielt die Franzosen für kein Volk, dem echt republikanische Gesinnungen eigen werden könnten.'

Les Nuits de Paris.   [18] Letter to Körner, Sept. 10, '87.   [19] Nov. 27, 1788.
[20] An Lotte, Oct. 30, 1789.

When two years later, in November, 1792, Mainz engaged the attention of everybody, Johannes von Miller passed through Jena. Of course Schiller was eager to find out the latest news of this city, and was disappointed when he heard that it was not impossible that the Rhenish States would be lost to Germany. [21]

Thus far we have treated of his personal relations to the French Revolution; we shall consider now his attitude as a public man. That *M. Gille, publiciste allemand*, was admitted, on the 26th of August, 1792, to the rights of a French citizen, we have already mentioned. The reading of this notice increased, if anything, his interest in the affairs beyond the Rhine. No wonder, then, that he encouraged Körner to descant on the Revolution of Cromwell—a subject upon which Göschen desired a treatise. In proposing this task to his friend, Schiller remarks: 'Es ist sehr interessant, gerade in der jetzigen Zeit,[22] ein gesundes Glaubensbekenntnisz über Revolutionen abzulegen, und da es schlechterdings zum Vortheil der Revolutionsfeinde ausfallen musz, so können die Wahrheiten, die den Regierungen notwendig darin gesagt werden müssen, keinen gehässigen Eindruck machen.' Körner would not consent to undertake the proffered work, believing 'dasz es ein geistloses Geschäft ist, den Stoff als ein *warnendes* Beispiel zu behandeln. Und wird er mit Begeisterung für die Grösze, die er enthält, bearbeitet, so ist er für die jetzigen Zeiten bedenklich' (Nov. 12, '92). In spite of such a plain refusal, Schiller thought 'dasz er sich hoffentlich noch zur Raison bringen liesze,' and at the same time advised Göschen 'ja noch nichts zu beschlieszen, bis er ihm wieder schreibe,'[23] so great was his predilection for the subject. This is also manifested in his comment upon Wilhelm von Humboldt's book,[24] the title of which we have quoted above. 'Schriften dieses Inhalts,' he continues, 'und in diesem Geiste

---

[21] Cf. Letter to Körner, Nov. 26, '92. During the summer of '96 Schiller spoke to Matthison, 'aber dieser hatte nicht viel Neues über die neuesten Ereignisse zu erzählen' (Letter of Aug. 5). [22] This letter is dated Nov. 6, 1792. [23] This and the following quotation are from a letter dated Nov. 16, '92. [24] *Ideen zu einem Versuch die Grenzen der Wirksamkeit eines Staats zu bestimmen.*

geschrieben, sind ein Bedürfnisz für unsere Zeit.' He could not, however, prevail upon Körner, and as Göschen did not insist upon the work, the matter was finally dropped.

But Schiller was far from satisfied with the outcome of the Körner-Göschen transaction: he decided to begin a similar publication. The gloomy reports which came from Mainz, and perhaps also the conduct of the French in general, had some influence on his resolution; nor is it impossible that Humboldt's words, addressed to him on the 7th of December (1792), had a similar effect upon him: 'An sich scheinen mir freie Konstitutionen und ihre Vortheile ganz und gar nicht so wichtig und wohlthätig. Eine gemäszigte Monarchie legt vielmehr der Ausbildung des Einzelnen meist weniger einengende Fesseln an.' Not more than two weeks later he announces, in the frequently quoted letter of the 21st of December, his intention of writing 'eine Vertheidigungsschrift für den König.' His reason for such an undertaking he states thus: 'Mir scheint diese Unternehmung wichtig genug, um die Feder eines Vernünftigen zu beschäftigen, und ein deutscher Schriftsteller, der sich mit Freiheit und Beredsamkeit über diese Streitfrage erklärt, dürfte wahrscheinlich auf diese richtungslosen Köpfe einigen Eindruck machen.' He believed that the French people would consider him a representative of a nation, and would lend an ear to his pleading. On such an occasion he would be privileged to expound a few important truths, which otherwise would arouse a storm of indignation. Anticipating that his friend Körner would not approve of his action, he sets forth this argument: 'Ich glaube, dasz man bei solchen Anlässen nicht indolent und untlätig bleiben darf. . . . Es giebt Zeiten, wo man öffentlich sprechen musz, weil Empfänglichkeit dafür da ist, und eine solche Zeit scheint mir die jetzige zu sein.' Körner did not directly dissuade him from the matter in hand, as can be gleaned from his reply: 'Deine Idee für den König von Frankreich zu schreiben würde mich noch mehr interessiren, wenn sie schon jetzt, und ehe sein Schicksal entschieden ist, ausgeführt wäre. . . . Dasz aber schon jetzt [ehe die Krise geendigt] ein Ausländer von anerkanntem

Rufe durch ein Werk der Beredsamkeit sich einen Einflusz
auf die Franzosen verschaffen könne, möchte ich zwar nicht
abstreiten, aber ich zweifle an der Daner dieser Wirkung.'[25]
In answer to Schiller's inquiry as to some one who would be
able to render a good French translation of such a 'Verthei-
digungsschrift,' his friend proposed Lautier, the Prussian
secretary of legation. The would-be guardian angel of
Louis XVI. seemed eager to push his work forward, for we
find him making the same request, and at about the same
time, of Zacharias Becker.[26] 'Ich möchte diese Arbeit,' he
goes on to say, 'nicht gern andern Händen anvertranen, als
den Ihrigen, sowohl der Ausführung als der Verschwigen-
heit wegen, die wenigstens vor der Hand dabei nötig ist.
Durch den Herzog von Weimar hoffe ich eine Anzahl
Exemplare davon nach Paris zu bringen' (Jan. 30, '92). In-
asmuch as he received a favorable reply from Becker, it may
be presumed that he kept on writing his defence of the king.

Meanwhile the destroyers of the French monarchy were
busily at work sealing the fate of their ruler, and on the 21st
of January (1793) Louis XVI. suffered death at the hands of
the executioner. Schiller expressed his horror at the crime
in the following words: 'Ich kann seit 14 Tagen keine
französische Zeitung mehr lesen, so ekeln diese elenden
Schindersknechte mich an.' And preceding this remarka-
ble statement is the important announcement about the
progress of his 'Memoire': 'Ich habe wirklich eine Schrift
für den König schon angefangen gehabt, aber es wurde mir
nicht wohl darüber, und da liegt sie mir nun noch da.'
(Feb. 8, '93.) It is undoubtedly this notice which has led
almost all his biographers into the belief that the 'Defence
of the King' remained a fragment, and was eventually lost
without a trace. Wychgram (p. 330), for instance, laments
such an irreparable loss. Goedeke, on the other hand, con-
jectures, and not without good reason, 'dasz aus den Ge-
danken der Ludwigsschrift später die ersten Briefe über die
Erziehung des Menschen hervorgegangen sind.'[27] When,

[25] Dec. 27, '92. [26] Editor of the *Gothaische Zeitung* and the *Reichsanzeiger*.
[27] *Geschäftsbriefe Schillers*, p. 91.

later on, we shall quote portions of these letters in the
original text, it will become quite evident that Goedeke's
supposition is well founded.　Here we wish to call attention
only to the fact that the letter, in which Schiller announces
to the Duke of Augustenburg the plan of the *Ästhetische
Briefe*, is dated (Feb. 9) one day later than the one which
mentioned the laying aside of the 'Vertheidigungsschrift.'
Does this not indicate that many, if not all, of the thoughts
in the latter work would be incorporated in the former?　In
his remark to Goethe (Oct. 20, '94) concerning the letters
just mentioned: 'Ich habe über den politischen Jammer
noch nie eine Feder angesetzt, und was ich in diesen Briefen
davon sage, geschah blosz, um in alle Ewigkeit nichts mehr
davon zu sagen,' he seems, at first glance, to deny the fact
that he had attempted to write in defence of Louis XVI.
The quoted passage undoubtedly startles the attentive reader,
and he will be at a loss to explain it, unless he accepts Goe-
deke's hypothesis.　The words of the 20th of October, 1794,
then, make our assumption more probable.

With the publication of the *Ästhetische Briefe* in the
'Horen' Schiller's interest in contemporaneous events di-
minishes.　His friendship with Goethe began about this
time.　Did it, perhaps, have some influence upon his atti-
tude towards the political world?　After this year (1794) he
mentions now and then 'die schlechten politischen Aspek-
ten,'[28] and again in the winter of 1798 the receipt of the
French citizen papers, which had been on their way for
more than five years, owing to their unintelligible address
(*à M. Gille*).　On the whole, however, hardly anything else
of importance concerning his attitude in private or public
can be recorded.[29]

Considering now the poet's view of the Revolution in
general, and the reasons why he held this view, we find
the first documentary evidence in the passage already quoted
from Caroline von Wolzogen: 'Schiller hatte diese Bege-

[28] Letters to Goethe, Jan. 26, March 2, March 13, '98.　[29] It may be added
that Schiller wanted to make the Parisian police a subject for dramatic repre-
sentation.　The plan for it, conceived in 1802, may be found in his 'Nachge-

benheiten [jenseits des Rheins] schon bei ihrem ersten Entstehen ernst und ahnungsvoll aufgenommen ; — er hielt die Franzosen für kein Volk, dem echt republikanische Gesinnungen eigen werden Könnten' (p. 185).[30]   And his schoolmate von Hoven reports, 'dass er [Schiller] die französische Revolution für eine Wirkung der Leidenschaften hielt, nicht für ein Werk der Weisheit, die allein wahre Freiheit zur Folge haben kann.   Er gab zwar zu,' von Hoven continues, 'dasz viele wichtige Ideen, die sich zuvor nur in Büchern, und in den Köpfen aufgeklärter Menschen befanden, zur öffentlichen Sprache gekommen sein ; aber "die eigentlichen Principien" sagte er, "die einer wahrhaft, glücklichen bürgerlichen Verfassung zum Grunde gelegt werden müssen, sind noch nicht so gemein unter den Menschen, sie sind (indem er auf Kants Kritik der Vernunft, die eben auf dem Tische lag, hinwies), noch nirgends als hier."'   To this same friend Schiller is said to have uttered in 1793 [31] the famous prophecy: 'Die französische Republik . . . wird [über kurz oder lang] in einen Zustand der Anarchie übergehen, und später oder früher wird ein geistvoller kräftiger Mann, er mag kommen woher er will, sich nicht nur zum Herrn von Frankreich, sondern vielleicht auch von einem groszen Theile von Europa machen.'

Finally we must take into account the *Ästhetische Briefe*, which, as we have stated above, are presumably an elaboration of the 'Ludwigsschrift.'   We shall find in them, if anywhere, Schiller's true sentiments about the Revolution.   In the letter [32] dated July 13, 1793, he writes : 'In seinen Thaten malt sich der Mensch, — aber was für ein Bild ist das, das sich im Spiegel der jetzigen Zeit darstellt ?   Hier die empörendste Verwilderung, dort das entgegengesetzte Extrem

lassene Schriften' under the title, *Die Kinder des Hauses*.   [30] Utterances of this nature by no means support the statements of some literary critics, as illustrated in the following : 'For a time Schiller almost fancied that his loftiest hopes were about to be realized' (Sime, *Encycl. Brit.* X. 540).   Such remarks are probably deduced from a general acquaintance with Schiller's earliest works, *i.e.* those written before 1789.   [31] von Hoven's direct report not being at hand, this date cannot be verified.   Wychgram (p. 331) gives it as '92, Palleske (II. 177) as '93, and Scherr (p. 435) as well as Wolzogen (p. 203) have '94.   [32] Michelsen, p. 69.

der Erschlaffung; die zwei traurigsten Verirrungen, in die
der Menschenkarakter versinken kann, in einer Epoche ver-
eint! In den niedern Klassen sehen wir nichts als rohe
gesetzlose Triebe, die sich nach aufgehobenen Band der
bürgerlichen Ordnung entfesseln, und mit unlenksamer Wuth
ihrer thierischen Befriedigung zueilen, . . . *Es waren also
nicht freie Menschen, die der Staat unterdrückt hatte, nein, es
waren blosz wilde Thiere, die er an heilsame Ketten legte.* . . .
Nur seine Fähigkeit als ein sittliches Wesen zu handeln,'
Schiller proceeds, 'gibt dem Menschen Anspruch auf Frei-
heit; ein Gemüth, aber, das nur sinnlicher Bestimmungen
fähig ist, ist der Freiheit so wenig werth als empfänglich.'
Then he, the idealist, lays his finger on the sore spot of the
governments of his own time, and, we may add, of ours, and
declares: 'So lange aber der oberste Grundsatz der Staaten
von einem empörenden Egoismus zeugt, und so lange die
Tendenz der Staatsbürger nur auf das physische Wohlsein
beschränkte ist, so lange, fürchte ich, wird die politische
Regeneration, die man so nahe glaubte, nichts als ein schöner
philosophischer Traum bleiben.' In the same paragraph he
asserts: 'Der Moment war der günstigste, aber er fand eine
verderbte Generation, die ihn nicht werth war, und weder
zu würdigen noch zu benutzen wuszte. Der Gebrauch, den
sie von diesem groszen Geschenk des Zufalls macht und
gemacht hat, beweist unwidersprechlich, dasz das Menschen-
geschlecht der vormundschaftlichen Gewalt noch nicht ent-
wachsen ist, . . . und dasz derjenige noch nicht reif ist zur
bürgerlichen Freiheit, dem noch so vieles zur *menschlichen*
fehlt.' There is nothing ambiguous in any of these quota-
tions. They corroborate what has already been said.[33]

[33] Here may be mentioned some of Schiller's *Xenien* which express the same ideas,
e.g. the one entitled *Umwälzung:* 'Nein, das ist doch zu arg! da läuft auch
selbst noch der Kantor von der Orgel, und ach! pfuscht auf den Klaven des
Staats.' Another one is *Unglückliche Eilfertigkeit:* 'Ach! wie sie Freiheit
schrieen und Gleichheit, geschwind wollt ich folgen, und weil die Trepp mir zu
lang däuchte, so sprang ich vom Dach.' We may further quote the well-known
passage in *das Lied von der Glocke* and the two stanzas bearing the title
Wilhelm Tell. (Begleitworte eines Exemplars von Wilh. Tell an den Kurfürsten
Erzkanzler [Karl von Dalberg]), in which the poet clearly states that there is
the greatest possible difference between the mob and the people, that the libera-

We reach, then, the following conclusions : 1) That Schiller did not keep aloof from the French Revolution, nor view it from an objective standpoint only ; 2) that, on the contrary, he took a lively interest in it; 3) that from the very beginning, however, he did not consider the Revolution as the realization of his ideal; 4) that his interest in it increased with the beginning of the year 1790, and reached its highest point in the writing of the defence of the King, Louis XVI.; and yet 5) that his sympathy for France, particularly Paris, did not then end suddenly, but extended almost to the close of his life; and 6) that he looked upon the Revolution as a failure, since 'derjenige noch nicht reif ist zur *bürgerlichen* Freiheit, dem noch so vieles [wie den Franzosen damals] zur *menschlichen* fehlt.'

<div align="right">MAX BATT.</div>

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

tion of the former furnishes 'keinen Stoff zu freudigen Gesängen,' but that of the latter, 'ist unsterblich und des Liedes werth.' Cf. also *Der Spaziergang* (l. 142 ff.). We should note, too, the large amount of political news which his correspondence contains. In the letters, dated as follows, current events are touched upon, with little or no comment added: April 15, 23 (Körner), 1790 ; Nov. 23, '92 ; Feb. 28, Dec. 10, '93 ; April 5, '95 ; July 22, 23, 25, 31, Aug. 1, 8, '96 ; April 25, '97; March 13, '98. Indirect references to political news are found in the letters dated March 22, '93 ; Feb. 14 (Körner), '94; Nov. 4, '95 ; July 31, Aug. 5, '96 ; Sept. 15, Dec. 29, '97; June 20 (Körner), 1802.

REVIEWS.

Specimens of the pre-Shaksperean Drama. By John Matthews
   Manly. The Athenæum Press, Ginn & Co. : Boston, 1897.
   Vol. I., pp. xxxvii, 618; Vol. II., pp. 590 (Vol. III., in
   press).

THIS work is a notable addition to our resources for the study of
the early English drama. In the first two volumes much matter has
been collected from sources that were practically unavailable for pur-
poses of class instruction, and all has been edited with great conscien-
tiousness. . The liturgical plays, the *Robin Hood*, *St. George*, and
sword plays are contributions of special value, since they illustrate
certain phases of the early dramatic development which have been
too greatly cast into shadow by the mystery and morality plays.
These two volumes will, I think, prove our best single text-book for
the study of the early drama; they contain a larger number of
characteristic plays than any other handbook, and present many
plays for the first time in a carefully edited text. We shall welcome
the third volume, for which the author reserves the gleanings of
extended research relative to the development, history, and social
significance of the pre-Elizabethan drama.

In the preface to the first volume the author reviews the consider-
ations that guided him in the choice of plays for this edition. The
reader infers from this brief discussion that the various principles of
selection and arrangement were of so nearly equal force that the
editor was driven to compromise, and we open the book a little in
doubt as to whether we should expect specimens culled for their
curious interest, plays selected each for its individual importance as
an example of early literary art, or illustrations of a many-sided
development through which we might trace, step by step, the evolu-
tion of the drama and the effects of slowly changing literary tradition.

The availability of these volumes for text-book purposes depends
largely upon the aptness with which the texts illustrate constructive

principles. Too often, handbooks of selected texts seem to lead no
whither, the learner gathering from them a mass of information,
curious but inorganic. Such books, and the confusing *mélange* of
courses which many departments of English now offer, embarrass
the student who strives to gain that well-proportioned view of related
influences which marks the safe leader in critical study. The selec-
tion and arrangement of texts become, therefore, matters of prime
importance in handbooks of literature. The value of this work, as
of other handbooks of literature, depends, in great measure, upon
the clearness with which the continuity of development can be dis-
cerned through the texts selected.

The dramatic tropes and the Shrewsbury plays give a fitting
introduction to the cyclic drama. Hitherto, the lack of the early
liturgical plays, which furnished models for the cyclic plays, has made
the study of the English mystery difficult. These Winchester tropes
are, therefore, very welcome ; with the aid of Lange's excellent col-
lection they can readily be assigned to their proper place in the
development of the Easter cycle. Would that we might have all the
dramatic tropes lurking yet in out-of-the-way manuscripts ! Possibly
the highly irregular Christmas cycle would reveal significant steps in
evolution, if a Lange should collect the remnants. The Shrewsbury
plays also could not well be omitted ; these will henceforth hold a
leading place in handbooks of mystery plays, as much perhaps
for the light they shed upon the preparation of the actor as for their
intrinsic value in marking a distinct phase of the liturgical play. For
the editor is unquestionably right in considering these plays liturgical
rather than cyclic. The cyclic plays have so filled the field of vision
that one's first impulse prompts him to assign each new discovery
to some cycle, known or unknown, as ten Brink summoned a ghost
cycle to receive the ' occasional ' plays of Dublin.

When we ask what cyclic plays should be admitted to a work of
this character, the problems of selection and arrangement become
at once apparent. We may agree with the editor that the order of
arrangement should be the order of cosmic history, and yet differ
with him as to the relative merits of the early and of the developed
cosmic cycles. The early cosmic cycle recorded certain essential
steps from Creation to the Judgment, the later added many minor
incidents and embellishments. Roughly stated, Creation and the
Fall, Birth and Crucifixion, and the Judgment constitute the essential
elements of the cosmic cycle ; plays of the Patriarchs and of Anti-

christ are later editions. Should choice be restricted to organic plays, including those that formed the minor cycles for Christmas and Easter? But many plays are lacking in literary interest, others possess striking characteristics; and some of these plays, so the fates will have it, deal with minor themes in cyclic history. Probably no two editors would agree in their selection of plays for an artificial cycle. Our editor chooses two Creation plays, five Patriarch plays, four Christmas plays if we include the *Processus Prophetarum*, one Easter play, Antichrist, and the Judgment. If the relative cyclic importance and the order of cosmic history were faithfully observed, one might expect that the three plays of the Christmas cycle would be balanced by three pertaining to the trial and death, also that the Patriarch plays would be reduced in number, and the Antichrist omitted as non-essential. It is evident that other considerations had influence in the selection of these plays. Indeed, further examination leads to the conviction that the plays were chosen for their independent interest, subject to the requirement that each portion of the cosmic cycle should be fairly represented. The individual characteristics of these plays will probably impress the student more deeply than the evidences of organic development. This is to be deplored, since our methods of study in literature too often throw the text out of perspective through neglect of the influences that shaped it.

The Norwich pageants are so difficult of access that we acknowledge a great debt to the editor for placing them in our hands; but why not give them in an appendix? Their style is that of the latest plays, and is, besides, in some particulars obedient to French tradition rather than to English. Possibly one of the most significant lessons that the mysteries should teach is that of changing literary standards and fashions during the time of two centuries. A just impression of these changes is hardly obtainable, if the order of plays has no regard to date or literary convention. Of course, much can be done in the notes to give the student the proper point of view; still, it would seem desirable that the selections themselves should, so far as practicable, illustrate the successive schools of versification.

One is a little surprised to find the plays *Isaac* and *Jacob*, where candidates are so many. That these are singularly destitute of merit, as the editor says, all will admit, but poor workmanship does not prove them of early date. The metre, vocabulary, and lack of stanzaic structure are characteristic of the later fashion. One hesitates to place them much, if any, earlier than the formation of the

Woodkirk cycle.   They are not essential to the cosmic cycle ; they
have points in common with various transition passages of the Wood-
kirk cycle.   It is quite within the bounds of possibility that the
compiler himself wrote them with the thought that something was
necessary to preserve the continuity of history from the Abraham
play to the Pharaoh.

In the cyclic mystery alone is there abundant material for the study
of the development of types.   Other forms of early dramatic art are
represented by chance specimens of whose source and use little is
known.   Some were importations, as the morality *Everyman ;* some
sprang from customs whose beginnings lie outside the pale of literary
art.   Thus the Christmas customs and the ' Royal Entry ' gave form
and occasion for plays.   Of the rustic drama few examples remain ;
and little beyond allusions to St. George plays, mummeries, and
sword plays has found place in the histories of the drama.   The
student wishes to know what these plays were like, and in the speci-
mens here given will find the best answer obtainable in any handbook.
Possibly we shall learn in time the kind of play that custom pro-
nounced appropriate to different occasions ; for convention, we may
infer, was insistent in its requirement that Christmas, visits of notables,
society events, etc., should each have its fitting celebration.   At
present, our knowledge is of the vaguest.   We do not even know
for what occasions moralities were in demand, nor how it came to
pass that one or more were borrowed from the Low Countries.
Perhaps the schoolmasters inculcated morality by indirection in the
intervals between plays fashioned upon classic models.   To all these
claimants, so far as specimens are extant, the editor has distributed
justice with an even hand.

Next follow certain plays that bear little relation to one another
except in so far as each was a positive influence in the rising Eliza-
bethan drama.   Probably compilers would disagree as to the respec-
tive merits of these candidates.   It would take but few pages to
add *Narcissus*, whose impossible plot is so suggestive of *Pyramus
and Thisbe*.   Other students, doubtless, have their favorites, but the
editor has made his choices with so much discretion, and the collec-
tion represents so fairly the many phases of dramatic expression, that
one closes the book well content that he should have his way.

This work, then, passes in review the early drama, observing the
order of development so far as different types have been defined.
It contains rare plays of varieties hitherto unrepresented in handbooks

for class use. No attempt to trace growth within the species has been made, or, indeed, was possible, except for the cosmic cycle ; here the principle of selection lacks consistent application, and the result does not seem wholly felicitous. Every page bears the stamp of careful editing. So far as can be determined without collation with originals, the text is trustworthy. The page is attractive, the typography excellent. The editor has succeeded, I think, in compiling a satisfactory text-book for the student's introduction to the pre-Shaksperean drama. The specialist must, of course, pass on to exhaustive works of more limited range.

<div align="right">Charles Davidson.</div>

University of the State of New York.

A Concordance to the Poetical Works of John Milton. By John Bradshaw, M.A., LL.D. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.: London ; Macmillan & Co. : New York. Pp. iv, 412.

The time has passed when there is any necessity for a man to justify his labor in compiling a concordance, or devote his preface to explaining the usefulness of such a book. The impulse which recent years have given toward the comparative method of investigation, both in language and literature, makes such a book one of the most necessary tools in the scholar's workshop. It was therefore with pleasure that, in 1894, students of literature received the announcement of a volume soon to be issued from the press of Swan Sonnenschein & Co., entitled *A Concordance to the Poetical Works of John Milton*, and compiled by Mr. Bradshaw.

This book was the more welcome since works of the kind already before the public were very inadequate to meet the need of the Miltonic student. The first step was taken by Todd in 1809, when he affixed to his edition of Milton a verbal index of both the English and the Latin poems. When put to the test, this was found to be incomplete and inaccurate. Mr. C. D. Cleveland, of Philadelphia, finding Todd's work wholly unsatisfactory, took it as a basis, and, by corrections and additions, made what assumes to be a complete and accurate concordance, but which, in reality, is only a word-index. It is much fuller and more trustworthy than the work of Todd, but still it is greatly limited in its usefulness by the omission of the cita-

tions.   This appeared first in 1854, as an appendix to Mr. Cleveland's edition of Milton, but in 1867 it was issued as a separate volume by Sampson Low.   In 1857 appeared, in Madras, a work entitled *A Complete Concordance to the Poetical Works of Milton*, by Mr. G. L. Prendergast of the Madras Civil Service.   The edition was small and soon out of print, and the book is now practically unobtainable.

Mr. Bradshaw's work is greatly superior to those of Todd and of Cleveland.   It is what it purports to be, a concordance, giving citations as well as references, and will be found an invaluable aid to one who seeks to know Milton.   The book commends itself to the student by its convenient size, good paper, and clear, readable type.   Especially is the bold Clarendon type of the catchwords an assistance in finding quickly and easily the word wanted.   The arrangement of the words is, on the whole, commendable.   The inflectional forms are given separate headings; this is true in the case of adjectives and adverbs, as well as in that of nouns and verbs.   Compound words are entered as such, and in some cases words which form phrases are given together.

The indispensable qualities of a good concordance are comprehensiveness, consistency, accuracy, and handiness of form.   In the last feature this book surpasses; in the first three it falls far short of the ideal.   It proposes to comprehend all the words ' with the exception of some of the pronouns, conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositions,' in all the poems ' except the Psalms and the Translations in the Prose works.'   Why this last exclusion should have been made is not explained.   It is the more remarkable, as all the poems were included in the indexes of both Todd and Cleveland; and, as nine citations from the Translations occur in the Concordance, we infer that at one time these were included in Mr. Bradshaw's plan, but for some reason were afterwards dropped.

We are led by the Preface to believe that the inclusion or exclusion of ' some of the pronouns, conjunctions, adverbs, and prepositions ' depends upon the distinction recognized between their ordinary and their peculiar use in the poems.   It is difficult to judge Mr. Bradshaw here, as his ' some ' leaves the question regarding the words that are meant extremely indefinite.   What words should be included in, and what excluded from a concordance is a debatable point, but at least there should be consistency, and this is just what an examination of the book in question does not show.   Of the pronouns, *any, aught,*

each, every, either, hers, its, nought, one, other, ours, some, such, thine, whether, yours, and the reflexive forms, are included ; while *that, this, their, who, which, what,* and the personal pronouns, are omitted. Of the adverbs, *away, never, not, now, so, then, there, thus, too, up, where, why,* and *yet* are omitted ; but, on the other hand, *back, hence, here, how, since, thence,* and *thither* are included. The adverb *there* is omitted, but the compounds *thereafter, thereat, thereby, therefore, thereon, thereof, therein* are included ; while *therewith* is rejected. A similar result is found by examing *where* and its compounds. By the most careful search, I have not been able to discover any principle which determines the compiler's choice.

When one examines the book to discover whether the references are reasonably accurate, and whether all the words, with the exceptions named, are to be found, the result is far from satisfactory. The number of typographical errors is large, even for a book of this character. There are thirty-two references under the letter 'A' in which the reference to either book or line is wrong, and a correspondingly large number under each of the other letters. As regards omissions, I find there are two hundred and sixty-five words either wholly or partly wanting. This does not include the several instances of omissions under a given word, nor does it include words excepted in the Preface. It does include such words as the following, which are wholly omitted : 'Æmilian,' *P. R.* IV. 69 ; 'awe-strook,' *C.* 301 ; 'Campanian,' *P.R.* IV. 93 ; *P.L.* IX. 1097 ; 'hearse,' *L.* 151 ; 'spruce,' *C.* 985 ; 'tripped,' *P.R.* II. 354 ; 'tread,' *P.L.* I. 327 ; *S.A.* 111 ; 'unrespited,' *P.L.* II. 185 ; 'uncoupled,' *D.F.* I. 13 ; 'inseduced,' *P.L.* V. 899. It includes instances of words which are cited one or more times, such as 'bands,' *S.A.* 986 ; 'calm,' *C.* 4 ; 'came,' *L.* 90 ; 'diamonds,' *C.* 732 ; 'difficulty,' *P.L.* II. 1022 ; 'dissolved,' *S.A.* 729 ; 'enlarged,' *P.L.* I. 415 ; 'eyes,' *P.L.* II. 616 ; 'fables,' *P.R.* II. 215 ; 'faintings,' *S.A.* 631 ; 'famous,' *L.* 53 ; 'father,' *P.L.* III. 415 ; 'glory,' *P.L.* II. 265 ; 'gone,' *L.* 38 ; 'ground,' *P.L.* IX. 72 ; 'hand,' *P.L.* V. 395 ; 'happy,' *P.R.* I. 360 ; 'heavens,' *P.L.* XII. 451 ; 'herald,' *P.L.* II. 518 ; 'intercourse,' *P.L.* VII. 571 ; 'Ithuriel,' *P.L.* IV. 810 ; and so the list might be continued. Under more than half the words the list of references is incomplete. The number of omissions varies ; in the word *Samson* there are two, in *hand* three, in *ten* seven, and in *God* seventeen. The book proves less trustworthy when words of secondary importance are examined. An attempt has been made

to enter the words *dost, wert,* and *will* where they occur as principal verbs ; *dost* is entered once, omitted once ; *will* entered four times, omitted as many ; *wert* entered once, omitted four times.   The word *thine* is entered twice, and occurs forty-seven times in the poems ; while *thyself* is entered fifty-six times, and omitted but twice.   The entries of many words of secondary importance cease with *Samson Agonistes.*   In the word *though, S. A.* 1706 is the last entry, but there are thirty instances of the word in the succeeding poems.   Are we to conclude that the peculiar uses of this word cease with the last citation?   Since we find the words *here, through, within, without,* and many other adverbs, as well as pronouns, treated in the same way, we must conclude that the compiler wearied of his task when he reached the shorter poems.   If the words were deemed worthy of inclusion, they were certainly as worthy in one poem as in another, and the principle which determined the choice in one case ought to hold good for all.

In the Preface the compiler expresses the hope that the book 'will be found useful not only by the student of Milton, but by the grammarian and the philologist.'   The fulfilment of this wish is greatly hindered by his manner of citation, — by the difficulty of obtaining the meaning and grammatical form of the word from the quotation. This is partly due to the uniformity in the length of the lines, partly to the failure to indicate the syntactical group instead of merely giving the immediate context, and partly to the lack of accurate punctuation in the quotations.   Under the word *evening* occurs the reference *P. L.* IV. 598, 'now came still e. on, and twilight.'   What precedes the comma is all that is essential to give the full meaning of the word and indicate its grammatical relations.   Again, under the same word, *P. L.* IV. 654, 'nor grateful e. mild.'   Here it requires reference to the poem to understand the word, because the logical context, which stands two lines distant from the word, is not added.   It should read, 'nor grateful e. mild . . . without thee is sweet.'   Under the word *eye,* he has, *P. R.* IV. 507, 'seldom have I ceased to e.,' which ought to stand, 'seldom have I ceased to e. thy infancy.'   Under *go, L.* 108, 'last came and last did g.' ; it would be much plainer if it read, 'last did g. the Pilot of the Galilean Lake.'   Again, under the same word, *S. A.* 1403, 'like a wild beast I am content to g.,' which is far from conveying the thought of the passage, because the comma is omitted after *beast,* and either too many or too few words are given. It should read, either, 'I am content to go,' or, what would be

better, 'because they shall not trail me through the streets like a wild beast, I am content to go.' These instances, taken at random, illustrate what may be found under almost every word.

Minor points in which the book is subject to criticism are the alphabetical arrangement of words, which cannot always be relied upon; and the order of the references under a given word. After the entries from the principal poems, *P. L.*, *P. R.*, and *S. A.*, there is no consistently followed sequence of the minor poems. This may be seen by comparing almost any three words. Under the word *made*, the order is *C.*, *A.*, *L.*, *Il P.*, *S.*, *H.*, *D. F. I.*, *S. M.*, *U. C. I.*, *V. Ex.*, *U. C. II.*; under *far*, *C.*, *L.*, *Il P.*, *H.*, *D. F. I.*, *V. Ex.*, *S.*; under *oft*, *C.*, *L.*, *L'A.*, *Il P.*, *A.*, *S.* Again, there are sporadic attempts to separate different parts of speech which are spelled in the same way. The verb *leaves* is separated from the noun *leaves*, but, on the opposite page, the verb and the noun *lays* are entered together. The word *even* as noun, adjective, and adverb, has three distinct entries; but the words *bear*, *bore*, and *evil*, do not occur under the parts of speech they represent. In a few instances phrases have been given, yet these cannot be trusted. *Last* (*at*) is entered under a separate head, but the fourth reference under *last* is 'at last words,' etc. The same is true of *late* (*so*), but we find under *late*, 'so late doubted,' etc., and, 'his life so late.'

Mr. Bradshaw's concordance suffers greatly when compared with the best works of its character which the past ten years have produced, yet, in spite of its many inaccuracies and inconsistencies, it is a book which lovers of Milton and students of literature cannot well dispense with.

<div align="right">Laura E. Lockwood.</div>

Yale University.

Browning's Verse-Form: Its Organic Character. By Arthur Beatty, A.B. Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University. New York, 1897. Pp. 78.

Mr. Beatty's thesis is a disappointing piece of work. It shows, indeed, industry, poetic appreciation, a definite aim, and a healthy sense of the relation of metre to the spirit of poetry. But these good things are more than balanced by things not good. The plan is not

adequately executed, the conclusions sometimes lack significance, very large statements now and then proceed from very few data, and the style is irritatingly careless.   The opening sentences of the Preface show something of the purpose and style of the author :

'In this essay only one aspect of Browning's art has been considered.   Any systematic attempt to study his method of construction has not been attempted, as lying beyond its limited scope.   But, as the imagination and harmony of poetry are never separable except by analysis, some consideration has been given to the structure, in order to appreciate the organic nature of the verse.'   Specifically, Mr. Beatty wishes to show that the verse of the dramatic monologues is an adequate medium for the expression of the poet's thought ; that the form (metre, alliteration, stanzaic structure, etc.) is an organic part of — Mr. Beatty prefers to say 'is organic *to* ' — the whole poem.

In an introductory chapter, Browning's views of art are set forth, the familiar charge of obscurity is denied but not answered, the equally familiar charge of neglect of form is discussed, the nature of the dramatic monologue is explained, and *My Last Duchess* is commented upon rather fully.   This poem, by the way, in two consecutive sentences, is spoken of as a 'slight example' of Browning's work, and a 'triumphant example of Browning's method.'   Although somewhat commonplace and full of repetition, this introduction is, in the main, sound ; in detail, it is here and there at fault.   For instance, in commenting on the first foot of line 43, — *Never to stoop.   Oh sir, she smiled, no doubt,* — Mr. Beatty says that the 'dropping of the unaccented syllable (the anacrusis) gives to these lines a new and most expressive melody.'   The unaccented syllable is shifted, not dropped ; the variation (the choriambic opening) is probably the most frequent variation in English iambic pentameter ; and the normal unaccented first syllable of English iambic pentameter cannot possibly be considered as anacrusis.   This misused word occurs frequently in Mr. Beatty's pages.

The second chapter deals with the kinds of verses used by Browning.   There are examples of the several verses : that is all.   We are not told how often any one metre occurs, or what use the poet makes of it.   Under the head of trochaic pentameter, for example, a line is quoted from *One Word More*.   The significant fact is ignored, that trochaic pentameter blank verse was invented by Browning, and used by him only once, as a unique tribute to his wife, — 'Lines I write the first time and the last time.'   In brief, this

chapter tells us merely how many kinds of line Browning has used. Beyond that it is valueless.

The third chapter discusses stanzas (strophes). Again a list of forms, but without information as to the frequency of their use. It would surely seem worth noting that the five-line stanza has been used more frequently and more successfully by Browning than by probably any other poet. There are, however, æsthetic comments on many of the strophe forms ; and here Mr. Beatty displays a very dangerous combination of true sympathy and rash assertion. A stanzaic form has predicated of it intrinsic qualities that really belong to the subject or to its literary (as distinguished from metrical) treatment. For instance, the trochaic octameter of *La Saisiaz* is said to be the fit instrument for the carrying on of the 'keen questionings on life and immortality.' What of Tennyson's use of the measure in *Locksley Hall* (not to speak of a certain ballad of *Policeman X*)? And what of the fitness of the *In Memoriam* stanza, or the Platonic dialectic, for the 'keen questionings'? Mr. Beatty's fault is, that in trying to point out the effect of the metre, he ascribes to the metre itself the effect of the whole poem. Again, concerning the *Childe Roland* stanza: 'The repetition of the two rhymes . . . gives the reader the haunting sense of the dread mysteries which the Childe saw.' The rhyme-repetition does not give this effect ; but this effect may perhaps be said to be enhanced by the repetition — a very different thing. Once more, referring to the stanza of *Rabbi Ben Ezra* : 'The body of the strophe contains the arguments of the Rabbi, and the long Alexandrine gives the conclusions.' Some of the Alexandrines give conclusions, some of them do not.

The last chapter, on blank verse, is of better quality than its predecessors. It deals chiefly with 850 lines drawn from *The Ring and the Book*. Mr. Beatty gives statistics which go toward establishing points like this, for example : the sustained and closely knit argument of the Pope contains a large proportion of run-on lines, the less equable speech of Pompilia a smaller proportion. Several other interesting metrical comparisons of the speeches of the various personages in the poem show that personal characteristics have a way of transferring themselves into the very mechanism of verse. But the writer's treatment of blank verse cannot be deemed satisfactory. The essentially iambic movement seems not to be clearly understood.

A revision of Mr. Beatty's work would make it useful. Further information concerning the frequency of use of verse and of stanza,

a pruning away of generalizations based on personal taste, a fuller study of the poet's blank verse, and certainly a rewriting that would insure clearness and precision of style, — these things would render the thesis more worthy of the subject which the author has undertaken to treat.

<div align="right">Martin W. Sampson.</div>

University of Indiana.

Maldon and Brunnanburh.   Edited by Charles Langley Crow, Ph.D. Ginn & Co.: Boston and London, 1897. Pp. xxxvii, 47.

This little book is so good that one wishes it were better.   There is an Introduction, subdivided into Historical Outline, Manuscripts, Other Early Accounts of the Battles, Prosody, Testimonies, and List of Syllables marked Long in the Mss.; a Bibliography; the text of *Maldon*, followed by that of *Brunnanburh;* Notes; and a Glossary.

The text and glossary are the most satisfactory parts of the book, though the editor might have added to his variants had he known Plummer's later edition of the *Chronicle* (1892), as well as the slighter one of 1889.

The historical outline is too meagre, and not sufficiently clear. The account of the manuscripts, though brief, contains all that is needful except references to fuller sources of information.   The other early accounts of the battles should have contained the extract from the Egil's Saga, to which we are referred.   The testimonies, though acceptable, occupy too great a relative space.   The list of long syllables, if it was to be given at all, should have been dismissed to an appendix.

The bibliography is full, and is one of the best divisions of the work, though we miss Plummer's later edition of the *Chronicle,* as noted above, and are not prepared for this statement: 'Many of the editions have, however, no value and are consequently not mentioned. Works bearing solely on the mutual relationship, age, etc., of the Mss. are omitted.'   Then, too, there is considerable variety in the references to books.   Some are cited by the full title, others by the briefest; in some the name of the author precedes, and in others follows, the title; some have page references, others not; in one place occurs *Scôpas*, in another *Scopas*, etc., etc.

The notes are scanty and, indeed, insufficient.

Here and there throughout the volume are procedures that one is tempted to criticize. Thus *Maldon* is printed before *Brunnanburh*, reversing the historical order. The order of the texts is observed in the comments of the Introduction under Manuscripts, Prosody, Testimonies, and List of Syllables, but not under Historical Outline, nor Other Early Accounts. Professor Crow writes *Brunnanburh*, 'for metrical reasons'; but the true spelling is almost certainly *Brūnanburh*, with the first vowel long.

The most serious omission is that of any attempt at literary appreciation; from this the editor was not dispensed by his inclusion of testimonies.

The typography, though clear, is not especially attractive.

The book is dedicated to Professor James A. Harrison.

YALE UNIVERSITY. ALBERT S. COOK.

Outline Guide to the Study of English Lyric Poetry. By Frederic Ives Carpenter. University of Chicago: 1897. Pp. iv, 54.

DR. CARPENTER had already made a useful *Outline Guide to the Study of Spenser* (Chicago, 1894). The new one is constructed upon somewhat similar lines, and will be very serviceable to students of the subject. The principal divisions are: (1) Nature and Definition of the Lyric (with general bibliography); (2) Principal Sources of English Lyric Poetry; (3) History of the English Lyric (by far the longest division); (4) Leading Lyric Kinds and Types; (5) The Development of Lyric Form; (6) Lyrics for Memorizing; (7) Miscellaneous Studies.

One can only approve Dr. Carpenter's citation of works beyond the pale of English literature — such books as Werner's *Lyrik und Lyriker*, Croiset's *La Poésie de Pindare*, Pollard's *Odes from the Greek Dramatists*, etc. On the other hand, the author has a tendency to group together, in a somewhat uncritical fashion, books of the most diverse merit, including such as are nearly worthless. Owing to this fact, a student who might chance to enter upon a serious study of the subject in ignorance of the character of the works cited, would run the risk of experiencing severe disappointment when he came to consult certain of those to which his guide

had referred him. The meagreness and shallowness of the views he would sometimes find would be not unlikely to repel him from further attempts to obtain a satisfying view of the topic. It might no doubt be urged that Dr. Carpenter is not responsible for the feebleness of many of the books which deal with English literature; but the trouble is that the feebleness, where it exists, is only set off and emphasized by the somewhat elaborate schemes which Dr. Carpenter presents. In some parts of the Spenser *Guide*, the disparity in question is still more pronounced than in the present pamphlet; yet it is even here sufficiently marked. In so far, however, as the impression is due to a real deficiency in English scholarship, Dr. Carpenter will no doubt be only too glad to have called attention to it, and from this point of view the more unpleasantly it affects his readers, the better.

Students of English in this country will soon need a kind of clearing-house for productions belonging to the general class of this *Guide*, an agency to which they may send for all sorts of semi-privately printed syllabi, dissertations, and books belonging to the province of English scholarship, with the assurance that their queries will elicit full information, and that their orders will be speedily filled if the works demanded are at all attainable. At present, one may often grope in the dark for lack of some pamphlet of whose existence he is unaware, or which he is uncertain how to procure. Fortunately, it is possible to obtain Dr. Carpenter's brochure by sending a matter of forty cents to the University of Chicago Press.

Yale University.   Albert S. Cook.

Keats and Spenser. A Dissertation. By W. A. Read. Heidelberg, 1897. Pp. 60.

The study of literary influences and affiliations, while very attractive and well suited for monographs and dissertations, is one of considerable delicacy and difficulty. Dr. Read has handled his subject in a creditable manner. His study comprehends an Introduction, rehearsing the views of recent critics upon the subject of Spenser's influence on Keats; a chapter (not quite exhaustive) on the Biographical Evidence and Personal Testimony; a chapter (the main contribution of the study) on Language (*i.e.* Spenserian diction in Keats); a chapter on Metre (Keats' use of the Spenserian stanza

and of other metrical devices characteristic of Spenser) ; and, finally,
a chapter discussing traits in common of a more general nature.
Dr. Read's thesis is that the influence of Spenser was not limited to
Keats' early period, but that this influence 'increased with the growth
of Keats' poetic powers,' especially 'as far as diction is concerned.'
Although the thesis is doubtless well founded on the whole, it requires
a somewhat more discriminating statement than it receives in this
study, while the contention in regard to diction, especially, is prob-
ably overstated.   Many of the peculiarities of diction, however,
noted by the author in addition to those listed by Mr. W. T. Arnold,
are significant and important.   Others listed as 'Probably Borrowed'
are mostly 'fanciful' or highly uncertain.   Some of the strongest
evidence cited (as, for example, on pages 28, 29), in the way of
similarity of imagery and idea, is not brought into sufficient promi-
nence.   Although much is added in this study, the subject is not yet
exhausted.

FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

Die Altsächsische Bibeldichtung (Heliand und Genesis).
Erster Theil : Text herausgegeben von Paul Piper.   J. G.
Cotta'sche Buchhandlung : Stuttgart 1897.   Pp. cvi, 486.
(Denkmäler der Aelteren Deutschen Litteratur, Erster
Band.)

OF the Heliand editions that were heretofore available none could
be said to be satisfactory in every respect.   Behaghel's careful print,
while answering admirably the purposes of such a publication, was
yet a text-edition chiefly and could be used to good advantage only
under certain favorable conditions.   The scholarly edition of Sievers,
the one from which probably most of us have learned the best we
know about Heliand and Old Saxon, had in the course of nearly
twenty years come to be in need of revision, owing to the subsequent
discovery of new Ms. material and to the revival of Heliand-studies,
chief among which was the master's own work on the rhythm of the
alliterative verse.   And Heyne's edition never was up to date ; his
faulty Old Saxon, like the Old English of his *Beowulf*, makes his text
rather unfit for the use of the students to whose needs his editions
are otherwise well adapted.   A new edition of Heliand was therefore

in order, and it was equally commendable to combine with it the newly found fragments of the *Genesis* together with the corresponding OE. passages.

Piper, who is one of the most industrious bookmakers among European Germanists, has prepared his work upon the broadest basis, and Behaghel in reviewing the book has called it, not without reason, a 'Handbuch der Heliandforschung.' (*Litteraturblatt*, XVIII, p. 404.) The introduction, covering 106 pages, partly in small print, consists of three chapters : (1) Die Handschriften, (2) Die Heliand-forschung, (3) Chronologische Uebersicht der Litteratur. Of these, the first and the third are thoroughly well done. The Mss. are minutely described after a renewed examination of C., M., P., and V., and the bibliography is next to complete ; I have noticed only four titles of minor contributions that might have been added to the 316 compiled by the editor, besides, of course, the recent publications which Piper could not yet quote, such as Behaghel's monumental work, *Die Syntax des Heliand*. The second chapter presents a brief historical account of the progress of Heliand-studies under the following headings : (1) Historisches (dealing with Mss. and editions), (2) Die Praefatio und Versus, (3) Handschriften und Heimat, (4) Zeit der Abfassung, (5) Der Verfasser, (6) Die Quellen, (7) Die Genesis, (8) Grammatik, Lexicographie und Kritik des Gedichtes, (9) Metrisches, (10) Würdigung des Gedichtes. The peculiar order in which these paragraphs follow one another, — the problems of date and authorship being dealt with before the more fundamental questions of language and metre are at all touched upon, — illustrates at least one of the main shortcomings of the whole book, a remarkable lack of some of the higher pedagogical qualities. Here, to be sure, this defect is of little consequence, for the author does not really enter into a serious discussion of the various topics ; he merely quotes briefly the *results* of his predecessors, usually without a word of criticism, and even where the editor's own views are given, they are stated dogmatically, without proof or argument. Thus we read on p. liii : 'Immer mehr bricht sich die Ansicht Bahn, dass C. mehr von dem Dialekte des originals bewahrt hat, wie auch metrische erwägungen zu dem gleichen ergebnisse führen' ; on p. lv : 'Jedenfalls ist die Genesis nach dem Heliand entstanden, obwohl auch darin sich Meinungsverschiedenheit gezeigt hat' ; on p. lvi : 'Dass der Verfasser von Heliand und Genesis identisch ist, ist anzunehmen.' In short, this whole chapter is of considerable

historical interest; but it adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject matter.

Piper's text is in the main based upon C., against Sievers and Behaghel,[1] and while this is in itself precarious enough, the case becomes much worse on account of the 'regulating' which the editor has bestowed upon the language of the poem. For a reliable reproduction of the original we are not yet ready, and we probably never shall be, unless another find should bring to light some new material. Piper's attempt is a failure; his text is practically as inconsistent as the manuscripts themselves are, and his deviations from the latter make it simply more difficult for the student to get at the genuine Ms. forms. He prints, f.i., *sîth, sîd, sîthea,* and *sîdogean; giskêth* and *giskêd; uuarth, uuard̄, uuard, uurd̄un,*[2] *uurthi gilithan; quad, quat, quâthun, stuodun; habda, obarhôbdean; hiet, hêtun; githolonna, gifaranne;* for Germanic *an* before a fricative he prints *ô, â,* and *uo;* etc. To be sure, the readings of the Mss. are very carefully given below the text; but that is only an awkward remedy against the editor's arbitrariness. The text is accompanied by explanatory notes which, considering the difference in typography, occupy much more space than the poem itself and in which the editor takes occasion to impart a great deal of information, genuine and spurious, helpful and superfluous, as the case may be. Useful is the quotation of the sources, in whatever way they may have been utilized by the author; welcome are further the references to all the previous literature on individual passages, and also many of the editor's own remarks and interpretations are quite helpful; but on the whole, the latter are utterly disappointing. Just for what class of readers they are intended is impossible to tell; they show no discriminative method, no sense of proportion; to the serious student of Germanics they are an insult, and yet they must remain largely incomprehensible to the general reader; self-evident passages are explained, the same trivial remarks are repeated over and over again, while interesting questions are often disposed of by brief reference to a small monograph, or to an article in some periodical which cannot be supposed to be readily accessible to every one.

[1] Behaghel shows in his review of Piper's book, that the Prague fragment does not support the editor's views; in the corresponding passage we find the better reading in C. 12 times, in M. 18 times.

[2] And yet the editor means to indicate two different sounds by *d* and by *d̄*; p. 445 he says in a note on *ôdan,* that in Heliand the form is always *ôdan* 'mit nicht aspiriertem d.'

Hundreds of notes should have been left out in which the OS. text is simply translated into German, and often its meaning quite distorted by a mechanical modernizing or else by purely visionary distinctions.

On the subject of metrics we might have expected to find a few lines setting forth the facts, at least, if not the principles of Old Germanic versification, and a concise statement of the points in which Heliand differs from the more archaic OE. and ON. poetry ; instead, we are incidentally, in the notes, treated to such remarks as these : v. 180, *Thuo quam fruod gumo ;* 'Zu beachten die auffallender Weise aufsteigende Betonung des Auftaktes.' V. 2027, *ne sind mîna noh ;* 'In der zweiten vershälfte ist hier ein mal der seltene Fall eines Auf- taktes mit aufsteigendem Rhythmus.' V. 1046, *an êrdagun ;* 'Ueber die Silbenverschleifung der zweiten Hebung s. P. VII, 48.' V. 2058, *that uuirsista ;* 'Der zweite Halbvers bictet das geringstmögliche Mass, bei welchem der dreisilbigen Cadenz nur eine Silbe vorangeht.'

Of grammatical mistakes I have hardly noticed any which cannot be readily recognized as misprints, such as *uuekian, blikan* (twice), *eld* (cf. Holthausen in *ZfdA,* XLI, p. 303). Towards the end, however, these misprints accumulate quite suspiciously ; in the OE. *Genesis* we find, in text and notes, a reckless indifference to accuracy of form. There, forms like *adælan, rædan, þara, svâleiks, ʒieman, leôlc, eáfrun, fira, beʒen* (repeatedly so), occur quite promiscuously with other forms exhibiting correct vowel quantities; we also meet with such infinitives as *âcwiðan, beþekkan, feollan, ʒengan, eówan* (= *ȳwan, eáwan*) ; *hêhďe,* the editor says, stands for *heáhďu,* and for *ofermēttu* he prints *ofermettu* and explains this as acc. pl. neutr. of ' *ofermet* = Uebermass.'

<div align="right">GUSTAF E. KARSTEN.</div>

UNIVERSITY OF INDIANA.

Deutsches Wörterbuch, von Hermann Paul. Max Niemeyer : Halle a. S. 1897. Pp. vi, 576.

A TRUE appreciation of the work under discussion may be gained by comparing it with the author's *Principien der Sprachgeschichte*[1] in which the principles of language life are evolved and incidentally semasiology raised to the dignity of a science. While the chapter on shifting of meaning (Bedeutungswandel) bears most directly on the *Wb.,* there is little in the whole volume that would not aid us in form- ing a clear conception of the work in hand.

<div align="center">[1] Second edition. Halle, 1886.</div>

But the author has facilitated our task by presenting what is of importance in this connection, together with additional suggestions on lexicography in an address, *Die Aufgaben der wissenschaftlichen Lexicographie,*[1] delivered before the ' Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften ' at Munich in 1894. Proceeding from a consideration of the shortcomings of Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch,* he points out a number of principles, which in the future lexicographers should observe. A thorough knowledge of present usage in all its phases[2] must be regarded as the most important basis for word study. Our knowledge of the older dialects is necessarily fragmentary and must be supplemented from this source. Hence much importance attaches to a well-trained ' Sprachgefühl,' which in conjunction with proper attention to phonology will enable the investigator to avoid many errors.[3] Special attention is called to the fact that words should be presented in groups. Besides etymological relation, there are many other points of contact between words, and especially function[4] is to be recognized as a legitimate basis for classification. The alphabetical arrangement, however, needs not be interfered with, as it is necessary in order to make the material accessible.

After having thus evolved his theories, Paul now presents to us the material which gave rise to the same, and his dictionary is destined to exert a powerful influence upon the lexicography of the future. In accordance with the *Aufgaben,* the language of the *present* forms the basis of his research. Older phases are considered only when

---

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München,* 1894. Heft I. Verlag der k. Akademie.

[2] Utilization of the latest investigations in the dialects, such as Wenker's *Sprachatlas* is urged. P. deplores that the dialect dictionaries give only the forms peculiar to the dialect in question, and give no definite information concerning the extent to which the common language enters into the same. He urges also further investigation of slang, ' studentensprache,' poetical expressions, and the like, and insists that dictionaries should give definite information in regard to these matters. Cf. *Wb.* p. 494, s.v. *Vater :* Nordd. wird Vater innerhalb der Familie haüfig ohne Artikel gebraucht, et seq. p. 430, s.v. *Ulk,* ' Scherz, Possen,' vom Niederrhein aus durch die Studentensprache verbreitet.

[3] P. points out that the ' Sprachgefühl ' is necessary for the correct interpretation of older and especially of modern forms. Upon it the investigator must depend largely in determining whether a word in a given passage is used in its ordinary or in an occasional sense.

[4] Cf. *Aufgaben,* p. 84. ' Doch nicht bloss die Uebereinstimmung der Bedeutung, die zwischen neben und nach einander bestehenden Wörtern stattfindet, ist eine Veranlassung, dieselben im Zusammenhange zu betrachten, sondern auch schon eine gewisse Entsprechung der Bedeutungen, die zwischen unverwandten Wörtern zuweilen in analoger Weise erscheint wie zwischen Verwandten.'

they throw light on present usage. Of these the periods of Goethe and Luther, as well as the MHG. period, are given much prominence because of their importance and the abundance of lexicographical material which they offer.

Forms older than MHG. are rarely quoted, and the author states explicitly that he does not encroach upon the territory of Kluge (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*) and Heyne (*Deutsches Wörterbuch*). This is to be regretted, since it removes from consideration many etymologies in regard to which one would like to hear from Paul. Etymologies, so far as they are given at all, are stated in such a manner that the underlying principle will assert itself.

Paul emphasizes the meanings which are essential to the comprehension of a word, but does not register details which the intelligent reader can supply for himself.[1] He shows his extreme caution in never allowing himself to find a principle when the evidence does not clearly justify the same.[2] Consequently, many words are quoted as unexplained, which would not baffle the unsuspecting novice in the least. Wherever a number of possibilities exist, they are stated without a decision in favor of either, unless there is evidence to support such preference.[3]

Nowhere has the author shown his skill better than in his treatment of the particles.[4] These, as he tells us in the introduction to his book, have received special attention. He does not confine himself to a treatment of them as independent words, but shows their

---

[1] Goethe in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* uses the form *dolmetsch* and *dolmetscher*. P. says, p. 95, s.v. *Dolmetsch:* Umformung eines türkischen Wortes, das im 13. Jahrh. aufgenommen ist. Dazu dolmetschen (verd.) woraus wieder Dolmetscher abgeleitet ist, welches das einfachere Dolmetsch aus der gewöhnlichen sprache verdrängt hat.

[2] Cf. p. 55, *baxen*, für boxen, Bürger, Sch., *vielleicht* nach nd. 'baxen' schlagen. p. 136, *fechten*. Woher die Verwendung des Wortes für das Betteln der Handwerksburschen kommt, ist nicht klar. Es mag sein, etc. p. 217, *Hesse:* 'blinder H.' als Scheltwort schon im 16ten Jahrh. nachzuweisen; weshalb den Hessen Blindheit zugeschrieben wird, ist nicht ermittelt. p. 16, *anbinden:* Nicht recht klar ist der Ursprung von 'kurz angebunden sein.' p. 426, *Spiegelfechten:* Der genaue Ursprung des Wortes ist nicht ermittelt.

[3] Cf. p. 104, *Eimer:* man deutet das Wort aus *ein* und *bĕr;* wahrscheinlich aber ist es volksetymologische Umdeutung von griech.-lat. *amphora.* p. 191, Gruft wird gewöhnlich als Umbildung aus griech.-lat. *krypta* aufgefasst, doch liess es sich auch als Ableitung aus *graben* denken.

[4] See for example the author's treatment of *nach:* Aus der Bedeutung 'in die Nähe von etwas' entwickelte sich die Bedeutung 'auf etwas zu.' So wird mit *nach* das Ziel angeknüpft, etc. Then follows the explanation of the meanings which appear in *nachreisen, nachbleiben, nachmachen.*

force in composition. He shows how the different compounds con-
nect with different meanings of the particles, and how these in turn
depend upon the nature of the nominal or verbal element. In order
to appreciate fully what the author has done for us in this respect,
it is necessary only to compare his dictionary with those of Grimm,
Heyne, or Sanders, where we may find a complete list of meanings,
but no attempt is made at connecting them, unless the connection is
absolutely self-evident.

The *formal* side of word development is touched upon only when
it is essential to an adequate explanation.[1] Paul follows this course
in part, no doubt, because he intends the work for the educated
public generally. When there is a shifting of sound or other formal
development, he refers to other expressions which have undergone a
similar change, thus enabling the average reader to understand the
matter more clearly. Many words however would be understood
better if the author stated the etymology more fully.[2] We might
also wish to find more frequent comparisons with other modern
languages, especially when there is some possibility of influence on
the part of another idiom.[3]

There can, of course, be little doubt as to the correctness of the
etymologies given by Paul; it is surprising, however, that he has
paid no attention to the suggestions made by Muss-Arnold in his
review of Kluge's Wörterbuch (*M. L. N.* V., p. 490). A number of
these seem very plausible, and deserve consideration.[4]

In the presentation of his material the author exhibits a truly
admirable ability to say much in a few words, and to say it clearly;

---

[1] Cf. p. 287, Zu Grunde liegt MHD. *lumpe*. Daraus ist einerseits durch Ver-
kürzung *lump* entstanden. Anderseits ist das *n* in den nom. gedrungen (s. Backen)
doch ist *der Lumpen* wohl nur südd. = Lappen, etc. p. 156, *Gären* = MHD.
jesen (Prät. jas, jâren). Das *r* ist vom Prät. auch ins Präs. gedrungen, *g* für *j*
war in MHD. nur in den formen mit *i* vorhanden, etc. p. 132, In explanation
of *Fährte*. — Vgl. die entsprechende Spaltung bei Statt-Stätte. p. 100, *Dutzend*.
Mit secundärem *d* wie irgend, etc. p. 7, *Abschied*-früher Abscheid wie in Bescheid.

[2] Cf. p. 402, *Schreiben* = MHD. schrîben, früh entlehnt aus lat. scrîbere. No
reference is made here to OE. scrîfan or OHG. scrëvon. p. 94, *Ding:* die älteste
Bedeutung ist Gerichtsversammelung, etc. No reference is made to the word in
related languages. This connection would be of value to 'Alle Gebildeten.'

[3] Cf. p. 120, *Erdapfel:* Die Bezeichnung ist auf Kartoffel übertragen, etc.
Fr. *pomme de terre* is not quoted.

[4] Cf. p. 66, *beschummeln* vulgär = betrügen, wohl aus der Gaunersprache.
M. A. in addition connects this with *Schmul machen*. p. 140, *Fibel*-unbekannten
Ursprungs; gewöhnlich ist Zusammenhang mit *Bibel* angenommen. M. A. sug-
gests *fibula* = 'clasps.'

only in a few cases does he carry his brevity to such a point as to put the reader's ingenuity to a test.[1]   No space has been wasted on words or definitions that are self-evident, and here again the author's judgment and discretion will rarely disappoint us.   Some omissions,[2] for which we can see no good reason, are probably due to oversight. In turn, however, the book is so replete with the most welcome information that to the intelligent reader, and particularly to the teacher, it will prove an invaluable source of help.

Again and again Paul throws a flood of light on a subject which seemingly needed no explanation or could not be explained.   The reader will do well therefore to follow the author's suggestion and read this dictionary through, as he would another book.   To the American teacher of German, Paul's book will also afford valuable assistance in giving reliable explanations of German words in German.   In the study of the Classics it will enable the teacher to lead his class to a truer understanding of the author, by pointing out the difference between classical and modern usage, a difference more tangible than many a teacher may suspect.   But above all it will teach the language student how to approach his subject.   Habits of thought induced by this book will produce good results in all departments of language investigation.

<div style="text-align:right">PAUL H. GRUMMANN.</div>

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING SCHOOL,
   INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

---

[1] Cf. p. 83, burschikos (scherzhaft mit griechischer Endung geschrieben). The insertion of κως after Endung would have helped this explanation much. Cf. Hempl, *German Orthog. and Phon.*, Par. 138, Note 2, R.   p. 247, Klatsche F., 'Werkzeug zum Klatschen,' Fliegenklappe = Klatschweib.

[2] The following omissions will be fairly representative : *Kaffer*, in the sense of Engl. Kaffir. *Kündigen :* Eine Schuld kündigen. *Windsbraut :* 'nicht sicher gedeutet.' Why not state briefly the theories of Schmidt and Uhlenbeck? *ranzen :* relation to Engl. *rant* not touched upon.   Cf. Waldstein, *PBB.* XXII. 253. *anführen :* special meaning 'to betray.' *kutte, bunt, buntwerk, schreihals, geizhals, hapern, packen, brüllen, hopfen* (an ihm ist hopfen und malz verloren), *kanzleistil* (interesting, and ought to have been discussed), *aasen* (mit der gesundheit), *absteifen* (eine wand), *entrichten, abhalten* (in the sense of eine versammelung), *ölen* (in the sense of mit öl anstreichen), *ohngefähr* (in the sense of der ist nicht von ohngefähr), *hexe* (hexenschuss, hexenfexen are mentioned), *helm* (helmsturz is mentioned), *gellen* (gellend is mentioned), *bauer* (in the sense of a boorish person), *sich haben* (in the sense of to put on airs), *gemahnen*.

Der heilige Georg des Reinbot von Durne, mit einer einleitung
über die legende und das gedicht, herausgegeben von F.
Vetter. Halle a. S. 1896. 8°. cxc, 298 SS.

REINBOTS gedicht war bisher nur in ungenügender weise bekannt
durch v. d. Hagens abdruck der handschrift M. (1808) und durch
die charakteristik von Gervinus im 1. band seiner literaturgeschichte.
Pfeiffer hatte eine kritische ausgabe auf grund aller inzwischen be-
kannt gewordenen handschriften vor, aber kam nicht dazu. Reinbot
(zwischen 1231 und 53 dichtend) ist für die literaturgeschichte als
nachahmer Wolframs und als höfischer bearbeiter eines legenden-
stoffes wichtig. Seine beurteilung hat wesentlich unter diesen ge-
sichtspunkten zu erfolgen.

S. Vetter gibt zunächst ein sehr verdienstliches Sagenbuch vom hl.
Georg; er zeigt wie der geschichtliche arianische bischof von Alex-
andria (356/62) bereits im 5. jh. zum helden der legende ward, die
in einzelheiten die erinnerung an die wirklichen vorgänge festhält (vgl.
S. xxxiv ff.). Vetter stellt inhalt und verbreitung der urlegende fest,
behandelt darauf die kanonischen überarbeitungen und endlich den
späteren zusatz vom kampfe Georgs mit dem drachen. Ein reiches
material ist in diesen kapiteln zusammen getragen und damit die
geschichte der Georgslegende in den grundzügen geschrieben. Nicht
zu übersehen sind die beziehungen zwischen dem drachentöter und
jungfrauenerlöser Georg und Sigfrid, wis letzterer im 2. teil des
Seyfriedliedes erscheint. Der 2. teil des Seyfriedliedes ist nur eine
nachahmung der Georgssage, die auch noch aufs volksbuch vom
gehörnten Siegfried eingewirkt zu haben scheint, in der räuberge-
schichte (vgl. Vetter S. xcv und meine ausgabe des volksbuches
S. 86). Die rumänische Georgsage (Vetter S. c. f.) steht wiederum
unter dem einfluss der Sigfridsage und zwar des volksbuches und des
Nibelungenliedes, muss also in der überlieferten fassung unserem jh.
angehören und auf grund von kenntniss deutscher sagen erzählt
sein.

S. cx–clxvi der einleitung sind dem mhd. gedichte gewidmet;
S. clxvii–cxc ist ein alemannisches gedicht von Georgs drachenkampf
aus einer Berliner handschrift mitgeteilt. Über Reinbot urteilt Vetter
sehr ungünstig. Die reichhaltigen anmerkungen zum text bestätigen
auch im einzelnen die vorwürfe. Reinbot ist ein mittelmässiger und
geschwätziger reimer, der sich rein äusserlich Wolframs stil ange-
eignet. Vieles wird überhaupt nur aus reimnot von dem gedanken-

armen poeten gesagt, dessen gedicht an inhaltlosen flickversen und
an unnötigen wortwiderholungen überfluss hat.   Vetter merkt dem
reimschmied alle schwächen an. ' der formalismus und konventional-
ismus der mhd. dichtung feiert hier einen ihrer höchsten triumphe.'
' masz, stil, gedanke, poetische gerechtigkeit, dichterisches vermögen
—alles fehlt, was nach unsern begriffen zu einem dichter gehört.   Man
vermisst vor allem jegliches männliche : viel rührung und äusserer
schmuck, aber wenig ernstes denken und inniges gefühl.'   Ich glaube,
Reinbot wird schwerlich einen lobredner mehr finden.   Aber Vetter
geht entschieden zu weit, wenn er ziemlich unvermittelt (S. cxv)
Wolfram angreift und den Parzival einen ' formlosen und gedanken-
armen abenteuerroman' schilt.   Was an Wolfram tadel verdient,
hat schon Gottfried richtig erkannt und ausgesprochen.   Und wir
urteilen heute nicht viel anders.   Aber man darf auch nicht blind sein
gegen die vorzüge des Parzival und der ritterlichen dichtung.   Was
Vetter mit recht an Reinbot aussetzt, verallgemeinert er mit unrecht
auf die gesamte mhd. literatur.   Die Georgslegende nennt Vetter (S.
cxiii) ' einen würdigen nachklang aus der heroenzeit des christen-
tums' und sucht die höfische kunstdichtung für alle mangel des
Reinbotschen gedichtes verantwortlich zu machen.   Mir scheint die
marter des hl. Georg ein überaus widerlicher stoff, der vor allem den
ungünstigen gesamteindruck auch des mhd. gedichtes verschuldet.
Gewiss wirkt die marter noch widerlicher in der höfischen einkleidung ;
aber zu verderben war an der Georgslegende nichts.   S. cxvi wird das
Nibelungenlied im gegensatz zur höfischen kunst gepriesen.   Hier
konnte mit besserem rechte gesagt werden, dass der ' formalismus
und konventionalismus' eine schöne ernste heldensage verderbt und
stellenweise stillos, flach und langweilig gemacht habe.   Und doch ist
das Nibelungenlied ohne die höfische kunst undenkbar, und die
spielmannsgedichte von der Nibelunge Not waren zweifellos noch viel
stilloser, ob wir nun vom standpunkt der fränkischen ursage oder des
modernen ästhetischen gefühles aus urteilen.   Wenn Vetter aus ab-
neigung gegen Reinbot und seine ritterlichen standesgenossen auf
manchen seiten ' ein buch des unmuts' schrieb, so muss ich die
berechtigung zur verallgemeinerung dieses unmuts bestreiten.   Die
mhd. höfische literatur hat stoffe und gedichte von unvergänglichem
werte geschaffen, und dagegen zeugen die zahlreichen minderwer-
tigen arbeiten unbegabter reimer, die neben den meistern am werke
sind, keinesfalls.   Nur gegen die überschätzung unbedeutender poeten
muss einspruch getan werden ; aber das tut die heutige literaturfor-

schung zweifellos und für Reinbots gerechte einschätzung ist Vetters ausgabe die beste grundlage.

Über Reinbots lebensverhältnisse und seine unmittelbare vermutlich französische vorlage war nichts neues beizubringen. Nur kurz erörtert Vetter die handschriftliche überlieferung, ausführlicher und gründlicher die sprache des gedichtes und der handschriften (vgl. namentlich die anm. zu 125/6) und die metrik. Mit den grundsätzen seiner rechtschreibung (S. cxlix) bin ich einverstanden, bis auf die verdopplung der verschlusslaute *pp* und *tt*, die meines erachtens beizubehalten ist. Dass die gewaltsamen verkürzungen der Lachmannschen metrischen schreibweise aufgegeben sind, wird vielseitigen beifall finden. Der text beruht in der hauptsache auf der züricher handschrift. Hier war ganz neues zu schaffen. V. d. Hagen hatte ja nur die oft fehlerhafte und verdorbene handschrift M. abgedruckt. Vetter stellt die ursprüngliche sprachform des bayerischen gedichtes wieder her und macht an vielen stellen überhaupt erst das verständniss des textes möglich. Trotzdem bleibt noch manche stelle zu bessern.[1] In den anmerkungen (S. 213–96) ist sorgfältige text — und stilkritik geübt und reichliche wort — und sacherklärung geboten. Man vermisst aber gerade der wertvollen anmerkungen halber einen index.

W. Golther.

Rostock.

• *Life in Early Britain,* being an account of the early inhabitants of this island and the memorials which they have left behind them, by Bertram C. A. Windle, D.Sc., M.D., F.S.A., . . . with Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. David Nutt: London, 1897. Pp. xv, 244, 12°.

Despite the formidable title this is not a heavy archæological treatise, but a bright and attractive little volume made up of a series of somewhat elementary lectures delivered at Mason College, Birmingham. The book is scarcely more than a compilation from the works of Evans, Dawkins, Gomme, Seebohm, Green, and others. Long quotations appear on pp. 14, 22, 23, 66, 67, 168–170, 192–195, 208. Original opinions are seldom ventured. Yet the author has been successful in bringing into small compass a considerable number of the most suggestive and important facts bearing upon the subject.

---

[1] Vgl. zur handschriftenfrage überhaupt Behaghel, *Litteraturblatt* 19, sp. 49/50.

There are eleven chapters. The first gives an introductory sketch ; the second and third discuss Palaeolithic and Neolithic man ; the fourth and fifth treat of the Bronze Period, and the sixth, seventh, and eighth, of the Roman occupation of Britain. The ninth chapter relates to the Saxon occupation ; the tenth deals with tribal and village communities ; and the concluding chapter is devoted to some traces of the first races of Britain. Then follow two appendices, giving a list of places in England illustrating objects described in the text, and a list of books. A double index completes the volume.

Facing the title-page is a map of Early Britain, showing Roman roads and important places mentioned in the text ; and scattered through the book are sixty-seven illustrations. These illustrations, for the most part, really illustrate the text, and in some cases, are better executed than in the books from which they are taken. But the cut of Kit's Coty House, p. 51, and of Stonehenge, p. 99, will hardly be recognized by readers who have seen the original monuments. The cut of the Roman gate at Lincoln, correctly presented by Wright, is reversed in Windle's book.

As a whole the work is well done, but like most compilations it has not escaped some of the pitfalls that beset a writer who trenches upon another's domain. There is little unfavorable comment to be made upon the earlier chapters, for in them the author is content to take the opinions of his authorities. His discussion of the Roman remains in Britain is on the whole the best short popular account that has recently appeared. All of the facts relating to the excavations at Silchester and elsewhere have indeed been duly chronicled in the *Archæologia* and other publications, but these technical journals are inaccessible to the general reader. Now and then the author makes a minor slip. In speaking of the stations along the Roman Wall he says that they covered from five and a half to five and three-quarters of an acre. Three and a half acres would be nearer the size of some of the smaller stations. The smallest contained only three-quarters of an acre. On the same page (167) he remarks that there were seventeen or eighteen stations. This does not accord with the list in the *Notitia Dignitatum* or with the results of the excavations. ' Borcovicus, now called Housesteads,' he describes as the most perfect of the stations. The remains there are remarkably good, but those at Cilurnum (Chesters) are in some respects better. On the same page he says, ' At intervals of a mile were erected castella.'

The word Roman should be inserted before mile. On page 15 the author quotes in a footnote :

> 'Caistor [Caister] was a city when Norwich was none,
> And Norwich was built with Caistor stone,'

and adds that Caister was 'the Roman city of Venta Icenorum.' There is, however, little evidence that Caister was the original Venta Icenorum, and many of the best modern archæologists discard the traditional view.

Comparatively little of the book is given to the Old English period, and that little is apparently not based upon adequate study of the original sources. An Old English scholar would not say that 'the first fortifications which they [the English invaders] constructed were called buhrs' [!], nor would he repeat the blunder a page or two later. The entire treatment of the Saxon occupation covers only sixteen pages, though space is found in them for eight illustrations.

One of the most useful parts of the book is the confessedly imperfect list of archæological sites, arranged by counties (App. I.), but on what principle the author includes or excludes certain things does not appear. The Old English (Anglo-Saxon) chapel at Deerhurst is mentioned, but nothing is said of the church. The Saxon tower of Earl's Barton church is the most remarkable in England, but this is passed by without a word. A full score of notable Old English remains might easily be added to the list, such as the older portions of Beda's monastery at Jarrow, parts of the walls of Corfe Castle, the tower of St. Benet's at Cambridge, the tower of Trinity Church at Colchester, etc. Of a different type are such remains as the ancient fortifications about Castle Hill at Thetford and those about Castle Rising in Norfolk. But no mention is made of them. In fact, this entire list could easily and very advantageously be extended to twice its present size.

The bibliography leaves something to be desired. The date of publication is in no case given, and the books are recommended as of apparently equal value. In citing archæological books the date is far more important than the name of the publisher, which, by the way, is sometimes omitted from the list. Among the books not mentioned are Bruce's *Roman Wall*, which deserves to be named if some of the other books are included, and Traill's *Social England*, Vol. I., which for the class of readers here addressed is of some importance.

Most of the faults we have pointed out can easily be corrected in a second edition.[1] The book as a whole is a safe one to put into the hands of the beginner. If he never gets beyond it, the mistakes will do him little harm ; if he becomes an independent student of archæology, he will be able to make his own corrections.

WILLIAM E. MEAD.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY,
MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

EDITORIAL.

Professor Camillo von Klenze, of the University of Chicago, has joined the Editorial Staff of the Journal. Contributions pertaining to the comparative study of literature will be received by him or by the Editor-in-chief.

[1] Typographical errors occur on pages 32, 100, 156.